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cording to Swinburne, " not more than five miles and a half" in circumference. " The suburb of Triana, on the west side of the river, is as large as many towns, but is remarkable for nothing but its gloomy Gothic castle, where, in the year 1482, the Inquisition formed its first establishment in Spain. The streets of Seville are crooked, dirty, and so narrow, that, in most of them, two coaches find it difficult to pass abreast. The widest and handsomest place is the alameda, a great walk of old elms in the heart of the city, 600 yards in length, by 150; it is decorated with three fountains, and the statues of Hercules, the reputed founder, and Julius Cæsar, the restorer of Seville. Most of the churches are built and ornamented in a barbarous style; and the cathedral (continues this Traveller) is more cried up than it deserves. It is by no means equal to York Minster for lightness, elegance, and Gothic delicacy. The clustered pillars are too thick, the aisles too narrow, and the choir, by being placed in the centre, spoils the *coup d'œil*, and renders the rest of the church little better than a collection of long passages. The ornamental parts are but clumsy imitations of the models left by the Moors. Not one of the great entrances or porches is finished; and, to disfigure the whole pile, a long range of buildings in the modern style has been added to the old part. Don Sancho the Brave began this church near the close of the thirteenth century, and Juan II. finished it about a hundred years after.* Its length

* The foundation of the present cathedral, the largest ecclesiastical edifice in the peninsula, was laid on the 8th of July, 1401, and completed, with the interior decorations, in the space of 170 years. The original cathedral was a mosque which occupied the same site, and which, from a portion of the walls still remaining, appears to have been similar in design and execution, and not much inferior in size, to the *Mezquita* of Cordova.

within, is 420 feet; its breadth, 273; and its greatest height, 126.* The circumference of each cluster of pillars is 42 feet. It has nine doors, 80 windows, and 80 altars, at which 500 masses are said every day.† The pavement is brick, but they are now (1775) new-laying it with marble. The great gate of the cloisters (the only remains of the mosque which occupied the site) is a piece of handsome Moorish architecture. The large orange-trees that shade the fountains in the middle of the cloisters, make them a most agreeable walk. At one angle stands the *Giralda*, or belfry, a tower 250 feet high, and 50 square, erected by the Moors about A.D. 1000.‡ The Christians have added two stories and a prodigious weathercock, which altogether agree much better with the ancient building than patchwork is wont to do. The sculpture of the Saracenic part, which is 200 feet high, is in a much simpler taste than their artists were accustomed to display in public works. The effect of this tower, rising far above every edifice in Seville, is extremely noble. Tradition relates, that, to form a solid foundation for it, the Moors made a deep hole into which

* Mr. Townsend gives nearly the same dimensions,—420 feet by 263, and 126 in height. Mr. Jacob, however, states them to be 398 feet by 290, a singular discrepancy; while Laborde, with inexplicable inaccuracy, (or his translator,) states the length at only 262 feet, the breadth at 123 feet 9 inches, (viz. the nave 41 feet 9 inches, and each of the four aisles 20 feet 6 inches,) and the height at 113 feet 7 inches.

† Laborde says 90 windows: they are of fine stained glass, the work of a Flemish artist, each of which cost one thousand ducats. Mr. Townsend agrees with Swinburne as to the number of windows, but states the altars to be 82, and the annual consumption to be 1,500 *arrobas* of wine, 800 of oil, and about 1000 of wax.

‡ Swinburne says, 350 feet high; but, as it is probably a typographical blunder, we have corrected his text. The date he assigned to the tower is also erroneous.

they cast all the marble and stone monuments that could be found. When repairs have been necessary, and the ground has been opened near the bottom, many broken ornaments and inscriptions have been discovered. The whole work is brick and mortar. A winding staircase (an inclined plane) is contrived within, so easy and wide as to admit of two horsemen riding a breast above half way up. For some purpose unknown, the architect has made the solid masonry in the upper half just as thick again as that in the lower, though, on the outside, the belfry is all the way of the same dimensions." *

The Giralda, which the destroyers of the mosque that formed the old cathedral have so fortunately spared, is one of the most interesting remains in Seville. It was originally built in the year 1196, under the superintendence of the famous Arabian mathematician and astronomer, Geber (or Guëver), to whom the invention of algebra has been erroneously attributed, and was used as an observatory, being the most ancient monument, perhaps, in Christendom, consecrated to science. The height to which he carried it was only 172 feet, and it terminated in a square turret of brick, on which was fixed an iron pillar bearing four immense globes of iron gilt. This turret was pulled down in 1568, and the tower raised 86 feet higher, making the whole elevation 258 feet. It is a square of forty-three feet, built with square stones to the height of three feet and a half, and then continued with large bricks. It terminates in a little cupola, on which stands the *Giralda* which gives name to the tower; a brazen statue of Faith, executed by Bartolome Morel, which, though weighing two tons and a

* Swinburne, vol. ii. pp. 33—7.

half, turns with the slightest breeze. There are twenty immense bells at the top of the tower. The treasures of this church are described by Townsend as of inestimable value: we know not how far they have escaped the fate of the other churches and convents, which were plundered by the French. Not to speak of the silver altar, and images as large as life of saints Isidore and Leander, of the same precious metal, and a profusion of gold and gems,—this church with its numerous chapels was crowded with the best works of Murillo, Luis de Vargas, and Zurbaran. The church of the Capuchins was richly furnished with the works of Murillo; eleven of his pictures decorated the chapel of Vera Cruz, belonging to the Franciscans; various other convents and chapels possessed several of his paintings, and his most celebrated performances were in the hospital de la Caridad.* But the pictures which once adorned these churches, have been for the most part carried off by Joseph Bonaparte or his marshals, and have never been restored.† To the cathedral belongs a public library, which was begun by the bequest, in 1560, of 20,000 volumes, collected by Hernando, the son of the great Columbus. In the chapel of the kings, among other monuments and sculptures, is the tomb of Saint Ferdinand, with four inscriptions in Hebrew, Arabic, Latin, and Castilian; that of Alfonso the Wise, and those of several other royal and princely personages. "But not one of these tombs," says Bourgoing, "makes so deep an impression or excites such interesting recollections as that of

* This great painter was born in 1618, and died in 1682. His works, Bourgoing says, "were long wanting in the rich collection of the kings of France, but he, at length, occupies a place in the National Museum."

† Quin's Visit to Spain, p. 309.

Christopher Columbus, erected in front of the choir, with this inscription, striking at least for its brevity:

'A Castilia y Aragon
Otro mundo dio Colon.'

To Castile and Aragon, Colon gave another world. His son, Don Ferdinand, who would have been esteemed a great man had he sprung from a less renowned father, has also a monument in one of the chapels." Mr. Townsend mentions a curious new organ in the cathedral, containing 5,300 pipes with 110 stops; and yet, the bellows, when stretched, would supply the full organ fifteen minutes. The mode of filling them is singular: a man walks backwards and forwards along an inclined plane about fifteen feet in length, which is balanced in the middle on its axis. Under each end is a pair of bellows about six feet by three and a half, which communicate with five other pairs united by a bar; and the latter are so contrived, that when they are in danger of being overstrained, a valve gives them relief. Passing ten times along the inclined plane, fills all these vessels.

Among the other public buildings, the most interesting is the Alcazar, a royal palace, designed, it is said, in imitation of the Alhamra. The greater part of the present edifice, however, was built between the years 1353 and 1364, by Don Pedro the Cruel, and the remainder was erected by Charles the Fifth. Here Philip V. resided for many years towards the close of his reign, and passed his time in drawing with the smoke of a candle on deal boards, or angling for tench in a little reservoir by torch-light. It has since been not less honoured by the sittings of the Supreme Central Junta. Swinburne terms it a *pasticcio* of Saracenic, Conventual, and Grecian architecture. The exterior has a miserable appearance; but the first court

after entering the gate, has a very grand effect. The front looking into this court is purely Arabic in its style, and the spectator supposes that he is admiring a genuine piece of Moorish architecture, till, on closer examination, he sees lions and castles and other armorial ensigns of Castile and Leon, interwoven with arabesque foliages, and notices an inscription in large Gothic characters, informing him that these edifices were built in the fourteenth century by the most mighty king Don Pedro.* "Within this portico," says Swinburne, "is a court 93 feet by 69, flagged with marble, and surrounded with a colonnade of white marble pillars of the Corinthian order, elegantly proportioned and well executed. The walls behind are covered with grotesque designs in the Moorish taste. Charles the Fifth has contrived to foist his eagle and his *Plus Outre* into every corner. The great hall adjoining, called the *Media-naranja*, or half-orange, from the form of its cupola, is richly gilt, and stuccoed in the same manner. Here, I own, my little knowledge of architecture was fairly nonplussed. I was convinced that the portion of the fabric called by the travel-writers the *Moorish part*, was the work of Peter the Cruel, who might easily procure skilful artists from the kings of Granada, with whom he was connected during the greater part of his reign. But there was no accounting for the Corinthian pillars, unless I supposed them to have belonged to some Roman edifice, destroyed for the sake of supplying materials for the palace, or to have been placed by the emperor under the old gallery, in lieu of others in

* Mr. Jacob says, there is one Arabic inscription with a date corresponding to A.D. 1181, bearing that the palace was erected in the reign of a certain king of the name of Nazar; but he gives no authority.

a barbarous style or ruinous state. Next to the court of the lions in the Alhamra, this square is the most pleasing piece of Arabic building I have met with, though, in delicacy of design and execution, the ornaments of the Sevillian are much inferior to those of the Granadian palace. Near the western entrance was formerly to be seen a stone seat, with its canopy supported by four pillars, all now destroyed. Here, that severe judge, Don Pedro, sat to decide causes, and give sentence upon malefactors. His justice was so very inflexible, that, in those days of feudal anarchy, it was looked upon in the light of wanton cruelty and tyranny. Perhaps that unfortunate monarch owes to the hatred of those whom he meant to reduce to order, much of the obloquy which has been so plentifully bestowed upon him by historians, who have painted him to us as a tyrant so bloody, so wicked, as almost to exceed the bounds of probability. In Andalusia, where he fixed his residence, and seemed most to delight, his memory is not held in the same abhorrence. The Sevillian writers mention him very differently; and, instead of his usual appellation of *Pedro el Cruel*, distinguish him by that of *El Justiciero*. It is certain, that his natural brother and murderer, Henry of Transtamare, was guilty of crimes full as atrocious as any of those imputed to Don Pedro; but, as he destroyed him with his family and adherents, the friends of the new spurious race of monarchs were left at full liberty to blacken the characters of the adverse party, without fear of being called to an account for calumny, or even contradicted. Truth is now out of our reach; and for want of proper proofs to the contrary, we must sit down contented with what history has left us, and allow Don Pedro to have been one of the

most inhuman butchers that have ever disgraced a throne." *

The saloon called the Hall of Ambassadors, was occupied at the time of Mr. Jacob's visit by the Central Junta, and the rooms adjoining by the various sections or committees: the whole palace was filled by the different branches of Government. He describes the saloon as a beautiful apartment, adorned with elegant designs in stucco, and with a floor of the most transparent marble of various colours. It contained a collection of Roman antiquities; among others, some fine statues in good preservation, brought from Italica, distant four miles from Seville. The garden of the Alcazar is laid out in the Moorish taste. Several parterres, surrounded with galleries and terraces of marble, intersected by myrtle hedges and jasmine bowers, and perfumed by clumps of orange-trees, with here and there baths supplied by fountains, make up this miniature paradise; and there are water-works which send up small streams from minute pipes in the joining of the slabs, producing a most grateful effect. "Nothing," says Swinburne, "can be more delicious than these sprinklings in a hot day; all the flowers seemed to acquire new vigour, and the odours exhaled from the orange, citron, and lemon-trees, grew more poignant, more balsamic: it was a true April shower."

La Lonja (the exchange), built at the expense of the merchants by Juan de Herrera, in 1598, displays the best taste of any edifice in Seville. It is a quadrangle of nearly 200 feet, with a corridor, adorned with Ionic columns, and supported by an equal number of Doric. Being raised on steps, it has a magnificent appearance. The staircase is superb, of coloured

* Swinburne, vol. ii. pp. 18—22.

marble, about 25 feet in breadth, with balustrades supported by marble pillars. There are three apartments in front, each 130 feet long, and four others lighted from the *patio* (court), of larger dimensions. In the apartments are book-cases, in which are deposited all the charts, plans, titles, and correspondence relating to the New World since the discovery of America, arranged and docketed, including the original letters of Cortez and Pizarro.

The College of the Jesuits, to which, on the abolition of that order, the Holy Office was transferred from the Triana, is of light and tasteful architecture, most ill according with the gloomy character of that dreadful tribunal. The church is simple and elegant; the interior, which is of white marble, is of a circular form, lighted from a beautiful dome. The church of San Salvador is an ancient mosque, in the Moorish taste, with arcades supported by pillars. The royal tobacco-manufactory (*fabrica de tabaco*) is a very fine building, 439 feet in length by 280 broad; it is surrounded with a ditch, like a fortress, and contains twenty-eight courts. It is said to have cost thirty-seven millions of reals, or above 385,000*l.* sterling. There are upwards of a hundred mills for grinding the snuff, which are turned by horses and mules, while some hundreds of men and boys are generally employed in rolling leaf-tobacco into cigars.* The

* "I was greatly struck," says Mr. Jacob, "with the rigorous examination the labourers underwent on their leaving the *Fabrica*; they were almost stripped naked, and examined as closely as if they had been working in a diamond mine. And yet, in spite of all these precautions, I was informed that they contrived to secrete considerable quantities." The snuffs made here are of various kinds. One is a bad imitation of the French rappee; but the most esteemed is that which is mixed with the earth called *almagra*, brought from Almazarron (see vol. i. p. 205), and which, Mr. Jacob

Naval Academy of St. Elmo is also a very handsome edifice. This institution was founded in 1526, by Ferdinand Columbus, for a hundred and fifty youths; but, in 1809, the number of pupils was not above seventy, and the objects of the establishment were most miserably neglected. The expenses are defrayed by a small tonnage-duty on every vessel that sails for America. The royal cannon-foundry is a fine building, in which two hundred men are employed in casting and boring brass-guns of a large calibre. Neither the steam-engine nor the water-wheel had been introduced when Mr. Jacob visited it, the labour of mules and men being solely employed even in the heaviest operations. Yet he pronounces it to be the best-arranged institution he had hitherto seen in Spain. In this foundry were cast the enormous mortars with which the French under Marshal Victor bombarded Cadiz, one of which is seen, a trophy of British valour, in St. James's Park, near the Horse Guards. There is also a powder-manufactory.* The Mint (*Casa Moneda*) is one of the most ancient buildings in Seville, and was at one time remarkable for its activity; it is now but little used.

The *Canos de Carmona*, the great aqueduct which

says, is a species of ochre. Being mixed with the tobacco in a damp state, it gives it the colour, as well as the pungency and flavour which are so much admired.

* A circumstance is connected with this manufactory, which reflects the deepest disgrace on the character of the French army. On the retreat of Napoleon's troops from Seville, a flint was so fixed in the teeth of a wheel in the powder-mill, that when the machine should be set in motion, it would strike against a piece of steel. This diabolical scheme succeeded but too fatally. Colonel Duncan, who commanded the English artillery, on inspecting the place, ordered the machinery to be put in motion, on which he and several other persons in that part of the building, were blown into the air.

conveys water to this city from a hill near the town of Alcala,* is believed to be a Roman work; but the innumerable repairs it has undergone, have obliterated almost every trace of their manner. The arches (410 in number) are of different construction, some resembling the Roman, others the Moorish: they are twelve feet in diameter. The water is conducted in an open canal on the top of the arches, and forms a constant stream, three feet wide and two feet deep; a part is received into a large reservoir near the Carmona Gate, from which it is named, and the remainder is conveyed by pipes to the Alcazar, the public fountains, and private dwellings. There is an octagon tower near the quay, called the *Torre del Oro*, which the popular tradition ascribes to Julius Cæsar; and indeed the walls of Seville are believed to be Roman. In the present state of the military art, they would be of little use. Some of the gates are very magnificent, especially that of Triana, which leads to the bridge of boats over the Guadalquiver.

There are two other public buildings too characteristic to be omitted in the enumeration. Not far from the city is "a strange kind of edifice," verging to decay, which had long excited Mr. Townsend's curiosity before he could obtain any other than evasive answers respecting its design. He was at length confidentially informed, that it was the *Quemadero*. "The name was sufficient, together with the form, without further inquiries, to explain the horrid use to which it had been too often put." About four years before,

* Swinburne says, the rocks there are bored in various directions for an immense length under ground, in order to intercept every little runner, and collect so considerable a stream as to turn several mills. "The conduit is so leaky, that a rivulet is formed of the waste water."

he afterwards learned from one of the inquisitors, a *beata* had suffered at this "burning-place," for the alleged crime of corrupting the priesthood by her charms! The other building alluded to is the *Plaza de Toros*. "This amphitheatre is one of the largest and handsomest in Spain. A great part is built of stone; but, from want of money, the rest is wood. From ten to twelve thousand spectators may be accommodated with seats. These rise in tiers, uncovered, from an elevation of eight feet above the arena, and are finally crowned by a gallery, whence the wealthy may behold the spectacle under cover from the weather. The lowest tier, however, is preferred by young gentlemen, as affording a clearer view of the wounds inflicted on the bull. This tier is protected by a parapet. Another strong fence, six feet high, is erected round the arena, leaving a space of about twenty between its area and the lower seats. Openings, admitting a man sideways, are made in this fence, to allow the men on foot an escape when closely pursued by the bull. They, however, generally, leap over it. But bulls of a certain breed will not be left behind, and they literally clear the fence. Falling into the vacant space before the seats, the animal runs about till one of the gates is opened, through which he is easily drawn back into the arena." Seville is acknowledged on all hands to have carried these fights to perfection; and to her "school of bullmanship," the art owes all its refinements.*

* See Doblado's Letters, letter iv. where will be found a detailed description of all the customs connected with the inhuman practice. In addition to the particulars mentioned at vol. i. p. 362, it is stated by this author, that, ten being the appointed hour to begin the morning exhibition, "such days are fixed upon as will not, by a long church-service, prevent the attendance of the canons and

Among the private houses, Laborde mentions as deserving of notice, one that is called by the people, the house of Pilate,—for what reason does not appear: it belongs to the Duke of Medina Celi, and was built in the year 1520. The principal court is very fine, having a piazza supported by marble columns, with a fountain in the centre upheld by dolphins; and the court is also embellished with statues and antique busts. Two galleries in the garden contain a collection of urns, sculptures, and other ancient remains. Mr. Jacob mentions the house of Don Josef Maria Perez as one of the most voluptuously contrived he had ever seen. One apartment more especially delighted him, which was in perfect preservation, though certainly not less than 500 years old. "The form resembles a double cube, the one placed above the other; its height about sixty feet, and its length and breadth about thirty feet. The ornaments, which begin at ten feet from the floor, and are continued to the top, consist of a kind of variegated net-work of stucco, of exquisite regularity and beauty. It is said, that this kind of stucco is composed of lime mixed with the whites of eggs. It is as hard as stone, and not a flaw or crack is to be seen on the whole surface."

To a foreigner, the general appearance of Seville is very singular, partaking in a considerable degree of an

prebendaries who choose to be present; for the chapter, in a body, receive a regular invitation from the *maestranza*"—the corporation of noblemen who in Seville enjoyed the exclusive privilege of giving bull-feasts. "If we consider that even the vestals at Rome were passionately fond of gladiatorial shows, we shall not," it is remarked, "be surprised at the Spanish taste" for these disgusting but somewhat less inhuman spectacles. Yet, what has Christianity then done for Spain?

oriental character. Mr. Quin, who was there in April 1823, has given a lively description of the city, and of the impression it made as compared with Madrid. He saw it under favourable circumstances, as the expected arrival of the king had produced a great influx of population.

"In Seville, the houses are mostly built according to the eastern fashion, seldom consisting of more than two stories, and constructed round the four sides of an open area, called the *patio*. The front door, which is open from morning till night, leads to a short entrance, which is very neatly paved with brick or polished tiles. From this passage, called the *zaguan* (an Arabic word for a porch), another door, which is generally shut, leads to the interior square or patio. This inner door is sometimes of oak or mahogany; but usually it is formed of iron bars, arranged often in a light and fanciful style, handsomely painted and gilt. Through this door, any one passing in the streets may observe the economy of the patio, which is floored with polished tiles, sometimes planted with shady trees, but more generally decorated with vases, in which the most fragrant roses and other flowers are growing. Not contented with the number of flower-pots which they can conveniently arrange on the floor of the patio, they have also half-flat vases, which are suspended on the walls all round. In this place are also sometimes glass cupboards, in which all the riches of the house in china-ware are set out, and wired cases, where books are arranged in the shade. It is quite refreshing to pass from the burning streets into one of these nymph-like abodes, where coolness and shade are at once to be obtained. In some there are handsome fountains, ever yielding pure and cool

streamlets; and the tiles are kept constantly cool by sprinkling them frequently with water.

"As yet, most of the inhabitants were living above stairs, and the rooms on the first story were shut up. Numbers might easily have let their lower apartments, but they preferred to keep them for their own use, as they would remove down stairs about the latter end of May. The communication of the rooms above stairs with each other, is usually by an external gallery, which runs all round the square. To the edges of this gallery pulleys are attached, by means of which a canvass awning may be stretched over the patio in summer.

"Although there is this superabundance of house-room, the streets are mostly so narrow, that there are not more than two or three through which two carriages could pass abreast. In many, a carriage cannot pass at all, and one may touch each side of the street with his hands as he passes. The reason which I have heard assigned for this peculiar construction of the streets of Seville is, that if they were wider, it would be impossible to bear in them the heat of the summer sun. Being so close together, they afford a mutual shade, and the passenger can walk through them without inconvenience from heat at any time of the day. This effect is certainly obtained; but the consequence is, that Seville appears to be little more than a labyrinth of narrow lanes, in which a stranger is frequently puzzled how to make out his way. Taking these things into consideration, it did not appear to me that there are much fewer houses in Seville than in Madrid; but the extent of ground which Seville occupies, is considerably less than that of the capital; its public buildings are fewer, and its streets, on account of their narrowness, have consi.

derably less beauty. They are also so roughly paved, that it is painful to one not accustomed to walk through them. But if Seville have no street which may be spoken of in the most distant comparison with the Calle de Alcala of Madrid, neither has Madrid a cathedral which would bear the least comparison with that of Seville.

" The preparations which were making in the Alcazar for the reception of the king, were confined to white-washing, painting, and cleansing. There was not a single chair, or table, or bed in the whole palace: it was expected that there was a convoy on the road with these necessary articles of furniture. The authorities were doing all in their power to prepare for the reception of the Government; but they wanted money, which, day after day, they were calling on the inhabitants to supply. One day, the Intendant issued a placard, couched in the most flattering terms towards the Sevillians, requesting them to furnish the sums necessary for receiving the Government, either by way of free gift or loan, or in anticipation of future contributions, and assuring them that, by the arrival of the Government in the city, they would be usuriously repaid. The next day, the Constitutional Alcaldes issued another placard to the same purpose; and after these came the Political Chief, in terms equally adulatory, and with solicitations still more pressing. But hitherto they had expended their eloquence to little purpose; for it appeared that the Sevillians, though rejoicing in the arrival of the Government amongst them, were very reluctant to pay beforehand for any benefits which they expected from it. The greatest bustle prevailed in every part of the town in preparing houses, laying in stores, removing furniture, every body being re-

solved to make the utmost of the approaching harvest. Beds and apartments were at five times their common price, and an attempt was made also to increase the price of bread, under pretence that there was a scarcity of flour; but the authorities speedily interfered, and prevented this extortion. The old inhabitants said that Seville now began to look like itself; for they remembered the time when it was the emporium of the Spanish commerce with the New World."

The shops in Seville, Mr. Jacob says, are wretched in their appearance, and ill supplied, except those of the embroiderers, lace-makers, and goldsmiths. "The shops at which glass, knives, forks, spoons, and other German articles are sold, are mostly kept by native Germans or their descendants, who are distinguished by the name of Bohemians. They converse with each other in High Dutch, are well supplied with different articles of Nuremberg manufacture, and are by far the most civil shopkeepers in Spain; in every part of which, I am told, they are to be found. The booksellers inhabit a street called *Calle Genova*, and are as badly furnished as other traders. Most books of value are printed at Madrid." The alcavala is a dead-weight upon all trade and commerce. The chief articles of export are wool, goat and kid skins, liquorice, and oil. Most of the silks now worn in Seville are of French manufacture.

We shall borrow a few more descriptive traits from the Author of Doblado's Letters.

"About the middle of October, every house in Seville is in a complete bustle for two or three days. The lower apartments are stripped of their furniture, and every chair and table—nay, the kitchen vestal, with all her laboratory—are ordered off to winter-quarters. This change of habitation, together with

mats laid over the brick floors, thicker and warmer than those used in summer, is all the provision against cold which is made in this country. A flat and open brass pan, of about two feet diameter, raised a few inches from the ground by a round wooden frame, on which those who sit near it may rest their feet, is used to burn charcoal made of brush-wood, which they call *cisco*. The fumes of charcoal are injurious to the health; but such is the effect of habit, that the natives are seldom aware of any inconvenience arising from the choking smell of their brasiers.

"The precautions against heat are, however, numerous. About the latter end of May, the whole population moves down stairs. A thick awning, which draws and undraws by means of ropes and pulleys, is stretched over the central square (court), on a level with the roof of the house. The window-shutters are nearly closed from morning till sunset, admitting just light enough to see one another, provided the eyes have not been recently exposed to the glare of the streets. The floors are washed every morning, that the evaporation of the water imbibed by the bricks may abate the heat of the air. A very light mat, made of a delicate sort of rush, and dyed with a variety of colours, is used instead of a carpet. The patio is ornamented with flower-pots, especially round a *jet-d'eau*, which, in most houses, occupies its centre. During the hot season, the ladies sit and receive their friends in the patio. The street-doors are generally open; invariably so from sunset till eleven or twelve at night. Three or four very large glass lamps are hung in a line from the street-door to the opposite end of the patio; and as, in most houses, those who meet at night for a *tertulia*, are visible from the streets, the town presents a very

pretty and animated scene till near midnight. The poorer class of people, to avoid the intolerable heat of their habitations, pass a great part of the night in conversation at their doors; while persons of all descriptions are moving about till late, either to see their friends, or to enjoy the cool air in the public walks.

"This gay scene vanishes, however, on the approach of winter. The people then retreat to the upper floors, the ill-lighted streets are deserted at the close of the day, and they become so dangerous from robbers, that few but the young and adventurous retire home from the *tertulia*, without being attended by a servant, sometimes bearing a lighted torch. The free access to every house which prevails in summer, is now checked by the caution of the inhabitants. The entrance to the houses lies through a passage (the *zaguan*) with two doors, one to the street, and another, called the *middle door*, (for there is another at the top of the stairs,) which opens into the *patio*. The middle door is generally shut in the daytime; the outer one is still never closed but at night. Whoever wants to be admitted, must knock at the middle door, which knock, by the by, must be single, and by no means loud—in fact, a tradesman's knock in London. It is answered with a *Who is there?* To this question the stranger replies, *Gente de paz*, Peaceful people—and the door is opened without further inquiries Peasants and beggars call out at the door, *Ave, Maria purissima!* Hail, spotless Mary! The answer in that case is given from within, in the words, *Sin pecado concebida*, Conceived without sin.

"This custom is a remnant of the fierce controversy which existed about three hundred years ago, be-

tween the Franciscan and the Dominican friars, whether the Virgin Mary had or had not been subject to the penal consequences of original sin. The Dominicans were not willing to grant any exemption; while the Franciscans contended for the propriety of such a privilege. The Spaniards, and especially the Sevillians, with their characteristic gallantry, stood for the honour of Our Lady, and embraced the latter opinion so warmly, that they turned the watch-word of their party into the form of address which is still so prevalent in Andalusia. During the heat of the dispute, and before the Dominicans had been silenced by the authority of the pope, the people of Seville began to assemble at various churches, and, sallying forth with an emblematical picture of the *sinless* Mary, set upon a sort of standard surmounted by a cross, they paraded the city in different directions, singing a hymn to the Immaculate Conception, and repeating aloud their beads or rosary. These processions have continued to our times, and they constitute one of the nightly nuisances of this place. Though confined, at present, to the lower classes, they assume that characteristic importance and overbearing spirit which attach to the most insignificant religious associations in this country. Wherever one of these shabby processions presents itself to the public, it takes up the street from side to side, stopping the passengers, and expecting them to stand uncovered, in all kinds of weather, till the standard is gone by. These awkward and heavy banners are called at Seville, *Sinpecados*, that is, 'sinless,' from the theological opinion in support of which they were raised. The Spanish Government under Charles III. shewed the most ludicrous eagerness to have the *sinless purity* of the Virgin Mary

added by the pope to the articles of the Roman Catholic faith. The court of Rome, however, with the cautious spirit which has at all times guided its spiritual politics, endeavoured to keep clear from a stretch of authority, which even some of their own divines would be ready to question. But splitting, as it were, the difference with theological precision, the censures of the church were levelled against such as should have the boldness to assert, that the Virgin Mary had derived any taint from 'her great ancestor;' and having personified the Immaculate Conception, it was declared, that the Spanish dominions in Europe and America were under the protecting influence of that mysterious event. This declaration diffused universal joy over the whole nation. It was celebrated with public rejoicings on both sides of the Atlantic. The king instituted an order under the emblem of the Immaculate Conception — a woman dressed in white and blue; and a law was enacted, requiring a declaration, upon oath, of a firm belief in the Immaculate Conception, from every individual, previously to his taking any degree at the universities, or being admitted into any of the corporations, civil and religious, which abound in Spain. This oath is administered even to mechanics upon their being made free of a guild.

"Most of the Spanish villages possess some miraculous image — generally of the Virgin Mary, which is the palladium of the inhabitants. These tutelar deities are of a very rude and ancient workmanship, as seems to have been the case with their heathen prototypes. The 'Great Diana' of the Alcalaians* is

* The inhabitants of Alcala, commonly called Alcala of the Bakers (*de los Panaderos*) to distinguish it from Alcala Real. The greater part of the bread consumed in Seville comes from this

a small, ugly, wooden figure, nearly black with age and the smoke of the lamp which burns incessantly before it, dressed up in a tunic and mantle of silver or gold tissue, and bearing a silver crown. It is distinguished from the innumerable host of wooden Virgins by the title of *Virgen del Aguila* (the Virgin of the Eagle), and is worshipped on a high, romantic spot, where stood a strong fortress of the Moors, of which large ruins are still visible. A church was erected, probably soon after the conquest of Andalusia, on the area of the citadel. A spring of the most delicious water is seen within the precincts of the temple, to which the natives resort for relief in all sorts of distempers. The extreme purity of both air and water on that elevated spot, may, indeed, greatly contribute to the recovery of invalids, for which the Virgin gets all the credit." *

The moral state of society in Seville is apparently not quite so bad as might be expected from the concurrence of almost every demoralising cause. Lord Byron expressively adverts to "the silent crimes of capitals," as characterising proud Seville. There is, however, a misrepresentation in the stanza referred to in one respect: little is to be seen to disgust the eye.†

place. About sixty men, and double that number of mules, leave Alcala every day at day-break, and attend till evening, in two rows, enclosed with iron railings, in the *Plaza del Pan*.

* Doblado's Letters, pp. 20—25; 206, 7.

† "From this circumstance," says Mr. Jacob, "I have heard sensible Spaniards who have been in England, contend for the superiority of their country over ours in regard to public morals; but it is not easy," he remarks, "for foreigners to form a proper estimate of our national morals on this subject: they have seldom opportunities of observing the domestic attachments in our more sober and worthy families." This remark, however, will equally apply to the estimate of foreign nations made by English travellers.

Outward decorum is always observed, although every virtuous principle is notoriously violated in the general practice of married women, with whom the matrimonial tie is considered as a mere form, a nominal connexion; and the only real engagement is that which binds them to the *cortejo*. These attachments are much more durable and more assiduously cultivated, a higher degree of constancy and fidelity is exacted, and jealousy often assumes that deadly character which, in Old Spain, was confined to the husband. The nature of their education, the pollution of the confessional,* the celibacy of the clergy, and the total absence of all proper religious instruction, more than account for the lamentable dereliction of virtue which forms the greatest stain on the national character. The Author of Doblado's Letters, himself a Spaniard, has made the best apology for the levity of the Andalusian women. Their power of fascination, he ascribes to their extreme sensibility, rather than to beauty of feature, which may not, he says, at first please the eye, "but they seem to improve every day till they grow beautiful.† Without the advantages of education, without even external accomplishments, the vivacity of their fancy sheds a perpetual glow over

* See Doblado's Letters, pp. 76—9. "The strictest delicacy is, I believe, inadequate fully to oppose the demoralising tendency of auricular confession. Without the slightest responsibility, and not unfrequently in the conscientious discharge of what he believes his duty, the confessor conveys to the female mind the first foul breath which dims its virgin purity."

† All travellers seem to admit that the Andalusian women are peculiarly interesting. "The women of Seville," says Mr. Quin, "are remarkably animated. They mostly walk the Alameda in full dress, — that is, with their hair carefully curled, their arms bare, and the veil (*mantilla*) thrown over the head and shoulders, but not concealing the face. Their chief attractions, however, consist in fine forms and a lively expression of countenance, more

their conversation; and the warmth of their heart gives the interest of affection to their most indifferent actions. But Nature, like a too fond mother, has spoilt them, and superstition has completed their ruin. While the activity of their minds is suffered to run waste for want of care and instruction, the consciousness of their powers to please, impresses them with an early notion that life has but one source of happiness. Were their charms the effect of that cold, twinkling flame which flutters round the hearts of most Frenchwomen, they would only be dangerous to the peace and usefulness of one half of society. But, instead of being the capricious tyrants of men, they are generally their victims. Few, very few Spanish women, and none, I will venture to say, among the Andalusians, have it in their power to be coquettes. If it may be said without a solecism, there is more of that vice in our men than in our females. The former, leading a life of idleness, and deprived by an ignorant, oppressive, and superstitious government of every object that can raise and feed an honest ambition, waste their whole youth and part of their manly age in trifling with the best feelings of the tender sex, and poisoning, for mere mischief's sake, the very springs of domestic happiness. But ours is the most dire and complex disease that ever preyed upon the vitals of society. With some of the noblest qualities that a people can possess, we are worse than degraded, we are depraved by that which is intended to cherish and exalt every social virtue: our corrupters, our mortal

fascinating, perhaps, than regular beauty. The Moorish colour is not absent from their cheeks, though some are to be met with whose complexion is as fresh as that of an Englishwoman.' Lord Byron's eulogy of the dark-glancing daughters of Andalusia is well known.

enemies are, religion and government. Wherever the slightest aid is afforded to the female mind in this country, it exhibits the most astonishing quickness and capacity; and probably, no other nation in the world can present more lovely instances of a glowing and susceptible heart preserving unspotted purity, not from the dread of public opinion, but in spite of its encouragements." *

The country round Seville to a considerable distance lies so low, that it is subject to frequent inundations; and sometimes the Guadalquiver rises to an alarming height. In the walls are inserted pièces of marble, some between eight and nine feet high, recording that, in the year 1796, the river rose to that altitude. But in the winter of 1822, Mr. Quin states, that it rose still higher than these memorials, or than had ever been remembered, sweeping away flocks and cottages in its course, and doing great injury. In consequence of these frequent floods, and the vapours and miasmata occasioned by stagnant water, Seville and its neighbourhood are peculiarly subject to tertian and putrid fevers. The narrowness of the streets, and the consequent want of a free circulation of air, tend to transform these endemic complaints into contagious disease; and the yellow fever, when introduced into this city, has been dreadfully destructive. These inconveniences must be allowed to be serious drawbacks on the eligibility of Seville as the capital of the empire. Mr. Townsend predicts in somewhat equivocal terms, that "when the navigation of the river shall be restored to the condition in which it was when Magellan with five ships sailed hence for those straits which have since been called by his name,

* Doblado's Letters, pp. 56—8.

and when freedom, civil and religious, shall once more lift up her head in Spain, new channels will be opened for commerce, and Seville will be restored to her ancient splendour." This sounds too much like deferring the event till the Greek calends; yet, it may be allowed us to hope, that freedom will visit Spain before the Guadalquiver shall recover its ancient honours. The communication between Seville and Cadiz has been much facilitated by the establishment of a steam-boat, which starts every other morning for Bonanza, a voyage generally performed within ten hours: the passengers land there, and *calesinas*, a sort of cabriolet, are in waiting to transport them to Santa Maria; but the road for the four leagues is wretched. Mr. Townsend descended the river in a passage-boat to San Lucar, a passage of about six-and-thirty hours. The country all the way is flat, the soil deep, and the pastures are clothed with a perpetual verdure. The banks are the resort of storks, cranes, wild ducks, and other game, larks and various other birds. San Lucar (the ancient *Fanum Luciferi*) was once, at the season for the arrival or departure of the galleons, the most stirring place in Europe. "At present," says Swinburne, "it is a neat, quiet town, without much business. The small ships that carry on its trade, lie half a league further up in the Ansa, where the Indian *flota* used to moor. The river is wide and very rough at the bar: the opposite shore is so dead a flat, that it is difficult to distinguish it from the water. I sauntered along the *Plaza de San Lucar* without meeting a soul. How changed from what it was in the days of Cervantes, when it was crowded with the busy and the idle, the honest and the profligate!"

'Three long miles" from Seville, near the main

road to Estremadura, is the village of Santiponze (or Santa Iponze) near which stands all that remains of the ancient Italica, the birth-place of the emperors Trajan, Hadrian, and Theodosius,* also of the poet Silius Italicus, and an episcopal city. The peasants call the place *Sevilla Vieja*, Old Seville. There is a rich convent here of Geronomites, called St. Isidro de Campo, which was used as barracks by the French, and has since been applied to the same purpose by Spanish cavalry. In the church are some fine statues. Swinburne, in his excursion to Santiponze, missed the route, and found himself at the foot of a hill almost square, covered with the ruins of vast towers and bulwarks, built of cemented mud and pebbles, and evidently of Moorish construction. The situation, he says, "is such as the judicious Romans might have preferred to Hispalis both for beauty and strength." The view it commands over Seville, the course of the river, and the rich plain, repaid him for the fatigue of climbing the height, which he found to be the site of Alfarache, where the Moors are said to have maintained themselves for some time after the loss of Seville.

"Of the ancient colony of Italica, supposed to have been composed by Scipio of his veteran soldiers, scarcely the least vestige remains. It is said, that the Moors destroyed it, not to have a rival so near Seville, where they intended to fix their seat of empire; but I suspect this to be the surmise of some modern historian. I could not positively ascertain it, but, from a view of the ground, I am inclined to believe that it was built in imitation of Rome, on seven hills, and that the river Bœtis ran at the foot of them. By

* Gibbon, chap. xxvi. (*Life of Theodosius.*)

accidental obstructions and banks of sand, accumulated in a long series of inundations, the river may have been driven from its ancient bed, and forced more into the heart of the plain, where it now takes its course. Such an event as this would account for the ruin of a city so considerable as Italica, and, without supposing that the Saracens were at the pains of demolishing it, would afford sufficient cause for giving the preference to Seville, which stands upon the Guadalquiver. On the summit of the first hill are some ruinous brick walls, called *El Palacio*, not in the least remarkable. The peasants who were here at work in the olive-yards, told us, that underneath there had formerly been found columns of silver and brass, but, as they were bewitched by some magician, nobody was ever able to draw them up; and now, not an individual has the courage even to dig for them, as they have all the reason in the world to believe that the conjuror would twist their heads off for attempting it. This is a popular superstition, which I have found to be common to most countries wherever any great remains of vaults and ancient edifices are to be seen. On the most distant eminence, are considerable remains of an amphitheatre, built with pebbles and brick arches: most probably, the marble casing has been carried away, or destroyed by burning to lime. The form is a most regular oval. The arena measures, as nearly as the corn would allow me to be exact, one hundred yards in its greatest length, and sixty in its greatest breadth. Some of the vomitoria, cells, and passages are yet discernible, but scarcely any traces of the seats. I, however, made out twenty rows, two feet six inches wide, and two feet high: each step of the stairs of communication is one foot in height, and one in width. This amphitheatre is now more like Stone-

henge, than a regular Roman edifice. Not far from it is a fine pool of water in a large vault under the hill, which I judge to be the remains of some aqueduct, as the water is too warm to be near the spring-head.

" The corporation of Seville having occasion for stones to embank the river, which, by its frequent inundations, caused great damage to the city, ordered the amphitheatre of Italica to be knocked down. Many hands were employed to batter the walls, and to blow up with gunpowder such parts as resisted the pick-axe. By these means they procured sufficient materials for their embankment; but, as if the Guadalquiver meant to avenge the cause of taste upon these barbarians, the very first flood swept away the whole fabric." *

Mr. Jacob states, that the amphitheatre had suffered from an earthquake more than from the lapse of time. The part, however, that is still left, he says, is sufficiently perfect to enable the traveller to form a good idea of its original state. A beautiful tesselated pavement had been discovered here, on which were represented the signs of the zodiac and the muses: the colours were quite fresh and brilliant. The surrounding country is very rich and beautiful. The proximity of this city to Seville, and the absence of all Roman ruins in the latter city, (unless the *Torre del Oro* may claim that character,) would lead one to doubt the pretensions of the Moorish capital to a higher antiquity. From the time of Scipio to that of Theodosius (from B.C. 200 to A.D. 350), Italica appears to have been the chief place in this part of Bœtica; and it probably rose on the ruins of the city of Hercules, the Phenician Hispalis, wherever was its

* Swinburne, vol. ii. pp. 25—28.

site. As to the "Little Rome" of Julius Cæsar, we must invoke the aid of Spanish antiquaries to determine its existence. It is not improbable, that Alfarache was originally a Roman station.

From Seville, ascending the Guadalquiver, we must now retrace our steps towards the north-east, to visit the proud capital of the western khalifate. The route to Cordova, a distance of between twenty-one and twenty-four Spanish leagues, lies through Carmona, where it falls into the Roman road,—a causeway raised above the level of the fields, and running generally in a direct line from west to east: it is formed of gravel, which, not being the soil of the country, must have been brought from a great distance. The road passes through La Luisiana, a tract of land brought into cultivation by a colony of Germans, and forming their most western settlement. Their habitations, built all after the same model, are placed at regular distances of between two and three hundred yards, each in the midst of a patch of corn-land. About half-way between Seville and Cordova is the town of Eccija (the ancient Astigi), prettily situated between two hills on the west bank of the river Xenil, which traverses an immense plain on its way to Granada. It contained, in 1786, six parish-churches, eight chapels, twenty convents, six hospitals, and 28,176 souls. The churches are built entirely of brick, and are fitted up in the old taste, crowded with pillars, which are loaded with preposterous ornaments, and covered with gold. There is a handsome *plaza*, and the alameda is very pleasantly laid out on the banks of the river. Four leagues beyond this place is La Carlotta, another German colony, formed about the year 1758, in the midst of a hilly forest of evergreen oaks, clumps and groves of which are still left,

and, scattered amid the corn-lands, give a pleasing appearance to the country.* On approaching Cordova, the land is chiefly arable, hilly, and bare. The view of the river, the city, and the woods on the opposite hills, is extremely picturesque.

CORDOVA.

A classical interest attaches to this city, the Corduba and Colonia Patricia of the Romans, as the birthplace of the two Senecas and the poet Lucan, and the most ancient seat of learning in the Peninsula. Under the dominion of the Romans, it possessed a celebrated university; and Casiri has recorded the names of nearly one hundred and seventy writers, natives of this city, to prove that its literary reputation did not decline under its Arabian sovereigns. The city was founded, according to Strabo, by Marcellus, during the civil wars between Pompey and Cæsar. It attained its highest pitch of grandeur, however, under the Moors, when, if we may credit the assertions of their historians, it contained, with its suburbs, no fewer than sixteen hundred mosques, nine hundred baths, 80,455 shops, and 262,300 houses of various classes, with a population of not far short of a million. In the civil wars which took place towards the latter end of the tenth century, not only was a great part of these buildings demolished, but

* About twenty or thirty acres were allotted by Government to each family, under the obligation of remaining on the spot ten years; during which time they were exempt from taxes, and were then to have the land made over to them in fee, on payment of a small quit-rent. The colony had been founded about eight years before Swinburne travelled; and some hundreds of the Germans, he says, had died through poverty, intemperance, bad food, and change of climate. La Carlotta had only sixty inhabitants in 1791, but the district contained 600. Luisiana had only 240.

the traces of some of the quarters were obliterated. A great part of the town is said to have been destroyed in 1589 by an earthquake. In the sixteenth century, the population had fallen to 60,000 souls; and in 1803, it did not exceed 35,000. The entire population of the kingdom of Cordova, according to the census of 1787-8, was only 236,000; but that of 1803 raised it to 383,226 souls. Of its ancient grandeur, the city has preserved nothing except a vast enclosure filled with houses half in ruins, and the famous mosque built by Abdulrahman in the eighth century, which owes its partial preservation to having been converted into a cathedral. The see is very ancient. Osius, its bishop, attended the first council of Nice, as legate of the holy see.* It is suffragan to Toledo. The city contains fifteen other parish-churches, forty convents, two colleges, and twenty-one *hospicios*.

On the side of Madrid, Cordova has nothing very striking in its first appearance; but, approached from the Cadiz side, it presents a gently-sloping amphitheatre along the right bank of the Guadalquiver. The plain in which it is situated is of great extent, bounded, on the south, by swelling hills cultivated to their very summits, and, on the north, by a chain of rugged mountains, the beginning of the Sierra Morena. The whole country, "being well wooded, well watered, and well cultivated," cannot, Mr. Townsend says, "be surpassed either in riches or in beauty." He came from Madrid, and the contrast it

* "— Osius, the ancientest bishop that Christendom then had, the most forward in defence of the Catholic cause, and of the contrary part most feared, · · · · with whose hand the Nicene creed itself was set down and framed for the whole Christian world to subscribe unto."—HOOKER'S *Eccl. Pol.* book v. § 42.

presented to the bare and rugged tracts which he had just left, made it appear a most enchanting spot. Here, for the first time since he had left Barcelona for the capital, he again saw the fig, the orange, and the palm flourishing in luxuriant abundance. Mr. Swinburne speaks of the country in similar terms of admiration; and we shall avail ourselves of his description of the city as the fullest, though not the most recent account.

"The environs are delightful, and present a rich variety of woods, hillocks, and culture, vivified by abundance of limpid water. The flat land produces olives and corn; and much of it is laid out in gardens, where the fruit-trees grow to a remarkable size, and seem perfectly clean and healthy. The upper grounds are overrun with evergreen oaks and pines, which the farmers grub up in the good spots to plant olive and carob-trees in their stead. The farm-houses are built in the midst of enclosures and orchards of orange-trees. The Guadalquiver runs before the town, which it has worn into a perfect half-moon. A bridge of sixteen arches, defended by a large Moorish tower, leads from the south into Cordova; and near the end of the bridge stands the mosque, now the cathedral. The walls of the town are in many places just as the Romans left them.

"The streets are crooked and dirty. Few of either the public or the private buildings are conspicuous for their architecture. The new hospital for the education of orphans, has something bold and simply noble in its cupola and portico. The palace of the Inquisition and that of the bishop are extensive and well situated. I little expected to see in an inland town of Spain, such elegance as was displayed here by the nobility in

their equipages; very handsome English and French carriages, smart liveries, and excellent horses. The women seem to be in general handsome: some we saw on the walks, were extremely beautiful.

"The streets round the mosque are narrow and ill calculated for affording a general view; but, indeed, there is nothing very showy on the outside. The walls are plain enough and not very high; the roof is hid behind battlements cut into steps. On the east side, the whole length is divided by buttresses into thirteen divisions, and there is about the same number on each of the other three sides. The doors in many of these compartments are ornamented with stucco of different colours. On the north side is a lofty belfry, a modern building, that has made a total alteration in the appearance of the front. Seventeen gates admit you into the church and cloister. The cloister, the court that served the Mahometans for their ablutions, and as a place to leave their slippers in before they entered the holy house, is an oblong square of 510 feet (the length of the church) by 240. A portico of sixty-two pillars environs it on three sides, about twenty-five feet wide. The middle is taken up with three handsome and copious fountains, groves of orange-trees, and some towering cypresses and palms, which form a most delightful retreat in the sultry hours.

"The grand entrance of the church is rather wider and loftier than the rest, and the parts are more decorated. Nothing can be more striking than the first step into this singular, rather than beautiful edifice. To acquire some idea of it, you must represent to yourself a vast, gloomy labyrinth, like what the French are so fond of in their gardens, a fine

*quincunx.** It is divided into seventeen aisles, or naves, each about twenty feet wide, by rows of columns of various marbles, viz. blue with white veins, yellow, red, red veined with white, gray, and Granadine and African green. These pillars are not all of the same height; for the Arabs, having taken them from Roman buildings, served them in the same manner as Procrustes did his guests. On the short ones, they clapped monstrous capitals and thick bases: those that were too long for their purpose, had their base chopped off, and a diminutive, shallow bonnet was placed on their head. However, the thickness of the shaft is pretty equal throughout, about eighteen inches diameter; and the capitals are generally barbarous imitations of those of the Corinthian order. A couple of arches, one above the other, rising from the columns, run along the rows; and from the same base springs an arch that forms the roof of each aisle.

"By several alterations and additions, the Moors had divided the whole mosque into four parts, marked out by two lines of clustered pillars crossing each other at right angles. Three of these portions were allotted to the populace and the women; the fourth, in the south-east angle, was reserved for the nobility and clergy. In this last quarter was the *Zancarron*, or holy chapel, where they deposited the books of the law. The door of it faced the great gate looking down the principal aisle. The ornaments and architecture of this sanctuary, and of the throne of Almansor, which is in front, at the distance of six intercolumniations from it, are very different from those employed in the other parts. Two ranges of columns that support

* Mr. Townsend was "exceedingly delighted" with the cathedral. "Its numerous pillars, arranged in quincunx, appeared like a grove of saplings.

the screen before this *penetrale*, are about six feet high; the upper ones of red and white marble, the lower of green, with capitals most minutely carved and gilt. The roof of the dark inner sanctuary is said to be of one block of marble 18 feet wide. If so, it is not only curious for its size and quality, but also for the ingenuity of the architect, in placing it in so perfect an equilibrium, as to remain unshaken for so many ages. The manner of casting the arches, grouping the columns, and designing the foliages of this screen and of the throne, which is an exact repetition of the screen, is very heavy, intricate, and barbarous, unlike all the Moorish architecture I saw at Granada. Indeed, it is many centuries more ancient than any ornamental work of that place. Behind this chapel and on each side of it, were the lodgings of the dervishes, which now serve for chapter-house, sacristy, and treasury. The church is extremely rich in plate.

"It is scarcely possible to ascertain the exact number of columns in the mosque, as they originally stood, because great changes have been made, many taken away, displaced, or built up in the walls of chapels, and several added when the choir was erected in the centre of the whole. Were this choir in any other church, it would deserve great praise for the Gothic grandeur of the plan, the loftiness of the dome, the carving of the stalls, (which is said to have occupied twelve years,) and the elegance and high finishing of the arches and ornaments. But in the middle of the Moorish mosque, it destroys all unity of design, darkens the rest, and renders confused every idea of the original general effect of the building. Many chapels stuck up in various parts between the pillars, interrupt the enfilade, and block up the passage. The worst of all is a large chapel of the Virgin,

which closes the main aisle exactly in the middle; and the throne of Almansor is now occupied by a poor piece of legendary painting.

"I can imagine no *coup d'œil* more extraordinary than that taken in by the eye, when placed in such spots of the church as afford a clear reach down the aisles at right angles, uninterrupted by chapels and modern erections. Equally wonderful is the appearance, when you look from the points that give you all the rows of pillars and arches in an oblique line. It is a most puzzling scene of confusion. Light is admitted by the doors and several small cupolas; nevertheless the church is dark and awful. People walking through this chaos of pillars, seem to answer to the romantic ideas of magic, enchanted knights or discontented, wandering spirits."*

This mosque is called by the Spaniards *La Mezquita*, from the Arabic *masgiad*, a place of worship. Among the Moors, it is said to have been known by the name of Ceca; and it was held in so high veneration, that pilgrims from all parts of Spain and Barbary came to visit it.† The spot on which it was founded, was the site of a Christian church, dedicated to Saint Vincent; and it is not improbable, that that church had originally been a heathen temple. The columns in the mosque are supposed to have been taken from a temple of Janus. It was begun by Abdulrahman, the sovereign of Cordova, in the year 786, and finished by his son Hisham, about 800. Succeeding khalifs, however, added to it, so that the whole edifice was the work of eight monarchs of the house of Ummaiya (or Moawiyah). It was originally an oblong building,

* Swinburne, vol. ii. pp. 53—8, 86—94.

† Hence the speech of Sancho in Don Quixote: "*Dexadnos de andar de Ceca en Meca.*"

510 feet by 420 in breadth, with a flat roof resting upon arches, which did not rise more than 35 feet above the pavement, and borne up, according to one Arabian writer, by 1,409 marble pillars, forming nineteen aisles from east to west, and twenty-nine from north to south.* The twenty-one gates were plated with brass curiously embossed, and the folding-doors of the principal entrance were plated with gold. Upon the highest cupola, which was covered with copper, were three pomegranates, two of gold and one of silver, surmounted by a fleur de luce of the more precious metal. The tower or minaret was 72 cubits in height. Four thousand seven hundred lamps burned in the mosque every night, consuming annually nearly 20,000 lbs. of oil; and 60 lbs. of aloes-wood, and 60 lb. of ambergrease were required for the perfumes.

The ancient palace of the Moorish sovereigns has been converted into stables for the royal stud of horses, the finest and best regulated in Andalusia. These stables contained in 1792, 612 horses of all ages, whose genealogy was carefully preserved, and the name and age of each written over the stall. The horses of the kingdom of Jaen are esteemed the best breed. The Alcazar, another Moorish palace, was occupied by the Inquisition. The bridge over the Guadalquiver is a Moorish superstructure on a Roman foundation. These comprise all the remaining monuments of the Saracenic capital. The manufactures have shared in the general decay: there are now only some trifling ones of ribands, lace, hats, and baize. The leather for which this city was once so famous, no longer gives employment to its

* Mr. Swinburne thinks, that there could never have been more than seventeen, and he states the number of columns at 778. Double columns were reckoned as two.

*cordwainers.** Its literary glories have in like manner completely passed away: the Goths have succeeded to the Moors.† Cordova stands in lat. 37° 52′ 13″ N., long. 4° 45′ 53″; it is 84 miles N.E. of Seville, 112 N.W. of Malaga, and about 210 S.W. of Madrid.

Between three and four miles to the north of the city, "under Mount Alarus," there formerly stood, if the Arabian historians may be believed, a palace built by the Khalif Annasir, at the instigation of his favourite mistress Azzahra, and named after her, which was the most stupendous and magnificent ever erected since the days that the genii toiled for King Solomon. The description of it seems borrowed from Arabian fable. It was begun in the year 936, but, in about seventy years after its erection, was pillaged and greatly injured by a rebel army. A few ruins at a place called *Cordova la Vieja* (Old Cordova), are supposed to indicate the site of this transitory wonder.

From Cordova, Swinburne proceeded across the Sierra Morena, and through the bare, arid plains of La Mancha, to the ancient capital of the Castiles. Of this Traveller's lively narrative, we shall now avail ourselves in taking a reluctant leave of the south of Spain, — the fertile and once populous kingdoms of Andalusia.

* Cordwainer, which we obtain from the French *cordouannier*, corrupted into *cordquier*, is in fact derived from *cordouan*, leather brought from Cordua — Cordova.

† The bibliomania once reigned at Cordova, which was the paradise of booksellers. When a learned man died at Seville, and his books were to be sold, they were usually conveyed for that purpose to Cordova. When a musician died at Cordova, and his effects were to be disposed of, it was the custom to send them to Seville.

FROM CORDOVA TO TOLEDO.

"THE fine vale of the Guadalquiver, which runs between two ridges of hills, is covered with hanging woods and olive-yards. Several clear streams traverse the plain, and fall into the river. The ancient raised road, be it Roman or Moorish, was always most acceptable to us, whenever we got upon it, for it is a fine hard gravel, above the level of dirt and water. Every brook had once its bridge; but scarcely one in twenty now remains. For two days we travelled up the river. The country it waters is very rich and beautiful, the plains charmingly streaked with rows of olive-trees, towns and castles occurring along the banks, the northern hills darkened with woods, and all the distant eminences of the south green with corn. This luxuriance of vegetation and fatness of soil rendered the roads abominably deep. The cliffs along the river side swarmed with flocks of a most elegant bird called the *abejaruxa*, or bee-eater. It is about the size of a blackbird, the back of a light brown shaded with burnished gold, ending towards the head in a pale yellow; mixed with a greenish blue about the beak, which is long, black, sharp, and straight; the throat yellow; the breast of a fine blue, with a narrow black line down it; the upper part of the tail azure, the under brown; the wings of a brownish yellow, surrounded with a blue stripe, tipped with black. At *El Carpio* is a Moorish mill or engine, with three huge wheels, which raise the water to a great height, to enrich a large level tract. The landscape near is very pleasing. At Anduxar,* we took leave of the Roman

* From Andujar, the direct road to Madrid is for the most part the same as that taken by Swinburne. Another road leads S.W.

road, and of the river, of which, however, we had now and then a distant peep from the heights, and entered the *Sierra Morena*, the chain of mountains that divides Castile from Andalusia, rendered famous by the wars of the Christians and the Mahometans; but perhaps better known as the scene where the immortal Cervantes has placed the most entertaining adventures of his hero. As we were near the eastern extremity, the land, though very high, and commanding a vast prospect to the south, did not in the least resemble a ridge of mountains, such as the Alps, the Pyrenees, or many others. It did not appear much more broken and elevated than many parts of England which are well inhabited and cultivated. The journey was very agreeable up the course of the *Rio de las Piedras*, a clear, roaring torrent, tumbling over a bed of rocks through glens of beautiful woods. The wastes are covered with a profuse variety of flowering shrubs, particularly many varieties of the cistus, among which the gum-cistus, or rock-rose, is the handsomest. They gather manna from it in the spring by beating the bushes with small twigs, to which the viscous substance which exudes from the plant adheres. Sumach also grows in great abundance on these hills. It is cut down in August: the leaves, flower, and stalk are

to Antequera, distant nineteen Spanish leagues; and a third to Granada, through Jaen. The latter city, (distant six leagues,) once the capital of a small kingdom, and now an episcopal see, contains less than 30,000 inhabitants. It is a walled town, situated in a fertile and well-watered valley, at the foot of a mountain of marble, a league from the river Guadalbera and two from the Guadalquiver. Andujar is the first town in Jaen on coming from La Mancha: it contains five parish-churches, ten convents, a castle of high antiquity, and above 6,000 families. M. Bourgoing styles it one of the richest and most ancient cities in Spain, but it is reckoned insalubrious. It is said to have borne the names of Illiturgis and Forum Julium. It trades chiefly in silk.

all pounded together, and used in lieu of oak-bark in dressing hides.

"We now entered the colony of *La Carolina* and its dependencies, planted eight years ago by the king, in a very extensive tract of woody, mountainous country. The first settlers were Germans; but, from eating unwholesome herbs, and drinking too much wine and brandy, above half of them died; and now the inhabitants are a mixture of Germans, French, Savoyards, Catalonians, and other Spaniards. The tract of land, now in cultivation and full of villages, where there was nothing before but forests, the retreats of banditti, extends at least three leagues in length, and, I believe, very little less in breadth. They talk of 10,000 families being already settled here. La Carolina, the capital of all these colonies, stands on a fine hill, that towers over the whole settlement, and, indeed, over most part of the provinces of Granada and Cordova. For the sake of overlooking the rest of the plantations, they have placed it on a spot deficient in wood and water, and reduced themselves to the necessity of digging an incredible number of wells for the purposes of drinking and watering their gardens. The whole town is new from the foundations, for there was not a cottage there eight years ago. The streets are wide and drawn in straight lines. The houses are upon a uniform plan, without the least decoration. The church fronts the principal south road, and a tower, placed at each angle, marks the extent of the town, which is to be an exact square. The market-place and another square are very spacious and showy. All the flat on the crown of the hill is laid out in kitchen-gardens, and planted with avenues of elms, to serve hereafter for public walks. Three hundred Catalonian manufacturers came to settle here

in the course of last year (1775).* We found here an excellent inn and a good dinner, and regaled ourselves upon excellent cow's milk and butter, to which we had long been strangers; for, though they have cows in many parts of Spain, they seldom milk them,

* The founder of these settlements was D. Pablo de Olavidé, a Peruvian, who, under the patronage of the Conde d'Aranda, was made *assistente de Sevilla*. "While in this employment, he conceived the idea of introducing agriculture and arts in the deserted mountains of the Sierra, where rapine and violence had for ages established their dominion. The difficulty was to procure settlers. One Turrigel, of Bavaria, contracted for 6,000 husbandmen; but, instead of men trained to agriculture, he brought only vagabonds, who all either died or were dispersed." Settlers were then invited (on the conditions already mentioned) from all parts of Germany. Their numbers in 1786, according to Government returns, were 7,868 adults, of whom the husbandmen were 1,784, day-labourers 411, and artisans 172. "Considering that all these were assembled and established in less than seven years," adds Mr. Townsend, "we must admire the energy and zeal of Olavidé. They have been collected at a vast expense from distant countries, and enjoy singular immunities; yet, the colony is far from prospering,"—owing principally to "the want of a market for their surplus produce." M. Bourgoing, however, assigns other reasons. "The flourishing state into which they were brought by D. Pablo Olavidé, did not long continue after his disgrace. The moderate sums allotted for their support, were not punctually paid; their zeal slackened, and their operations were interrupted. Besides this, the ministers were too hasty in exacting taxes from the new colonists, in order to shew the court that this establishment was capable of indemnifying it in a few years for the sums advanced. The German colonists have mostly disappeared. Those who remained were gradually amalgamated with the Spanish natives; and for these twelve years past, there has not been a priest here who spoke the German language. Of late, however (1794), this interesting colony has begun to justify the encouragement bestowed upon it. The merit of such a creation can be fully appreciated only by those who have beheld this district in its state of depopulation and sterility." Mr. Semple says, that they still preserved (in 1805) many of the manners and customs, and even much of the complexion and language of the original colonists. "All the walls were whitewashed, and every utensil appeared bright and clean. The whole family was attentive to my

but keep them for breeding, and fattening in their old days for slaughter.

"A little north of *La Carolina* we passed through a new village, called *Las Navas de Tolosa*, from the old name of the defile in the neighbouring mountains. We crossed the Sierra Morena at the pass called *El Puerto del Rey*. The road is far from bad, though steep; but the mountain is as dreary and disagreeable as can be. In the days of Cervantes, there were, perhaps, noble woods to cover all the present nakedness, as here and there some venerable pines and chesnut-trees remain, sad monuments of ancient forests. All La Mancha before us seems to be a bare corn country, ugly and tedious beyond expression.

"We perceived a very severe alteration in the climate as soon as we descended the Sierra Morena and entered La Mancha. From the beginning of summer (April 27th), we were in a manner thrown back to the last months of winter. In Andalusia, the vines were all in leaf, and their fruit set, the flowers of the shrubs falling off to make way for the seed. On the northern side of the mountains scarcely a fresh leaf was to be seen, or a bud in the vineyards, and the poor starved bushes had just a flower or two blown. The weather was cold and raw. In a word, it is difficult to conceive of so sudden and so thorough a change of seasons as that which we experienced in this journey.

wants; and at supper, instead of a ragout of oil and garlick, they set before me a German mess of fried bacon, eggs, and good cabbage. Heaven rest the soul of the patriotic physician who settled these honest Germans amid the mountains of the Sierra Morena; for since my coming to Spain, I have not made so good a supper."—See TOWNSEND, vol. ii. p. 290., BOURGOING, vol. iii. p. 77. SEMPLE, vol. i. p. 128.

"La Mancha is an immense plain, intersected by different ridges of low hills and rocks, without an enclosure of any kind, except mud walls about the villages; and really, I can almost say, there is not a tree to be seen from the Sierra Morena to Toledo, nor from the banks of the Tagus to Madrid. A few dwarfish evergreen oaks, huddled together in nooks of hills, and some stumpy olive-plants, scarcely deserve the name of trees. All this vast tract of open country is cultivated in corn or vines: there cannot be an uglier. The villages are large; few or no single houses, and not a *venta* that I could fix upon for the scene of any action in Don Quixote. We lay at *Puerto Lapiche*, a small village mentioned by Cervantes. The houses are built with mud and gravel. The women cover their heads with coloured handkerchiefs, and their necks with laced palatinas.

"A few miles off the road are seen the *Ojos de la Guadiana*,* where the river, after running eight leagues under-ground, rises up to day, and thence takes its course towards Estremadura. We passed over the subterraneous river at the Venta de Quesada, where the well in the yard communicates with it.

* M. Peyron says: "It has been pretended, that the river Guadiana runs under-ground for several miles, and that the road lies over it, which, it is asserted, gave occasion to a Spaniard; who was a slave in Africa, to say, that his king was one of the most powerful monarchs in the world, and that, among other wonders to be found in his dominions, there was a bridge seven leagues long. But this bridge is a mere fable, according to the best geographers, who assure us that the Guadiana does not really flow under-ground, but only runs between the windings of some high mountains which conceal it from the sight for a considerable distance, after which it again appears at the lakes called *Los Ojos de la Guadiana*." If M. Peyron be correct, it is not a little singular, that not only Swinburne, but both Laborde and Bourgoing should have adopted the popular error.

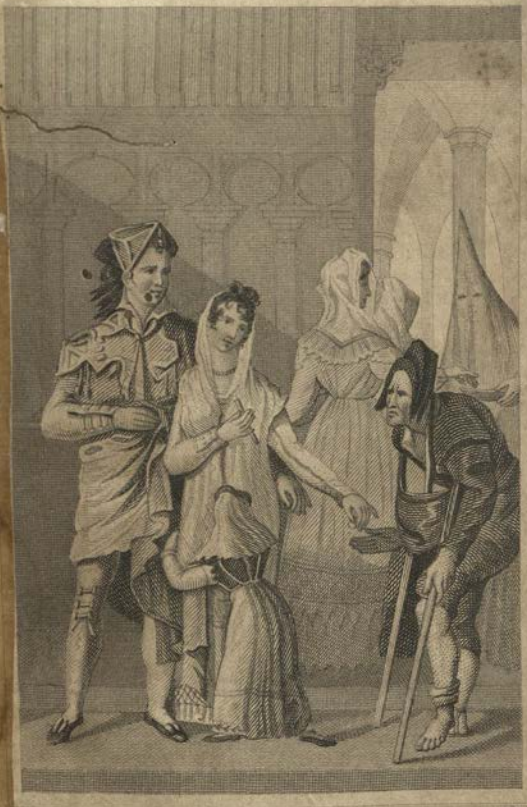
Straw, or any kind of light stuff, dropped into the well, is hurried away with such rapidity by the stream, that you will not bring up a single straw, though you let down the bucket almost instantaneously."

TOLEDO.

"TOLEDO," continues Swinburne, "is the strangest city imaginable in point of situation. The Tagus, after winding at large through a fine plain, comes at last to be wedged in between two ramparts of high, steep rocks. The passage is very narrow; and before the river gets out again into a broad bed and open ground, it almost returns to the place where it entered the defile. On this rocky peninsula stands the city, exceedingly ill built, poor, and ugly. The streets are so steep that no stranger in his sober senses would venture up or down them in a carriage.

"The *Alcazar*, or ancient palace, is a noble and extensive building, and had recently undergone a thorough repair at the expense of the archbishop, who has also made a new road to Aranjuez. The architecture is chaste and unaffected. The inner court is very grand. Its colonnade of granite columns, of the Corinthian order, makes a noble appearance. The chapel is lofty and narrow, with a balcony in each story of the house that leads into it. The stables are under the kitchens and offices, and are large enough to contain a considerable number of horses. The upper story is one open gallery for playing in, above 80 yards in length. In the middle stories are several large halls, the most spacious of which measures about 160 feet by 36.

"The cathedral has nothing particularly beautiful



by H. Allard

THE SPANISH COSTUME AT TOLEDO.

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on the outside above the common run of Gothic churches. It is not to be compared with many we have in England. The steeple is in the ugly style of the Flemish and German spires, a heap of blue turrets piled one upon another. The inside is well lighted and cheerful, neither heavy nor confused with too many ornaments. The decorations added of late years are not in the best taste, but in richness of gilding are unrivalled. The wealth of the archbishop and chapter displays itself in the profusion of gold lavished on the walls. They have gilded the iron rails, the Gothic arches, and even drawn lines of gold to mark the joints of the stones with which the pillars of the choir are built. The groupe of angels, called *El Transparente*, which is fixed behind the choir, and esteemed by the Toledans the glory of their church, is at best but a clumsy, ill-designed monument, remarkable only for the fineness of the marble and other materials."*

This cathedral, one of the most ancient sacred edifices in the peninsula, and which is still the metropolitan church of Madrid, has been, like that of Cordova, a mosque; † and long after Toledo had been taken from the Moors by Alfonso VI. in 1085, it retained that form, until the reign of Ferdinand the Saint. "The greater part of it is certainly very

* Bourgoing terms it, a wretched piece of sculpture, which disfigures, instead of embellishing the church.

† Laborde states, that it was first a church under the Gothic kings, the date of its original consecration being A.D. 630. The exterior, he says, is disgraced by the mean and incongruous façade. The church is 348 feet in length by 174, and has five aisles, diminishing in height from the nave: the centre is 138 feet in height. They are formed by arches resting on 84 groupes of columns. "Considered as a whole, this edifice is neither noble nor magnificent, being disfigured by the position of the choir."

ancient," says Mr. Semple; "but, about three hundred years ago, it was partly rebuilt, and this rebuilding or beautifying has been executed by some one ignorant of the principles and true beauties of the Gothic architecture; so that it now exhibits a jumble of styles, which renders it inferior to Westminster Abbey or York Minster. The roof, however, is simple and elegant; but they totally deprive the whole of its ancient and venerable appearance, by daubing all the interior with whitewash, besides loading the walls with statues, shrines, relics, paintings, and gilded crucifixes." Several of the chapels are remarkable for their monuments. In the choir are the tombs of four kings of Castile, commonly called *Los Reyes Viejos*, the ancient kings; and a magnificent chapel, called *de los Reyes Nuevos*, contains those of ten Castilian sovereigns. The cloister is of vast extent and fine proportions. Besides its cathedral, Toledo contains twenty-five parish-churches,* sixteen monasteries, twenty-three nunneries, and fourteen hospicios. Several of these edifices are ancient, and some are handsome. Mr. Semple was particularly struck with that of San Juan de los Reyes,—a beautiful Gothic church, not chargeable with the same defects as the cathedral. It belongs to the Franciscans, and was built by Ferdinand and Isabella. Laborde says, that "it has nothing remarkable except the iron and chains that cover the outside of the walls, and which were worn by the Christians found in slavery at Granada at the time of the conquest;"—a doubtful legend. Bourgoing mentions the hospital of San Juan Battista as exhibiting, in the beauty and judiciousness of its proportions,

* Laborde says, seventy-nine churches,—which must evidently be a mistake.

a proof of the good taste of the founder, Cardinal Pavera.

"At Toledo," adds the last-mentioned writer, "the traveller may also admire the remains of an ingenious machine, invented by an Italian, to raise the waters of the Tagus to the city. Near these ruins are some others still more ancient, which must have formed part of an aqueduct designed to convey water to the height of the Alcazar, from springs seven or eight leagues distant;—a legacy at once useful and magnificent, by which the Romans have marked their residence in more than one place in Spain. We also recognise in the environs of the city, the traces of one of their ancient roads and the remains of a circus. Thus, in turn, have the Romans, the Arabs, the Goths, and the Spaniards under Charles V. contributed to the embellishment of Toledo. We cannot say so much for the modern Spaniards. Houses unoccupied, magnificent buildings falling into decay, few or no manufactories, a population reduced from 200,000 souls to 25,000, the environs naked and barren,—such is the melancholy picture presented to the traveller whom the reputation of Toledo has attracted within its walls..... Deserted, narrow, and winding streets, destitute alike of affluence and industry, ill agree with the idea we should form of a city, which has been honoured with the title of imperial ever since it was taken from the Moors, which disputes pre-eminence with Burgos in the cortes of Castile, has long been considered as the capital, and still contains a variety of monuments to attest its ancient grandeur."

Toledo has suffered repeatedly from the fury of civil war. Thrice it was besieged by the Moors during the first thirty years of the twelfth century, but in every instance without being taken. But, in 1467, it was

laid waste by fire and sword, and several of its districts were razed to the ground. The same sanguinary scenes were renewed in 1641. It owes its depopulation, however, chiefly to the ruin of its manufactures, together with the whimsical creation of Madrid. The manufactures of Toledo were formerly numerous and flourishing. At the commencement of the seventeenth century, its woollen manufactures, though in a declining state, afforded occupation to 38,250 individuals. Its silk manufactories were equally important; and a considerable branch of its trade was supplied by the fabrication of needles and of swords, Toledo blades* being once not less famous than Cordova leather, or than Xeres wine, and Seville oranges, and Malaga raisins are now. An attempt was made by the venerable prelate already mentioned, towards the close of the last century, to revive several of these branches of industry. The Alcazar was transformed into a sort of house of industry; and a handsome edifice, about a quarter of a league from the city, was allotted by the crown to a sword manufactory. Since then, a generation has passed away, and desolating wars have taken place. The plunderer has again visited Toledo; not the Moor, but the Gaul. "The treasures and wealth of this cathedral," says an English officer who visited it in 1809, "inferior, perhaps, only to those of

* It has been thought, that the excellence of the Toledo steel may have been owing originally to Damascus workmen. Virgil, however, is supposed to allude to the excellence of the Spanish steel in his first Georgic:

At chalybes nudi ferrum—

rendered by Dryden,

"And naked Spaniards temper steel for war."

And Diodorus Siculus states, that the Celtiberians give such temper to their steel that no helmet can resist their stroke.

Loretto, have disappeared.* They have been torn forth by the daring hand of plunder. Many of the best pictures this church could once boast of, have been removed; but in the cloisters are several fine paintings by Bayeux (and Maella), whose designs and colouring are very pleasing. The day of the pomp, pride, and power of this cathedral is gone by. Six hundred ecclesiastics once belonged to the service. The present number of officiating priests is inconsiderable; nor are they now either powerful or wealthy. The memory of Cardinal Ximenes is greatly venerated in Toledo, and a prayer for his soul is repeated daily at the close of high mass. I walked from the cathedral to the Alcazar, a palace built on the site of the ancient residence of the Gothic kings by Charles the Fifth, and long occupied by him. Its grand staircase and spacious gallery, no longer crowded with guards and courtiers, are now dirty, deserted, and silent. This edifice, however, though neglected and decaying, still wears a stately and imposing aspect; and its handsome front, immense quadrangle, and elegant colonnade declare it to have been the pride and ornament

* "The treasures of this cathedral," says Townsend, "struck me with astonishment. *La Custodia*, an elegant silver model of the cathedral, by Enrique de Arfe, weighs 22,000 oz., and took fifty-five ounces of pure gold for gilding. It contains a multitude of pillars, and more than two hundred little silver images of exquisite workmanship. In the centre of this edifice is placed a shrine of massive gold, weighing fifty pounds: another, which occasionally supplies the place of this, contains a statue of the infant Jesus, made of pure gold, and adorned with eight hundred precious stones. In four separate closets are four large silver images standing on globes of silver, each two feet in diameter, representing Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, with their several emblems, given by Anne of Newbourgh. The grand silver throne on which is placed the Virgin, wearing a crown, and adorned with a profusion of the most costly gems, weighs fifty arrobas (1,250 lbs.) In the chapel of the Virgin is an altar covered with gold and silver."—TOWNSEND, vol. i. p. 309.

of a happier period. Its situation is very commanding. It stands on the edge of a rocky precipice, nearly perpendicular, at the bottom of which, but full five hundred feet below it, the Tagus flows. As I toiled through the steep, narrow, inconvenient streets, I never felt one movement of impatience; for the extreme antiquity of this city gives it an irresistible character of interest; and the *religio loci* always operates most delightfully on the fancy. Hannibal won this spot for Carthage; Romans dwelt in it; Gothic kings reigned in it; Moors have possessed it; and some of the turreted walls still surrounding it were built by them; Spaniards, with their blood, last purchased, and still hold it. What a flight for the imagination to travel back,—to conjure up the various scenes acted in the city, and to see sovereigns, warriors, and prelates, whose mouldering dust now sleeps beneath your feet, pass in review before you!"* "From its situation," remarks Mr. Semple, "it is certainly better adapted than Madrid to be the metropolis of the empire. Before the use of artillery, its local advantages were many and valuable. And notwithstanding its present state of decay, when we reflect that Livy mentions it as a town existing more than two thousand years ago, it is not improbable that it may still exist, when Madrid, the mere creation of caprice and despotic power, shall have dwindled to a village, or stand, like Palmyra, a landmark in the desert."

Toledo is situated upon the right bank of the Tagus, twelve leagues from Madrid, and seven from Aranjuez. The river was formerly navigable, and Laborde says, might again be rendered so with little

* Recollections of the Peninsula, pp. 201—4.

trouble and expense. "In 1588, boats passed from Toledo to Lisbon; and the quay below the town, known by the name of the *Plazuela de las Barcas*, is still in a perfect state. These voyages were totally suspended in the reign of Philip III." There are two bridges here over the Tagus. That of Alcantara (*i.e.* the Bridge), which is of almost terrific height, is of Roman foundation: it has three arches, on one of which appears the inscription CÆCILIA MARCELLA, H. S. E., and is guarded by a handsome gate. It has been repaired by the Moors, and again in 1258, after it had been partly destroyed by a flood. About 200 paces from this bridge, on the road to Aranjuez, commences a noble avenue a quarter of a mile in length, and branching out to the banks of the river, which forms the principal promenade. There is another alameda on the road to Talavera; but both are at an inconvenient distance for pedestrians. The situation of Toledo renders it extremely hot in summer; and there are neither wells nor fountains in the city to afford the usual luxury of the Moorish towns. Water is brought from a distance on asses. Laborde gives a very repulsive description of the place. According to him, it is ill-paved, dreary, and altogether disagreeable. There are no spectacles, no place of public resort, few gentry among the residents; the trade is circumscribed to a few shops; the grandees are lawyers; priests, friars, and students constitute its principal population; in fact, it is destitute of all pretensions to beauty or majesty and every social attraction. This splenetic description, however, is by no means quite correct, for there is a theatre; and the English officer was present also at a ball given in the archbishop's palace. M. Bourgoing is not in a

much better humour with Toledo. He thus speaks of the little garden-houses of the citizens in the environs. "They would never forgive me, were I to pass over in silence their *cigarrales*, or small country-houses, which have some resemblance to the *bastides* of Marseilles, only they are less ornamented and more numerous. Here, in the heat of the dog-days, they retire after dinner to seek coolness and repose in the shade of the orchards; but they cannot reach them without traversing the scorching soil of some burnt up meadow, or climbing some rugged hill: yet, these are the gardens of Eden to the inhabitants of Toledo."

From the ancient capital to within half a league of Madrid, the roads, in Swinburne's time, were as bad as in any part of the kingdom, and the country extremely ugly. "I do not imagine," he says, "that the most pitiful city in the Peninsula can make a more despicable figure, than the metropolis of all the Spains does from the opposite hills, as you approach it on the south side. Neither tree, villa, nor garden is seen until you arrive at the avenues of the town. The corn-fields run up close to the houses. In short, the whole landscape around is the barest and most melancholy I ever beheld. But as soon as the trees of the walks shut out the prospect of the neighbouring country, the appearance of Madrid is grand and lively." Before we enter the capital, however, we must bring up our other Travellers.

The route to Madrid usually taken by travellers, is from Bayonne, by St. Jean de Luz. Mr. Townsend went by way of Barcelona; Mr. Semple from Lisbon, proceeding southward from Madrid. We shall avail ourselves of their narratives, however, in describing

somewhat more minutely than Swinburne has enabled us to do, the tract of country lying between the capital and the southern provinces.

FROM CORDOVA TO MADRID.

THE elevated plain of the two Castiles and La Mancha, to which on every side the traveller has to ascend, may be pretty correctly considered as the centre of the peninsula formed by the Bay of Biscay, the Atlantic, and the Mediterranean.* The ascent from the western coast is generally in terraces; for, though the traveller has sometimes to descend into valleys, it is constantly obvious that a higher country lies before him. The same is evidently the case with regard to the other coasts, as appears from the courses of the principal rivers, which all rise towards the centre of Spain, and fall in every direction, except the northern, into the Mediterranean or the Atlantic. That none of the great rivers fall into the Bay of Biscay, is owing to the direction of the high mountains of Asturias and Biscay, which run almost parallel with the coast. Hence, the streams which flow down their northern declivities, having comparatively a small extent of country to traverse, never collect a volume of water sufficient to form rivers of any note.

* "The interior of Spain forms a vast plain, which, elevated 300 toises above the level of the ocean, is covered with secondary formations, grit-stone, gypsum, sal-gem, and the calcareous stone of Jura. The climate of the Castiles is much colder than that of Toulon and Genoa; for its mean temperature scarcely rises to 15° of the centigrade thermometer (59° Fahr.). The plain of La Mancha, if placed between the sources of the Niemen and the Borysthenes, would figure as a groupe of mountains of considerable height."—HUMBOLDT, *Pers. Narr.* vol. i. pp. 17, 22. See also p. 10 of our first volume.

Such are the Navia, the Pravia, the Cares, the Rio de Suances, and numerous others. At equal distances from the summits, the streams which flow northward and those which take an opposite course will be found, perhaps, of equal importance; but the former soon join the sea, while the latter, winding through a long extent of country, contribute to swell the mighty waters of the Ebro, as it traverses the whole breadth of Spain to the south-east. In travelling from Lisbon to Madrid, and from Madrid to Cadiz, the traveller describes two equal sides of a triangle, each about 400 miles in length, of which the tract of coast from Lisbon to Cadiz may be considered as forming the base. In this route, he crosses three principal rivers, the Tagus, the Guadiana, and the Guadalquiver, all flowing to the Atlantic, each having its peculiar character. The Tagus, with a rapid descent, seems to hold its impetuous course, of more than four hundred miles, chiefly at the bottom of a long, deep, narrow valley, which it has perhaps worn for itself in the course of ages. The banks of the Guadiana, on the contrary, are, for the most part, of a more yielding and sandy nature; and in those parts where the soil is softest, the bed of the river naturally enlarges, and the current, spreading over a wide surface, becomes less rapid: thus, by the wise laws of nature, its fury prepares bounds for itself. The Guadalquiver, the favourite stream of the Arabian poets, partakes more of the nature of the Guadiana than of that of the Tagus: its banks are generally of a moderate height, too often bare, but in many parts traversing extensive pasture-lands. The towns on this river attest the former greatness of the Moors. While the Tagus may boast of Toledo and

the "doubtful honour" of Lisbon, and the Guadiana of Merida and Badajoz, the Guadalquiver has Andujar, Cordova, and Seville.

"From Badajos to Madrid," says Mr. Semple, "not a single town or village, near which we passed, had the air of neatness or of thriving. Vast tracts of the finest soil are left uncultivated; and a general appearance of wretchedness is spread over a country which, under proper administration, might be rendered the finest in Europe. Travelling from Madrid to Cadiz, we observe, on the contrary, that no sooner have we gained the summit of the Sierra Morena, and begin to descend to the south-west, than the country begins to wear a more pleasing appearance. The villages are neater, the houses better built, and the fields better cultivated; but, above all, the inhabitants seem more cheerful, better clothed,* and better fed. Such is the case, more or less, throughout Andalusia." †

M. Peyron tells us, that La Mancha is the most cheerful country in Spain; that is, as he explains himself, the province in which the inhabitants sing and dance the most. "Their songs and seguidillas," he adds, "are peculiar to that part of the kingdom;

* "In Andalusia, the cloak and hat are of the same form as those of the more northern provinces, but the under dress is much more gay. The breeches have handsome gilt buttons of filagree work all along the seam from the hip to the knee, and the white cotton stocking is bound under it by a silk cord and tassel. The jacket is also ornamented profusely with gilt hanging buttons, and is made of stuff, silk, or cloth, according to the taste or means of the wearer. The waistcoat is generally of a gaudy pattern or plain white; and the middling and less affluent orders take peculiar pride in displaying a snow-white shirt, with a neatly plaited frill and an open collar. They very seldom wear a neck-cloth of any sort. Their dress is eminently becoming."—QUIN'S *Visit*, p. 296.

† Semple, vol. i. pp. 200—205.

and to singing and dancing, the Manchegas add the merit of poetry.....The stranger is astonished at seeing a labourer in the dress of Sancho Panza, and wearing a broad leathern girdle, dancing with grace, precision, and measure."* There is no labourer or female peasant, he tells us, who is not well acquainted with Don Quixote and Sancho; and in the *venta* of Quesada, there is a well which still bears his name. Labored gives a statement in flat contradiction to his learned countryman, but, as is usual with him, not a little at variance with itself. Thus, he tells us, the people differ little in their manners from those of Castile, but are still more grave, formal, and solemn, taking no pleasure in any sort of dissipation or even

* "I was surprised to find, (at El Viso, at the foot of the Sierra,) the difference which a few leagues had made in the appearance of the people. An old man was seated at the door of the *posada*, who was dressed in a dark-coloured cloth waistcoat and breeches; the breeches tied at the knee, and hanging over the tie to the calf of his leg; black stockings and *montora*, with a cloak of the same coloured cloth as his waistcoat. He had a thin face, sallow complexion, long black hair, and a grisly beard of some three weeks' growth; his deportment was grave and solemn, and his countenance pensive and severe. Though he was the landlord of the inn, he paid little attention to me, and it was with some trouble that I drew him into conversation; however, at length, I found him very conversant in the affairs of the village; but his ideas did not carry him many miles beyond it. Most of the men of the town were clothed in the same manner, with this dark-coloured cloth, which is made of the undyed wool of black sheep, each family fabricating a sufficient quantity for its own use. The women wore jackets and aprons of the like stuff, with a kind of linsey-woolsey petticoat, red stockings, beads and many trinkets about their necks, with their black hair tied behind, the smarter girls wearing silver combs. Every one seemed to have a more sedate appearance and more mysterious air than I had seen in Andalusia. I have been told, and I find it true, that, to read Don Quixote with satisfaction, a man must visit this province; for the people are almost as romantic now as in his days."—DALRYMPLE'S *Travels* (1775), p. 29

of diversion; yet, they are mild, peaceable, and truly good-humoured, as well as laborious and frugal; nevertheless, owing to the deadness of trade, the people are miserable; scarcely any thing is to be seen but the traces of wretchedness; and a great number of the country people are in want of bread three parts of the year. Mr. Semple, on the contrary, "could not help noticing that the towns and villages through which he had passed," between Ocaña and Mudela, were in general "neater and better built than those on the road from Lisbon to Madrid;" and he praises the bread and wine he met with in the posadas. Thus do travellers differ. One fact, indeed, mentioned by Laborde, is a decisive refutation of his statement respecting their extreme misery. "La Mancha," he says, "is less populous than formerly, as is evident from the ruins of which the towns and villages are full. The depopulation, however, has been infinitely less than in New Castile; for, in La Mancha, you find only eleven places formerly inhabited which are now abandoned, whereas in the former province there are no fewer than 194. The real population, according to the survey of 1787-8, amounted to 206,160 persons." Thus, in point of fact, La Mancha appears to have been less subjected to the causes of depopulation, and may therefore be presumed to have suffered less misery, than many other parts of Spain. The province contains 111 parishes, two cities, (Ciudad Real, the capital of Upper Mancha, and Ocaña, the chief town of Lower Mancha,) 121 towns, 46 villages, and 78 convents. It is 43 leagues long and 33 broad, lying between New Castile on the north, Valencia and Murcia on the east, Cordova and Jaen on the south, and Estremadura on the west.

La Mancha is partly surrounded with mountains,

belonging to the chain anciently known as the *Montes Orospedani*. The most considerable of these mountains is the Sierra d'Alcaraz, running from north to south towards the eastern part of Jaen. Then, turning westward, they form the grand lateral range of the Sierra Morena, or Brown Mountains (the *Montes Mariani* of the Romans), which extend as far as Estremadura, dividing La Mancha from Andalusia. These mountains begin a few miles from Mudela in coming from the north, and nothing can exceed the bleakness and barrenness of their appearance; either covered entirely with brown heath, or presenting at intervals masses of rock and the shattered sides of mountains, disclosing their inmost strata.* "But it is not till we have ascended considerably," says Mr. Semple, "and into the heart of these mountains, that we see all their grandeur. This is principally between the Venta de Cardenas, four leagues from Mudela, and the small village of Santa Elena, two leagues further. Here, travelling along excellent roads, we beheld beneath us, on the left, a deep valley strewed with immense masses of stone, while, on the opposite side, the rocks project with peculiar grandeur, rising almost perpendicularly from their bases to the height of 700 or 800 feet. Their dark grey surface is contrasted with the tall trees which clothe their base. A small stream runs in the bottom of the valley, and, in summer, hardly creeps among the broken rocks. It was now (October 25) a resistless torrent, tumbling down huge stones, and dashing them against each other with violence and a sharp noise. One circumstance was wanting to complete the sublimity of the

* "In the higher regions of the Sierra, we find the granite: but, as we descend, the schist again appears, with limestone and gypsum."—TOWNSEND, vol. ii. p. 290.

scene; but it was wanting only for a short time. Dark clouds collected rapidly on the summits of the mountains, the lightning began to gleam, the bursting thunders seemed to roll down the valleys, and the rain fell in torrents. Such was the howling of the wind and rain, that the noise of the torrent in the bottom of the valley was more faintly heard, and sounded as if removed to a greater distance. O for the pencil of a Salvator Rosa to sketch the pass of the Sierra Morena! What must it have been before these excellent roads were formed, and when numerous bands of robbers infested the mountains!* The small village of Santa Elena stands on the summit of the pass, and where, indeed, it may be said to end. From this height, there is an extensive view in every direction; and the traveller retraces with pleasure his first entrance into these mountains soon after leaving Mudela, until a constant ascent of nearly six leagues has brought him on a level with their summits. The

* Between fifty and sixty years ago, this district was the terror of travellers. "After having passed the town of El Viso, they ascended the Sierra Morena at the risk of their lives, over one of its most rugged and uneven precipices, called *Puerto del Rey*. Le Maur, a Frenchman, and long attached to the corps of engineers in Spain, was chosen by Count Florida Blanca, in 1779, to endeavour to render practicable a road more frequented than any in the kingdom. In spite of the difficulties presented by the ground, Le Maur constructed one of the finest high roads in Europe. This he accomplished by means of bridges and masonry, with which he faced the declivities, on the one hand, while, on the other, he erected walls breast-high; feeble ramparts, it is true, but which enable the traveller to roll along the brink of precipices without danger and without apprehension. Such is the nature of the road until we arrive at Despeñaperros, a spot where the rocks approach so close as to form a kind of arch over the heads of the passengers. At the bottom of the valley runs a stream, the waters of which were intended to feed a canal projected by Le Maur. A little further on, we find the stage of *Las Correderas*, a cluster of cottages in the midst of the mountains."—BOURGOING, vol. iii. p. 76.

whole of this road is excellent, especially where it leads in a zigzag up the sides of the steepest hills. From Santa Elena we constantly descend towards the S. or S.S.W. by a road equally excellent, until we reach La Carolina, a distance of two leagues, during which small white houses with orchards continually present themselves, having an effect doubly pleasing after passing through such barren scenery."*

But we are now to travel northward, and having crossed the Brown Mountain, shall suppose ourselves to have passed through Almuradiel, the last village in the Sierra, and to have reached Santa Cruz de Mudela, the first town in La Mancha, commanding the view of a fertile plain.† A stage of two leagues from this place brings us to Val de Peñas, a town containing a fine square and upwards of 2,000 inhabitants,‡ and famous for the wine produced in the neighbourhood, reckoned some of the best in Spain. When properly kept, Mr. Semple says, it has a flavour between Burgundy and claret. The town lies in a valley "teeming with oil, wine, and wheat," and even the low sloping hills in the neighbourhood are green

* Soon after the commencement of the peninsular war, La Carolina was the seat of the central assembly formed by the *juntas* of Ciudad Real and the four kingdoms of Andalusia, who met to consult upon speedy measures for fortifying the gorge of Despeñaperros; "this pass of the Sierra Morena being considered," says Dr Southey, "as the Thermopylæ where the progress of this new barbarian might be withstood."—*History of the Pen. War*, vol. i. p. 741. Dupont, however, had crossed the Sierra without opposition the June preceding; and the armies who had scaled the Pyrenees were not to be barricadoed out of Andalusia by the Sierra Morena.

† Near this village, Laborde says, there is a rich and productive mine of antimony. The old road led through El Viso, leaving Mudela on the left.

‡ So says Mr. Quin, in 1823. Mr. Townsend, in 1786, says 7,651 souls.

with cultivation. Four leagues further, over a level country, is Manzanares, a small but neat town on the banks of the Gijuela, a small stream which soon falls into the Guadiana: the land produces corn, saffron, and wine. When Mr. Townsend passed through this place in 1786, it contained, in 1800 families, 6,768 souls; "which proportion," he remarks, "is a sufficient index of their poverty: the houses are built with mud, and the poor are almost naked." Mr. Semple says, that the town carries on a considerable trade, and has an appearance of business; and Mr. Quin describes it as handsome, but estimates the population as low as 1600. The sanguinary conflicts of which La Mancha has been the theatre since Mr. Townsend travelled, sufficiently account for all such discrepancies. Villarte, three leagues further, on the banks of the Gijuela, was formerly a flourishing place, where the wool of the province was manufactured into coarse stuffs; but it was reduced to a heap of ruins by the French, on account of the resistance they met with from its inhabitants. They unroofed the houses, and shattered their walls with grape-shot; and since then, few of the houses have been rebuilt. The remnant of the town presented, in 1823, a most miserable aspect. The road continues over the same level country, well cultivated with wheat and olives, to Puerto Lapiche, (or La Pice), situated between two hills. The soil is a loose sand of quartz, which, wherever it is watered by *norias*, produces excellent corn: the rock is granite. Three leagues further is Madridejos, a neat little town, where Mr. Quin was struck with discovering "humble imitations" of the more elegant *patios* which occupy the centre of the houses in the south. The population is loosely stated by Laborde at 8,000, and he mentions a woollen manufactory.

For the next four leagues, to Tembleque, the country is flat but fertile, the corn growing to the very edge of the road. This town contained, in 1786, about 2,000 families and a monastery of Cordeliers. There was also a saltpetre-manufactory here. Near this town is a small lake, formed by the rains which descend in winter from the neighbouring hills, and which of course diminishes in size as the summer advances. Its banks are the resort of large flocks of wild fowl. Two leagues further over a naked plain, lead to La Guardia, a miserable town on the summit of a range of broken ground, to which Laborde assigns 4,000 inhabitants. It was formerly a place of strength, and was long defended by the Moors. At a distance, it presents the singular appearance of natural fortifications with regular outworks. To the north of this low range is a deep and fertile valley, in which are several high detached mounts with sharp summits. At the end of three leagues more, the traveller reaches Ocaña, the chief town in the Lower Mancha, situated on the summit of a steep hill. It is an ancient place, but contains nothing remarkable. There are four parish-churches, six monasteries, and five nunneries. In the days of its prosperity under the Grand Masters of the Order of St. Jago, it carried on a considerable trade in gloves. At a distance, it has still an imposing appearance, which is speedily dispelled on a nearer view. The population, in 1786, was nearly 5,000 souls.* Immediately below Ocaña, the traveller enters New Castile.

* Mr. Quin says, about 1,500 inhabitants; a palpable mistake, since he afterwards represents Tembleque as half the size of Ocaña, and Madridejos as half the size of Tembleque. Ocaña was the scene of a disastrous and obstinately contested battle in November 1809, between the Spaniards under Areizaga, and the

The Mesa (plain) of Ocaña, is the most fertile pa t of La Mancha, and the most corn is grown here; but, like the greater part of this province, it is entirely bare of timber. Scarcely a single tree is to be seen in some places for many leagues round. Near Ciudad Real, however, the country is very pleasant, covered, Laborde says, with vines, olives, and a variety of other trees, and the rich plain in which it stands, is said to be productive in fruit. This city, the residence of the intendant of La Mancha, is regularly laid out, with wide, well-paved streets, and its woollen manufactories and tanneries once rendered it a flourishing place. Its population is now reduced, Laborde says, to between 8 and 9,000 persons. The distance from Ocaña to Ciudad Real, is nineteen leagues; through Tembleque, Consuegra, and Fernan Cavallero, and by the *Ojos de la Guadiana.* Another road, "straight and level," leads from Ocaña to Murcia and Valencia, through Villatobas, Corral de Almaguer, Quintenar de la Orden, La Mota del Cuervo, Minaya, and Roda. Most of these places are in a decayed state. Woods of holm-oaks occur in some parts, but the land is for the most part bare of timber. On an eminence near La Mota del Cuervo, fourteen wind-mills call to mind the first exploit of the hero of Cervantes. But in fact, these are to be seen, Mr. Townsend says, in the vicinity of every village, as may be expected in a corn country, where there are no streams to turn a water-wheel.*

"There is not perhaps in all Europe," remarks M. Bourgoing, "a country more uniform than the twenty-

French under Mortier and Victor) which terminated in the total defeat of the former.

* They are all very small and low, and at a distance have an appearance not very unlike gigantic figures.

two tedious leagues between Tembleque and Almoradiel, and nothing can be more monotonous than the view of such a dreary horizon. For two, sometimes three hours, not a single human dwelling appears to relieve the eye. The view extends without interruption over immense plains, the vegetation of which has a gloomy appearance, more from the heat of the sun than from the nature of the soil. Some thinly scattered olive-plantations occasionally relieve the tedious uniformity. This sameness, however, does not prevail throughout the whole province. To the westward of Tembleque and Madridejos, are some extensive villages of a more lively appearance than these bare plains. Charles III. usually visited Yevenes, a village twelve leagues from Aranjuez, once in two years, to enjoy the amusements of the chase. It commands a beautiful and spacious valley covered with olive-plantations, on the opposite side of which the old castle of Consuegra rises from the top of a chain of hills." In fact, it is evident that La Mancha, though for the most part flat, bare, and uninviting, and in some parts exposed to drought from the want of rivers, is capable of becoming a fertile, flourishing, and populous province. It can hardly be supposed that the absence of timber is natural to a soil producing rich wine, wheat, barley, oats, and some of the finest olives. Laborde says, that a dwarf-chesnut is indigenous. The pine and the holm-oak are also found here; and near the towns are *alamedas* and orchards. It is probable, that the plains have been laid bare partly by the flames of war, partly by design. Under a good government, and with a better system of husbandry, by means of Moorish *norias*, and with English cottages and English hedge-rows, these fine plains might be made to smile with rural beauty and abundance

Having now entered New Castile, at two leagues from Ocaña we arrive at the royal hunting-seat (*sitio*) of Aranjuez; the name of which, the Spanish antiquaries will have it, is derived from *Ara Jovis*, and we are to gather from this, that a temple dedicated to Jupiter once stood here. The valley of Aranjuez is one of the most delightful spots in the country: such, at least, is the impression it makes on a traveller coming from the parched and naked plains of La Mancha or New Castile. The Xarama flows along the hills which form the northern side, while the Tagus, entering it at the east end, winds along it for nearly two leagues, and then receives the tribute of the former stream. The road through the valley for the distance of nearly a league, is bordered with double rows of lofty elms, the resort, in spring, of nightingales who sing all the day long. The most luxuriant vegetation is every where exhibited, and the meadows preserve a perennial verdure. The palace, which is much in the style of an old French chateau, is finely situated. The Tagus, which runs at right angles with the eastern façade, after flowing along the parterre, forms an artificial cascade almost under the windows. A small branch which escapes from the cascade, approaches so near the walls, as to admit of royal angling from the terrace: then, uniting with the principal stream, it forms a delightful island, which is laid out in gardens. In one part of the grounds, a small dock-yard has been formed, where ship-building in miniature was carried on for the amusement of the royal owner. Further on is a kind of harbour, defended by a battery, where some gondolas and small frigates elegantly decorated lay at anchor, ready to afford their majesties

the pleasure of an aquatic excursion or of a naval combat.

"Great princes have great playthings."

In another part, a small lake has been formed, out of which rises a *kiosk*, and near it is moored a Chinese bark; but the effect is incongruous and petty. Nature, however, has every where done so much for this spot, and the rich variety of exotic trees and plants have succeeded so well, that the gardens altogether, though on a level surface, form, at the proper season, one of the most charming promenades in Europe. The vegetable treasures of both hemispheres contribute their colours and perfumes to the royal bowers.

"The situation of this palace," says Swinburne, "renders it one of the most agreeable residences I know, belonging to a sovereign prince. It stands in a very large plain, surrounded with bare, ugly hills,* but which are well hidden by the noble rows of trees that extend across the flat in every direction. The compartments between the avenues are railed off, and laid down in pasture and meadow for the supply of the large dairy of cows.† That part of the vale which stretches out towards the east, is left in a ruder state, and, except some few fields of corn, is mostly forest land, through which the Tagus winds in a deep, shady bed. The walks and rides along the banks, through the venerable groves, and under the majestic elms that overhang the roads, are luxuries unknown to the rest of Spain. The beauties of the scenery are en-

* They have since been planted.

† These cows were brought from Holland by order of Charles III. Buffaloes and camels were also brought here, and made to serve as beasts of burden; and at the same period, two zebras, two *guanacos* (Peruvian sheep), and an elephant might be seen sporting or feeding in a meadow contiguous to the road.

haaced by the flocks of many-coloured birds that flutter and sing on the boughs, by the herds of deer, (amounting, in 1776, to not less than 7,000 head,) and by the droves of buffaloes, cows, sheep, and brood-mares, that wander uncontrolled through all these woods. Wild boars are frequently seen in the evenings in the very streets of the town.

"The finest avenue, called the *Calle de la Reyna*, is three miles long, quite straight from the palace gate, crossing the Tagus twice before it loses itself in the thickets, where some noble, spreading elms and weeping poplars hang beautifully over the deep still pool. Near this road is a flower-garden for spring, laid out with great taste by Mr. Wall, during his ministry. The gay variety of flowers at this time of the year (May the 3d), is particularly pleasing to the eye; but its beauty soon fades on the approach of summer. As the weather grows hot, the company retire to the garden in an island on the Tagus, on the north side of the palace. This is a heavenly place, cut into various walks and circular lawns, which in their primitive state may have been very stiff and formal, but in the course of a century, nature has obliterated the regular forms of art. The trees have swelled out beyond the line traced for them, and destroyed the enfilade, by advancing into the walks or retiring from them. The sweet flowering shrubs, instead of being clipped and kept down, have been allowed to shoot up into trees, and hang over the statues and fountains, to which they were originally meant to serve as humble fences. The *jets d'eau* dash up among the trees, and add fresh verdure to the leaves. The terraces and balustrades built along the river, are now overgrown with roses and other luxuriant bushes, hanging down into the stream, which is darkened by the large trees

growing on the opposite banks. Many of the statues, groupes, and fountains are handsome, some masterly, the works of Algardi. All are placed in charming points of view, either in open circular spots, at a distance from the trees, or else in gloomy arbours and retired angles of the wood."*

The embellishments of Aranjuez are modern. The first monarch who established his residence here, was Charles the Fifth, who began the building of the palace inhabited by his successors. Ferdinand VI. and Charles III. added each a new wing. Under Ferdinand VI., Aranjuez had scarcely any thing to shew but the palace. Some ruinous houses, scattered over an uneven piece of ground, at some distance from the royal habitation, served for the dwellings of the attendants upon the court and the ambassadors.† These have given way to houses uniformly built with elegant simplicity. The principal streets are shaded with two

* Swinburne, vol. ii. pp. 128—132.

† The Marquis de Grimaldi, sometime prime-minister, was the author of the plan upon which the new village was built. He had filled a diplomatic situation at the Hague, where, says Bourgoing, he conceived the idea of founding a Dutch town in the centre of Castile. "The village formerly consisted," says Swinburne, "of the palace, its offices, and a few miserable huts, where the ambassadors and the attendants of the court endeavoured to lodge themselves as well as they could, but always very uncomfortably: many of the habitations were vaults half under ground. What determined the king to build a new town, and to embellish the environs, was an accident that happened at the nuncio's. A coach broke through the ceiling of his dining-room, and fell in upon the table. The court then began to apply very considerable sums to the purpose of erecting proper dwellings for the great number of persons who flock to the place where the sovereign resides. Nearly ten thousand are supposed to live here during two or three months in spring. The king keeps one hundred and fifteen sets of mules, which require a legion of men to take care of them. Half a million sterling has been laid out at Aranjuez since the year 1763; and it must be acknowledged, that wonders have been performed Several

rows of trees, at the foot of which runs a clear stream of water. All of them are perfectly straight and very wide; too broad, Bourgoing says, in proportion to the lowness of the houses and the heat of the climate. The village is separated from the palace by an extensive but irregular square, decorated with a fountain. A piazza on each side, almost entirely covered, runs along its whole length, beginning at the end of the principal streets, and forming a part of the enclosure of this square, till it unites with the adjoining buildings of the palace. The royal chapel is new, and built in good style. There are besides it three churches in the *Sitio*: the most modern belongs to a Franciscan monastery. Opposite the church is a royal hospital. The palace contained, in 1800, upwards of 400 pictures, among which were several by Guido, Guercino, and Poussin, it having been enriched with the spoils of St. Ildefonso. Since then, the French plunderers have been here. Aranjuez has been repeatedly lost and won, sharing the fate of Madrid; and in 1823, the gardens were falling to decay. The late king, who preferred Aranjuez to all his other palaces, used to visit it early in January, and remain there till the end of June. It then becomes a very undesirable and indeed unhealthy residence. "As the dog-days approach," says Bourgoing, "when the hot air stagnated in the valley is loaded with the exhalations of a muddy and sluggish river, and with the nitrous

fine streets drawn in straight lines with broad pavements, a double row of trees before the houses, and a very noble road between them, commodious hotels for the ministers and ambassadors, great squares, markets, churches, a theatre, and an amphitheatre for bull-feasts, have been raised from the ground. Neatness and convenience have been more studied and sought for than show in the architecture; but altogether, the place has something magnificent in the *coup d'œil*."—SWINBURNE, vol. ii. p. 133.

vapours taken up by the sun from the hills between which the Tagus flows, then is this vale of Tempe pregnant with disease and death. Every person then removes from Aranjuez, seeking a more wholesome atmosphere upon the neighbouring heights, particularly in the little town of Ocaña; and Aranjuez, which, during May and June, was the rendezvous of all who are eager for pleasure or for health, containing a population of 10,000 souls, now becomes a desert, where those alone remain who are prevented leaving it either by their avocations or their poverty."

A wooden bridge over the Tagus leads from Aranjuez along the beautiful alameda, to a handsome bridge over the Xarama, erected in 1761. Here the traveller with reluctance ascends by a gentle slope from this beautiful vale. At the end of two leagues he reaches Val de Moros (Valley of the Moors), a small town formerly celebrated for its trade, as well as for having been for some time the residence of the Moorish kings, its founders. The vicinity is rich in oil, wheat, and wine. Several small villages are seen in the course of the next league, leading to the small town of Pinto, situated in an agreeable plain, which is believed to be the most central part of Spain. At length, at the end of three leagues further over an open plain, generally bare, but cultivated, the traveller crosses the shallow stream of the Manzanares by the magnificent bridge of Toledo, and soon arrives at the gates of

MADRID.

MADRID, like St. Petersburgh, owes its origin as a capital to political considerations and the caprice of the sovereign. Its site being nearly in the centre of Spain, it has been considered as the best adapted for the foundation of a new metropolis, although it pos-

sesses no other local advantages.* The air, indeed, is reckoned pure, but the climate is variable and far from genial; the cold of winter being extremely severe, and the summer heat overwhelming. By going only thirty or forty miles southward, many advantageous and beautiful situations might have been chosen, either on the banks of the Tagus, or on the hills of Toledo. But it would seem that the royal founder was determined to fix his capital on a site which no Roman, Gothic, or Moorish sovereign had thought worthy of preoccupying. Till Philip II. removed his court to this place, Madrid was only an obscure town, in a naked and sterile district, destitute alike of trees and verdure: it belonged to the archbishops of Toledo. As if in contempt of the noble river which washes the ancient capital, Madrid is built on the banks of the Manzanares, one of its tributaries, which in summer is a mere rivulet creeping through a wide bed of sand. Overlooking the defects of the situation, Madrid must be admitted to be one of the finest, though at the same time one of the dullest cities in Europe. The houses are lofty and built of stone; the streets are well paved and clean; and the public edifices, not being blacked with smoke, look as if they were newly erected. Next to the palaces and churches, the greatest ornaments of the city are its gates, resembling so many triumphal arches, and the *Prado*. The erection of these gates was the glory of Charles III., who has

* The choice of this position for the capital "serves to display," remarks Mr. Semple, perhaps somewhat too sarcastically, "the Spanish idea of greatness of mind, as consisting in choosing advantageous mathematical points, without regard to other circumstances, and then forcing nature to bend to their views." Other travellers have made a similar remark on the national peculiarity observable in their public works,—an unbending spirit, not always under the guidance of sagacity.—See vol. i. p. 114.

taken due care to record his name upon them in long inscriptions; but it has been remarked, that he forgot to add walls to them. "Beautiful gates," says Mr. Semple, "are placed here and there in a miserable wall which a few three-pounders would batter down in an hour:* so strangely are magnificence and poverty here blended together." The gate of Alcala (leading towards Saragossa) is particularly magnificent. "The order of the structure is Ionic; and it derives no small part of its noble effect from the situation in which it is placed. When the French attacked Madrid in 1808, their artillery exercised much ingenuity in endeavouring to deface the ornaments and columns of this gate. They fired through it repeatedly, and the marks of balls are still to be seen on the outside part of the structure, where they succeeded in breaking some of the capitals, and mutilating the statuary.

"The stranger," continues Mr. Quin, "who catches a first view of Madrid upon entering by the gate of Alcala, is apt to form high expectations of its extent and magnificence. He sees before him the long, wide street of Alcala, formed on both sides by a line of princely houses, and having a slight but graceful bend, which gives it rather the appearance of a vista in painting, than of reality. Upon advancing a little, he finds himself in full view of the *prado*, or public walk, which extends to a considerable distance on his right, and, on his left hand, reaches to a boundary which his eye cannot perceive. This latter part of the *prado* it is which is most frequented. The central walk, which is very wide, is called the *salon*.

* The wall sufficiently answers its design, if Dalrymple be correct: "it is enclosed with a view to prevent the introduction of the various articles of subsistence, &c., without paying the impost."

At each side of the *salon*, there are several narrow walks, which, being thickly shaded by lofty elm-trees, give the *prado* the appearance of a noble avenue to some royal palace. The space between the extremity of the *salon* and the gate of Atocha (leading to Aranjuez), which is very nearly a mile, is also abundantly planted with elms laid out in walks, and, as well as the *salon*, and the other parts of the *prado*, decorated with fountains, which are embellished in an excellent style of workmanship.

"Adjoining the *prado* are public gardens, called *Las Delicias*....These are chiefly frequented in summer, because their walks are more umbrageous than those of the *prado*, and they are cooled by a large basin of limpid water, round which are fountains that ever yield a pure and salubrious spring, the greatest luxury of a warm climate. Near these are the botanical gardens, also open to the public. Immediately beyond the basin of *Las Delicias* are to be seen some remains of the royal palace of *El Retiro*, once so famous for the extent and beauty of its gardens, its woodland shades, its fish-ponds, fountains, theatre, and other various curiosities. It was turned into a fortress by the French, who levelled all the trees around it, and made a desert of this once beautiful situation. Upon Ferdinand's return, he ordered this palace to be repaired; but little progress had been made when the Revolution broke out, which prevented him from pursuing his wishes. No injury, however, was done to good taste by the occurrence of this impediment, as the style in which the new buildings were commenced is Chinese. One or two of them are finished, and, so far as they go, resemble parts of the palace at Brighton. By some good fortune, the equestrian statue of Philip IV. was preserved from

the rage of the modern Vandals. It still remains in the grounds of *El Retiro*, and deserves never to perish.*

"On the fine Sunday afternoons of winter, between two and five o'clock, the *prado* is generally fully attended. The ladies are all, with perhaps no more than a dozen exceptions, dressed in black silk gowns and shawls of various colours, but mostly violet. They appear in their hair, having no other covering on the head than the very slight one of a black or white lace veil, which is gracefully attached to the hair-knot on the top, so as to shew a gold or tortoise-shell comb, and falls freely over the shoulders: sometimes it is let down over the face; but generally it is folded back over the forehead, and drawn together under the chin by the hand, thus advantageously shading the countenance. This dress is so becoming, that, in contemplating it, one scarcely feels the want of variety. Every woman looks well in it; and when the figure and countenance are really handsome, they shine with double lustre in this national costume. The handsomest women in Madrid are mostly from the provinces. The genuine Madrilenians are less remarkable for their beauty than, perhaps, those of any other province. The men appear almost universally enveloped in large cloaks, which give them a gravity of aspect perfectly in keeping with the serious, pensive turn of their minds. The hats of the gentlemen are like those worn in England. When speaking to each other, their gesture is more varied

* This statue was cast at Florence. The posture of the horse curvetting, supported by his hind feet and tail, is very ingenious; and it appears difficult to conceive, Swinburne remarks, how the artist could contrive to preserve the equilibrium of such a mass entirely thrown out of its perpendicular.

and even more passionate than that of the French. They speak with great distinctness of articulation, and at the same time with amazing fluency. "The mornings and evenings of the winters in Madrid, are usually very cold. In England, a cold winter is considered as salubrious; here it is the contrary; for Madrid is seated so high above the level of the sea, that its atmosphere is very thin; * and a cold northern wind, which seems scarcely strong enough to extinguish a lamp, pierces to the heart, and not unfrequently freezes the very sources of life. Pulmonary complaints, brought on by this excessive cold, are common, and so rapid in their progress, that the sufferer is carried to his grave in three or four days. Sometimes, these imperceptible blasts act on the limbs exposed to them like a palsy; and they are the more dangerous as they chiefly haunt the atmosphere immediately after a brilliant and warm sunshine has left it. Hence, at this season, the Spaniards are seen muffled up to the eyes in their cloaks. By thus covering the lower part of the countenance, they breathe a warm air, a precaution almost indispensable to their safety.

"The street of Alcala, superb in every other respect, is inconvenient for pedestrians on account of the narrowness of the footway and the roughness of the pavement. In snowy or rainy weather, this inconvenience is much increased, as the footway is placed exactly under the pipes which convey the water from the roofs of the houses. These pipes project a little from the parapets, and the collected rain falls from their heights on the footway below; the simple

* Madrid is situated as high above the level of the sea as Inspruck, in one of the highest defiles of the Tyrol.—See vol. i. p. 10, and vol. ii. p. 59.

addition of a perpendicular conduit either not having been thought of, or having been deemed too expensive. A want of cleanliness is also as observable in the streets of Madrid as in those of Paris. The ante-hall of the principal houses is generally left exposed to every sort of passenger. Sometimes a poor old woman establishes in it her little stall of bread and fruit and asses' milk; but even this is no safeguard against its violation.* Beyond the front door, which is generally open, there is an interior one, which is as generally shut. The visiter pulls a bell-rope, which hangs near the door, on which a servant appears at a small square, grated aperture in the door, and demands his name or business. In the higher order of houses, a porter attends in the ante-hall, from which the stairs directly ascend. The higher classes live up stairs, the ground-floor apartments being allotted to the use of the servants, or stored with lumber.

"After leaving the street of *Alcala*, the only magnificent one in Madrid, you enter a kind of square, called *Puerta del Sol* (Gate of the Sun). It was formerly one of the gates of entrance to the capital, but since the erection of the street of Alcala, and other additions on that side, it is now almost in the centre of Madrid, and is used as the exchange. In the mornings and evenings, this place is crowded with persons, who attend, however, less for commercial purposes, than to talk about the news, and lounge away an hour or two. The street of *La Montera*, opening

* The nuisance alluded to is inside the porches of the houses, for the streets of Madrid are extremely clean. Few towns, Laborde says, pay such attention to this object: and Swinburne, after describing the three principal streets terminating in the *prado* as excellently paved and clean even to a nicety, adds, "so, indeed, are most of the streets of Madrid."

from the *Puerta del Sol*, is also much frequented by loungers. There are in it several gay and handsome shops, but they are not remarkable for richness. The trade of Madrid is limited to its own population (about 142,000), and is therefore inconsiderable for the metropolis of such a country as Spain. A little business is done in the morning: less in the evening. From one to half-past three in the afternoon, the shops are all shut, as then the proprietors and their families are at their dinner, or taking their *siesta*." *

The *Plaza Mayor* † is nearer the centre of the city. It forms a long, rectangular area, 370 feet in length and 287 in breadth. The sides are ornamented with piazzas, supported by pillars of freestone. The houses are all five stories high; and the rows of windows being all in the same line, and provided with uniform iron balconies, there is something striking in the *coup d'œil*. In summer, all the windows are shaded with curtains thrown across the balconies.

Madrid stands on several low hills, in the midst of an immense plain, bounded, on the side of Old Castile, by the mountains of Guadarama; on every other side, it seems to have no other boundary than the horizon. The city stands in lat. 40° 25′ 7″ N., long. 3° 33′ 8″ W. It is reckoned to be a hundred leagues from the frontiers of France on the side of Bayonne, one hundred from the frontier of Portugal, and one hundred from the Straits of Gibraltar; 650 miles

* Quin's Visit to Spain, pp. 112—118.

† This *plaza* by no means warrants, according to Bourgoing, the enthusiastic commendation of the Spaniards. When illuminated, however, it exhibits a grand appearance. Formerly, the *autos da fe* were celebrated in this place, with all their tremendous apparatus. It was also the theatre of the bull-fights, and is used as a market-place.

S.S.W. of Paris, and 850 W. by S. of Rome. The most ancient part is nearest the river; and here it presents only narrow streets, crooked lanes, and blind alleys, like those in the old city of Paris. To the north and east of this, receding from the river, the streets are wider, and affect some degree of symmetry. This portion of the city, including the *Plaza Mayor*, terminates at the *Puerta del Sol*. At length, when Philip II. removed his court to this city, the nobility erected palaces beyond the former limits; and the *Puerta del Sol* is now the centre of the whole. In 1786, Madrid contained, according to Mr. Townsend, in its fifteen parishes, 7,398 houses, 32,745 families, 147,543 individuals, 66 convents, 16 colleges, 18 hospitals, five prisons, and 15 gates built of granite. Laborde states the population, in 1788, at 156,270 souls, including 8,618 nobles, 576 priests, 1,892 monks, 820 nuns, 595 advocates, 257 clerks, 727 students, 17,273 domestics. But, including the garrison, consisting of from 8 to 10,000 foreigners, and occasional residents, it might amount, he supposes, to 200,000 persons. The births, in 1788, amounted to 4,897; the deaths, to 5,915. In 1797, the former were reckoned at 4,911, the latter at 4,441. Since then, the population has been continually fluctuating. Mr. Semple estimates it, in 1805, at 250,000 souls. Mr. Quin, without giving his authority, in 1803, at about 142,000. Mr. Swinburne thus describes its appearance in 1776.

"If you except the royal palaces, there are few buildings in Madrid worthy of attention; nor do I believe there is in Europe a capital that has so little to shew as this. Having never been the see of a bishop, it has, of course, no cathedral, nor, indeed, any church that distinguishes itself much from the common run of parishes and convents. Allowing some

exceptions, I think I may safely pronounce the outward architecture of them all to be barbarous, and their manner of ornamenting the inside, as bad as that of the worst ages. Most of them were erected or retouched during the term of years that elapsed between the middle of the seventeenth century and the year 1759, a period in the history of Spain when all arts and sciences were fallen to the lowest ebb. The degeneracy of manners, the want of public spirit, the vices in the political system under the three last princes of the Austrian line, the wars, too, that shook the very foundations of their throne for the first ten years of this century, kept all the polite arts grovelling in the dust; and when they ventured to raise their heads, and court the favour of the sovereign, there seems to have been a total want of able professors to second their efforts, and assist them in returning to the paths of good sense and true taste. No mad architect ever dreamed of a distortion of members so capricious, of a twist of pillars, cornices, or pediments so wild and fantastic, but what a real sample of it may be produced in some or other of the churches of Madrid. They are all small, and poor in marbles as well as in pictures. Their altars are piles of wooden ornaments heaped up to the ceiling, and stuck full of wax lights, which more than once have set fire to the whole church. The tombs of Ferdinand VI. and of his queen, Barbara, in the church of the Visitation, are almost the only sepulchral monuments of any interest.

"The first king that made any long abode in Madrid, was Henry IV.* Before his reign, it was

* Laborde states, that Alfonso VI. is *said* to have laid the foundations of the royal palace; that it was sacked by the Moors in 1109; overthrown by an earthquake in the reign of Pedro the Cruel;

but an insignificant place, with a small castle for the convenience of the princes who came to hunt the boar in the environs, which were then as woody as they are now naked. Its situation on a hill overlooking many leagues of country, open on every side to a wholesome circulation of air, and abundance of good water, induced the Emperor Charles the Fifth to build an ample palace here, which he intended to make his chief residence, as he thought the climate best adapted to his constitution. The sovereign being once fixed at Madrid, the nobility soon abandoned their hereditary castles and houses in other cities, to follow the court. They were under the necessity of settling in the houses they found ready built; and, for that reason, added to the supine indifference that seized the Spaniards during the last two-thirds of the seventeenth century, and nearly half of this, most of the great families still continue to inhabit vast ranges of ugly fabrics, not distinguishable from the common houses in the streets, except by their large dimensions. The palaces of the grandees, that contain either statues or pictures of value, are few in number.

"The old palace was burnt down to the ground in 1734; and Philip Juvara was commissioned by Philip V. to give a plan for rebuilding it in the most splendid manner. The model he made is still in existence, but was rejected on account of the immensity of the size and the greatness of the expense, as well as of the want of sufficient room to place it; the king being

partly rebuilt by Henry of Transtamare, and completed by Henry IV. Charles the Fifth made it his frequent abode; and his son, Philip II., removed the seat of government hither in 1563. In the Succession war, it maintained its loyalty to Philip V., though twice deserted by that monarch on the approach of his rival, in 1706 and 1709.

determined, on account of the air, to have it rebuilt on the exact spot where the old one had stood. Juvara dying before he could prepare a second design, his disciple Sacchetti produced that which has been carried into execution. Both his and his master's plans have the defect of being clumsy and confused in the windows, pilasters, and ornaments: where they have aimed at simplicity, they have sunk their architecture under a load of stone, and where they have studied to be rich and light, they have generally given in to the capricious, rather than the beautiful. It is all of white stone, each of the fronts being 470 feet in length by 100 in height. This pile towers over all the country, where nothing intercepts the view for many miles. The entrances and ground-floor appear more like those of some mighty fortress, than of the peaceable habitation of a powerful monarch, a hundred leagues removed from his frontiers. The range of large glazed arches round the inner court, resembles the inside of a manufactory. This is the more unpardonable, as they had at no great distance, in the Alcazar of Toledo, as elegant a colonnade as the nicest critic could desire. The beautiful circular court of Granada might have suggested noble ideas to the architect; but at that time, perhaps, the very existence of such a thing was a secret at Madrid.*

* Mr. Townsend speaks of this edifice in widely different language: "It is impossible to view the new palace without the most exquisite delight. It presents four fronts, each of 470 feet in length, and 100 feet in height up to the cornice, enclosing a quadrangle of 140 feet. These fronts are relieved by numerous pillars and pilasters, and over the cornice is a balustrade to hide the leaden roof. Within the balustrade, on pedestals, are placed a series of the kings of Spain, from Ataulfo to Ferdinand VI."—*Travels*, vol. i. p. 253. These statues were subsequently removed to the immense vaults of the palace by order of Charles III.

" I know of no palace in Europe fitted up with so much royal magnificence. The ceilings are *chef-d'œuvres* of Mengs, Corrado, and Tiepolo. The richest marbles are employed with great taste in forming the cornices and socles of the rooms, and the frames of the doors and windows. What enhances the value of these marbles is, the circumstance of their being all produced in the quarries of Spain. The great audience-chamber is one of the richest I know. The ceiling, painted by Tiepolo, represents the triumph of Spain. Round the cornice the artist has placed allegorical figures of its different provinces, distinguished by their productions, and attended by their inhabitants in the provincial habit. These form a most uncommon picture, and a curious set of *costumi*. The walls are incrusted with beautiful marble, and all around are hung with large plates of looking-glass in rich frames, from the glass-manufactory at St. Ildefonso, where they cast them of a very great size. A collection of pictures by the greatest masters of the art, adorns the walls of the inner apartments.

" At the bottom of the palace-yard is an old building, called the *Armeria*, containing a curious assortment of antique arms and weapons, kept in a manner that would have made poor Cornelius Scriblerus swoon at every step. No notable housemaid in England has her fire-grates half so bright as these coats of mail. They shew those of all the heroes that dignify the annals of Spain; those of St. Ferdinand, of Ferdinand the Catholic, his wife Isabella, Charles the Fifth, the great Captain Gonsalo, the King of Granada, and many others. Some suits are embossed with great nicety. The temper of the sword-blades is quite wonderful; you may lap them round your waist like a girdle. The art of tempering steel in Toledo

was lost about seventy years ago, and the project of reviving and encouraging it, is one of the favourite schemes of Charles III., who has erected proper works for it on the banks of the Tagus." *

Since Mr. Swinburne travelled, considerable improvements have taken place; but these again have been succeeded by disastrous changes. On the invasion of the Peninsula by the troops of Napoleon in 1808, Madrid was taken possession of by Murat. The Spanish troops in the capital at that time amounted to only 3,000, while in and about Madrid the French had 25,000, who occupied the Buen Retiro, and the heights of Casa del Campo; besides which they had 10,000 in Aranjuez, Toledo, and at the Escurial. Hopeless as was resistance, yet, on the 2d of May, when the last members of the royal family were departing, the inhabitants rose *en masse* against the invaders. The origin of the insurrection is not known; but the alarm and impulse having been given, every man of the lower ranks, who could arm himself with any kind of weapon, ran to attack the French. "There is no other instance upon record," says Dr. Southey, "of an attempt so brave and so utterly hopeless, when all the circumstances are considered. The Spanish troops were locked up in their barracks, and prevented from assisting their countrymen. Many of the French were massacred before they could collect and bring their force to act. But what could the people effect against so great a military force, prepared for such an insurrection, and eager, the leaders from political, the men from personal feelings, to strike a blow which should overawe

* Swinburne, vol. i. pp. 162–177. The most conspicuously placed, Townsend says, is the armour of Montezuma.

the Spaniards, and cause themselves to be respected? The French poured into the city on all sides; their flying artillery was brought up; in some places, the cavalry charged the populace; in others, the streets were cleared by repeated discharges of grape-shot. The great street of Alcala, the Puerta del Sol, and the great square, were the chief scenes of slaughter. In the latter, the people withstood several charges, and the officer who commanded the French had two horses killed under him: General Grouchy also had a horse wounded. The infantry fired volleys into every cross street as they passed, and fired also at the windows and balconies. The people, when they felt the superiority of the French, fled into the houses; the doors were broken open by command of the generals of brigade, Guillot and Daubrai, and all within who were found with arms were bayoneted; and parties of cavalry were stationed at the different outlets of Madrid, to pursue and cut down those who were flying from the town. A part of the mob, seeking an unworthy revenge for their defeat, attacked the French hospital; and some of the Spaniards who were employed within, encouraged at their approach, fell upon the sick and upon their medical attendants. But these base assailants were soon put to flight.

"At the commencement of the conflict, Murat ordered a detachment of 200 men to take possession of the arsenal.* Two officers happened to be upon guard there, by name Daoiz and Vellarde, the former about thirty years of age; the latter, some five years younger, was

* "This building had been the residence of the British ambassador, Sir Benjamin Keene, in the middle of the last century. There he died, and there he was interred, for there is no burial-place for Protestants at Madrid, and the body of a heretic could not be suffered to pollute a Catholic church!"

the person who had been sent to compliment Murat on his arrival in Spain. Little could they have foreseen, when they went that morning to their post, the fate which awaited them, and the renown which was to be its reward! Having got together about twenty soldiers of their corps, and a few countrymen who were willing to stand by them, they brought out a twenty-four pounder in front of the arsenal, to bear upon the straight and narrow street by which the enemy must approach, and planted two others in like manner to command two avenues which led into the street of the arsenal. They had received no instructions; they had no authority for acting thus; and if they escaped in the action, their own Government would, without doubt, either pass or sanction a sentence of death against them for their conduct; never, therefore, did any men act with more perfect self-devotion. Having loaded with grape, they waited till the discharge would take full effect, and such havoc did it make, that the French instantly turned back. The possession of the arsenal was of so much importance at this time, that two columns were presently ordered to secure it. They attempted it at the cost of many lives; and the Spaniards fired above twenty times before the enemy could break into the neighbouring houses and fire upon them from the windows. Velarde was killed by a musket-ball. Daoiz had his thigh broken: he continued to give orders sitting, till he received three other wounds, the last of which put an end to his life. Then, the person to whom he left the command offered to surrender; while they were making terms, a messenger arrived, bearing a white flag, and crying out, that the tumult was appeased. About two o'clock, the firing had ceased every where, through the personal interference of the Junta, the

Council of Castile, and other tribunals, who paraded the streets with many of the nobles, and with an escort of Spanish soldiers and Imperial guards intermixed. It might then have been hoped that the carnage of this dreadful day was ended. The slaughter among the Spaniards had been very great. This, however, did not satisfy Murat. Conformably to the system of his master, the work of death was to be continued in cool blood. A military tribunal, under General Grouchy, was formed, and the Spaniards who were brought before it, were sent away to be slaughtered, with little inquiry whether they had taken part in the struggle or not. Three groupes of forty each were successively shot in the Prado. Others, in like manner, were put to death near the Puerto del Sol and the Puerto del S. Vicente, and by the church of N. Señora de la Soledad, one of the most sacred places in the city. In this manner was the evening of that second of May employed at Madrid. The inhabitants were ordered to illuminate their houses,—a necessary means of safety for their invaders, in a city not otherwise lighted; and through the whole night, the dead and the dying might be seen distinctly, as in broad noon-day, lying upon the bloody pavement. When morning came, the same mockery of justice was continued; and fresh murders were committed deliberately, with the forms of military execution, during several succeeding days."*

On the 20th of July, 1808, the intrusive king entered Madrid, the battle of Rio Seco having opened the way to the capital; but he had not been here many days, when the news of the battle of Baylen, which led to the evacuation of Andalusia, compelled

* Southey's Peninsular War, vol. i. pp. 246—50.

him to consult his safety by retiring to Vittoria. In the following December, Napoleon entered Madrid in person, to re-establish the royal fugitive on his precarious throne. The inhabitants made every preparation to defend the place; and Morla, the governor, made a shew of resistance. An attack was commenced on the Buen Retiro, which had been fortified with some care; and a breach being made in the walls, the place was carried, but not till after a thousand Spaniards had fallen in defending it. The French were repulsed from the gates of Fuencanal and Segovia; but the other outlets were won, and the fall of the city would have been inevitable, though the conflict would have been dreadfully sanguinary, had not Napoleon, anxious to avoid incurring the odium of destroying the capital, suspended the attack, and allowed Morla to capitulate. On the 22d of January following, after the abandonment of Galicia by the English army, Joseph the First re-entered Madrid amid the "symphonies" of a hundred pieces of artillery; and a *Te Deum* concluded the solemn mockery of his re-instalment in the throne. Here he now for some time maintained his court, till the battle of Vittoria, on the 21st of June, 1813, led to a definitive liberation from the French yoke. In the revolution of 1820, Madrid took an early part, and Ferdinand was compelled to accede to the popular demand for the constitution of 1812. Another French invader has since then occupied the seat of the fugitive Constitutional Government; fresh horrors have desolated the city; and Ferdinand has returned, the absolute tyrant of a humbled and enslaved people.

Mr. Quin gives us a picture of Madrid as it was in 1823. "There were at one time," he says, "no fewer than 146 churches and chapels in Madrid, 33

monasteries, and 29 nunneries. Such have been the changes wrought on these buildings and establishments by the all-plundering hands of the French and the reforming laws of the Cortes, that there are very few of them at present worth visiting. The royal palace also bears traces of the French invasion. It appeared to me a much handsomer building than the Tuilleries. It is entirely of stone work; the gates and doors are of mahogany.....The two additional wings commenced by Charles III. spoil, however, the harmony of the edifice, and being in an unfinished state, disfigure the general appearance of a palace which would otherwise deserve to be styled the handsomest in Europe." This traveller's description of the carnival of February 1823, is too characteristic to be omitted.

"Little would any person who had seen the streets of Madrid during the carnival*, imagine that at this period, Spain was harassed by internal factions, threatened with a foreign invasion, and reduced almost to the verge of national bankruptcy. The jubilee of this festive season is displayed chiefly in the number, diversity, and gaiety of the masques, which animate the principal streets. About noon, they begin to make their appearance, traversing the streets in groupes, and between four o'clock and half-past five, they all meet in the Prado, which is crowded with visiters, and they perform such antics as are suitable to the characters which they represent. On the first day, there was a slight sprinkling of these masques on the Prado. The most amusing fellow amongst them was a shoemaker, who carried a rule of an immense size; with this machine in his hand,

* "Sunday, 9th, Monday, 10th, and Tuesday, 11th of February."

he claimed the privilege of approaching the handsomest ladies in the Prado, in order to measure their feet. They complied with the operation, particularly those who had delicately shaped feet to display, with the utmost good-nature. A number of women, who were collected in the middle of the street of Alcala, raised an incessant shout of laughter, mingled with attempts at singing, while they tossed a stuffed figure of Sancho in a blanket. The representation of this faithful follower of Don Quixote, when whirled aloft in the air, excited irrepressible mirth; and the shout was doubled when, by the awkwardness of the women in tossing the figure, it fell upon some of the bystanders. No man was permitted to assist them in this operation, as time out of mind it belongs exclusively to the other sex. It is impossible to give an idea of the enjoyment which poor Sancho created. It was a scene of downright fun, shout after shout, talk, laughter, song, such as the weeping philosopher himself could not have resisted, had he witnessed it.

"At night, there was a masquerade at the Teatro del Principe, and so great was the demand for admission, that at half-past ten, when the doors were opened, not a ticket was to be had, except from the retailers—persons who buy up a number of tickets in the morning, at the common price, one dollar each, and at night sell them for two, and sometimes even three dollars. It was calculated, that at least eighteen hundred persons were present, and of these, perhaps, not more than fifty were without masks. There is this difference between a Spanish and an English masquerade, that, at the latter, scarcely any person is seen dressed in character, who does not at the same time attempt some exhibition in which that character is developed. A hermit assumes the language of the cell, a doctor

offers his prescriptions, and a poet pesters every body with his rhymes. But at a Spanish masquerade, the character reaches no further than the dress; and, under different disguises, all meet for one purpose, that of spending the whole night till morning dawns in dancing. Indeed, it can scarcely be said that, in the generality of the dresses, any character is intended to be represented. The object seems to be to effect the most complete concealment by the comic aspect of the masks, and by dresses which have little relation to their features. The voice too is disguised, and there is kept up a constant din of feigned tones and squeaking salutations. The dances follow each other in the order of country-dances, rigadoons, and waltzes; and as this is an amusement to which the Spaniards are passionately attached, one may imagine the spirit with which it was maintained till a late hour the following morning. Several persons of distinction were present, who, under cover of their masks, mingled without fear of discovery in the joyous scene, and frequently danced, for aught they knew, in the same circle with their wives or husbands, though perhaps not exactly intending such a rencontre.

"It is impossible to avoid praising the urbanity and decency which presided over the amusements of the night. Not the slightest incident occurred to disturb the harmony of the meeting, crowded as it was. An excellent band occupied the orchestra, and the different successions of the dances were arranged by two or three officers, whose dictates were instantly obeyed, as law, by every part of the company. There were guards of soldiers in attendance; but, from the great order which prevailed, their presence seemed almost unnecessary. In the coffee-room, refreshments were served at a moderate price.

"The number of masks on the Prado on the second day (Monday) was very considerable. In the evening, several ladies and gentlemen attended Lady A'Court's tertulia in fancy dresses. The young Marquis of Santa Cruz appeared very elegantly dressed as a Moorish prince. The naturally dark Spanish countenance becomes this dress exceedingly. His mother, the marchioness, who is yet in the prime of life, and who, before her marriage, was considered the most beautiful woman in Spain, was arrayed in a vest and turban of silver tissue, which set off her person to great advantage. The young Marchioness of Alcanisas presented herself in the ancient dress of Andalusia, which, without being costly, is extremely beautiful. Her two younger sisters appeared also in provincial dresses, which became them remarkably well, particularly that of the youngest, who was dressed as a Mallorcine, or native of Majorca. The Dutchess of Frias was attired as Cleopatra, with a long, flowing, white veil, her bosom starred with diamonds. Several others of the company were fancifully arrayed: amongst the ornaments were a profusion of diamonds, and elegantly wrought gold and silver crosses, the favourite decorations in all Catholic countries. Lady A'Court, who was attired in a rich lace dress, presided with her usual dignity over this animated and elegant scene. The company began to pour in at ten o'clock. Soon after that hour the rooms were crowded, and dancing commenced. It was an extremely interesting sight, to view the various Spanish provincial dresses, set off by so many fine forms, mingling together on this gay occasion. The Spaniards seemed to enjoy it much, and to the foreigners who were present, it was productive of equal delight. The com-

pany did not separate till a late hour the following morning.

" On the third and last day of the Carnival (Shrove Tuesday), ' all the world and his wife,' to use a Spanish saying, were out. There were at least a thousand persons of both sexes, young and old, masqued, who traversed the Prado in groupes ; a task which they would have found difficult enough, on account of the vast crowd which attended, if every disposition had not been shewn to accommodate them. One of the first groupes which appeared was headed by a watchman, who held before him an old iron lantern. Some of this groupe were dressed in a very fantastic manner. Another groupe was headed by a musician, who played on a broken old guitar with one string. In another quarter were seen Don Quixote and his man Sancho. One mask excited great amusement, who had a stuffed figure so attached to him that he appeared to be riding upon a man's back. In the conception of these and innumerable other masks, a great deal of the spirit of broad comedy prevailed. But a groupe of five masks, one of whom was seated on an ass, his face turned towards the animal's tail, afforded the greatest amusement of all. By an inscription placed on his hat, it appeared that he was intended to represent a ' Diplomatist of Verona.' He held in his hand some sheets of blank paper, and he observed a most important silence. On his right hand he was attended by a mask, the representative of the Regency of Urgel ; and on his left, the Russian and Prussian ambassadors. The King of France was stationed at the ass's tail. They were received with shouts of laughter wherever they appeared. An old-clothes man, with a bag on his shoulder, and hat of

rush matting, with a leaf a yard wide, presented also a droll appearance. From the Prado he pursued his way into the streets, stopped before the balconies where he saw any ladies, viewed them for a while through his immense tin eye-glass, and then ran off to another part of the street. A mask with the face behind, giving the idea of a man walking backwards, shook the sides of all the old women with laughter. Some grave masks appeared on horseback; others in calecbes, giving curious ideas of contrasts; and, in fact, all Madrid seemed to have taken leave of their senses on this occasion. It was observable, however, that in all this crowded scene, not the slightest disturbance occurred, no altercation of any sort, no picking of pockets (as would have happened in London if such a scene were exhibited there), and, above all, not the least approach to indecorum was to be discovered. Every body appeared to be actuated by an innocent spirit of mirth; and, immense as the crowd was, the police deemed it unnecessary to take the least precaution for securing public order. The weather was delightfully fine.

"At night, the masquerade at the Teatro del Principe was crowded. The theatre was not cleared until eight o'clock on the morning of Ash Wednesday. This being the first day of Lent, the Prado presented a very different aspect from that of the last three days. A penitential stillness reigned in the streets, and the churches were crowded with those persons who, during the Carnival, were perhaps the gayest of the gay. The theatres were all ordered to be shut during the Lent, as no public amusements of any sort were permitted, except musical concerts, which were conducted upon a minor scale, at an assembly-room called the Cruz de Malta. In the course of the Lent, however,

this rule was a little relaxed for the first time, as operas were allowed to be performed twice a week."

Among the few objects of literary or scientific interest which the Spanish capital presents, the royal cabinet of natural history claims to be noticed. In the same edifice, which forms one of the chief ornaments of the street of Alcala, are held the meetings of the Academy of Fine Arts, founded by Philip V.* This fine museum is open to the public on certain days in the week, and every person of decent appearance is gratuitously admitted. "The collection of animals, birds, ores, spars, and other articles of natural history, is not," Mr. Semple says, "superior, perhaps, to those of many other countries; but the curiosities from America, which are shewn apart, are such as can no where else be found. Not only the skins of animals and birds peculiar to that continent are here preserved, but also the arms, dress, and utensils of the ancient Peruvians and Mexicans. Among these may be observed the great standard of the Mexicans, the drinking-cup of Montezuma, formed of a single precious stone, and his golden sceptre." There is the skeleton of a nondescript animal, apparently larger than the elephant, which was dug up at Buenos Ayres. The royal library, formed in 1712, is also open to the public: it amounted, many years ago, to upwards of 100,000 volumes, exclusive of a large collection of manuscripts.

Before the revolution of 1812, there were only two

* This double appropriation of the building is happily expressed in the inscription: *Carolus III. naturam et artem sub uno tecto in publicam utilitatem consociavit anno M.DCC.LXXIV.* A new building for the museum was begun many years ago, near the Prado, which promised to surpass in architectural beauty every edifice in Madrid; the architect's name was Villanueva.

newspapers published in the capital. One of these, the *Diario*, consisted merely of government ordinances and advertisements: it was small and badly printed, but had a sale of about 2000 daily. The other, the *Gazéta*, was the Spanish Moniteur. The expansion of the public mind which followed the subsequent changes, appeared from the number of political pamphlets which issued weekly from the press,—"some of them written with eloquence, irony, and humour, that would not have disgraced the best age of Spanish literature,"—also, translations, in a cheap form, of several English and French political works, and a considerable number of short-lived periodical journals. The *Espectador* (Spectator), the principal official journal of the Constitutional Government, and the organ of the Freemasons, had a daily sale of about 5,000: with the exception of the articles contributed by San Miguel, it was heavily written. The *Universal* was a ministerial paper, which affected to support the cause of the Moderates, and was partly supported by the *Afrancesados* (Bonapartists): of this paper, during the ministry of Martinez de la Rosa, above 7,000 were sold. The *Indicador* was at first the Morning Post of Madrid; it then became the organ of the Landaburian Society, which led to its being merged in the *Patriota Espanol*, a short-lived paper, supported by the *Communeros*. The *Zurriago* (Scourge) was an occasional publication in the form of a small-sized pamphlet, written with peculiar acrimony and democratic virulence: its sale varied from 5,000 to 14,000. The *Telegrafo* appeared four times a week, printed on ballad-paper, price one half-penny. Of provincial papers there were many; but the only one of any reputation was the *Liberal Guipuscoana*,

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published at St. Sebastian.* All of these, it is presumed, have been suppressed or discontinued since the fall of the Constitutional Government, and Madrid has relapsed into gloom, formality, and apathy.

Under the old regime, which is now re-established in the person of the absolute king, almost the whole population of Madrid might be considered as a mere appendage to the court, which regularly shifted, according to the different seasons of the year, to San Ildefonso, the Escurial, and Aranjuez, and its absence was immediately felt. In order to check the ancient feudal spirit, the whole of the Spanish nobility were required to reside in the capital; and what was at first the effect of a political arrangement, became at length so much established by fashion, that banishment to the country was deemed a grievous punishment. "From this great concourse of nobility," says Mr. Semple, "the manners even of the lower classes partake of much urbanity, mixed, however, with an attention to punctilios. If two porters meet, they do not fail to salute each other with the title of *señor* and *caballero*. All ranks are jealous of giving the wall in walking the streets, and duels have not unfrequently taken place on this account. Assassinations are, however, less frequent, considering the population, than in most of the great towns in Spain."

In their diet, the citizens are temperate and uniform. The universal and regular dish for all classes is the *potcheiro*, a stew of meat with an excellent species of large pea which grows in the utmost perfection near San Ildefonso. With by far the greater part of the population, this forms the whole dinner, and is truly a national dish, being regularly served every day

* Quin, pp. 206—10.

at the king's table, as well as at that of the poorest mechanic. Another favourite dish is called *gazpacho*, consisting of bread, oil, vinegar, onions, salt, and red-pepper mixed together in water. With such a mess, a Spaniard of the lower class appeases his hunger for the whole day. To these national dishes may be added, the *sopa de gato*, or soup-meagre, made of bread, oil, salt, garlick, and water; and *migas*, crums of bread, fried with oil, salt, and pepper. On the latter, or on rice with a sausage or a bit of pork-lard boiled in it, the Spanish troops have subsisted for months, during the first Peninsular war, without a murmur. In almost all the dishes except the *potheiro*, oil is greatly used, and that not of the best quality.* Two other chief ingredients in Spanish cookery are, the *tomata*, or love-apple, and the green pepper pod: the former stewed, and the latter boiled and eaten with bread, form, in their seasons, very material articles of food among the lower classes. The only three decent inns in Madrid are kept by Italians. The markets are scantily supplied with meat,—beef and veal from Aragon, mutton from Toledo and Leon, pork from Estremadura, game from Old Castile and other districts, and fish from Valencia,—but plentifully with vegetables and fruit from Valencia and Aragon, flour from Old Castile, and wine from La Mancha. The grapes, melons, peaches, and cherries, are delicious.

* "The oil of Valencia is excellent, but is never met with on the roads; and an Englishman is astonished to find that, except at Madrid, he cannot obtain at any price such good oil as is commonly used in London. There are some landlords that draw their wine and their vinegar from the same cask; but all of them draw the oil for their lamps and their ragouts from the same jar."—SEMPLE, vol. i. p. 71.

During dinner, the Castilians drink plentifully of wine diluted with water, and a few bottles of French wine terminate the repast; coffee is then served up, after which the company retire to take their *siesta*. Fresh parties are formed in the evening, either for the prado, the theatre, or *tertulias*. "In the use of wine," says Mr. Semple, "they are certainly temperate; and a drunken Spaniard, even of the lowest class, is scarcely ever seen in the streets of Madrid. To atone for this, they smoke immoderately, and at all hours, from their first rising to their hour of going to bed. They do not use pipes, but smoke the tobacco leaf itself rolled up, or cut small and wrapped in a slight covering, such as paper, or the thin leaves of maize. Great quantities of tobacco thus prepared are imported from the Havannah, under the name of cigars, in slight cedar or mahogany boxes, containing a thousand each. Those wrapt in the leaf of maize are called pachillos. or little straws, and are chiefly smoked by the women, for whose use also others are formed of white paper, ornamented with a kind of gold wire. I have seen women of some rank playing at cards, and smoking these pachillos. The great dutchess of Alva, one of the most sensible and noble-spirited women that Spain has produced for many years, was fond of using them. The amusements are now much the same as in other parts of Europe, and contain little that is national, since the suppression of the bull-fights by the late king. Humanity was the motive alleged for this suppression; but it is said to have been occasioned by the people loudly expressing their dissatisfaction at some orders given by him relative to the management of a fight where he was present. The murmur was called a mutiny; despotism was alarmed; and either to shew his fears or his power, the king at once forbade this

favourite diversion of the Spanish people. The heat of the climate discourages athletic exercises; walking on the prado, riding in carriages, cards, smoking, and billiards, are therefore the principal amusements of the inhabitants of Madrid. Their theatres are seldom thronged but on the representation of a new piece; and the public taste is certainly here not very correct, and often applauds not merely buffooneries, but indecency. Translations from Kotzebue and the German dramatists have also found their way to the Spanish boards; and although favourably enough received, have not been crowned with that madness of applause which some years ago disgraced the public taste of England. They are fond of dramas taken from their own history; and I have seen a Spanish audience kindled into a momentary enthusiasm by the representation of the brave actions of a Cortez, or a Pizarro; or melted into tears at the sight of Columbus in chains, whilst he related what he had done for his country, and reproached an ungrateful court for his unrewarded services and unmerited sufferings. The play is generally followed by a dance of one or two persons, and is either the fandango or the bolero. The former is not very decent; but the latter, in which the dancers keep time with their castanets, is pleasing. The people are astonishingly fond of both, and, although the dance lasts but a very short time, appear often to derive more pleasure from it than from the whole play. The dress of the female dancers is that of the Andalusian women, carried to excess in ornaments, spangles, and fringes, but producing a rich and seductive effect."

"The religious processions are managed here with great magnificence, and may indeed be termed one of the principal amusements of the people. Sometimes

it is the relique of a martyr, sometimes of a female saint, and even of an apostle, or a primitive father of the church. The invaluable skull, or arm, or finger is carried through the streets, encased in gold, and covered with a canopy, and the people throw themselves on their knees as it approaches them. But great is the joy when the entire body of a saint, or a whole bag of holy bones, is the subject of the piece. Notice is publicly given of the streets through which the procession is to pass, and the balconies are hung with rich carpets and velvet curtains, at the same time that they are crowded with women dressed in their finest clothes. First marches a band of music playing solemn tunes; then choristers, who chant anthems; and they are followed by a long, double row of monks, with lighted tapers in their hands, and generally clothed in white. A little boy, and sometimes a man, walks alongside of each of the monks, and catches the wax which drops from the tapers; and it is indeed astonishing how much is thus collected in the course of a single procession. At length appears the holy relic, carried by six or eight sturdy priests, on a shrine of massy silver, and shaded from the night air by a rich canopy of silk. A priest precedes it, swinging a silver censer, which throws out clouds of perfume, and walking backwards, that he may not seem to shew any disrespect to the sacred bones. A company of soldiers, with fixed bayonets, closes the procession; and happy are they who are chosen for this service, not only on account of the holiness of the office, but also because they are paid a quarter of a dollar each. A vast crowd of both sexes, and of every age and condition, follow the whole with heads uncovered. I saw the relics of Santa Barbara thus carried and thus attended. It was on the very

same day and hour, some thousand years ago, as every body well knows, that she was carried up into heaven, being a particular favourite of the Holy Virgin. Fortunately, she left behind her all her clothes, even to the shoes on her feet, and the jewels in her hair, and which, it needs not be doubted, have ever since been scrupulously preserved. The place of the body was supplied by the image of a handsome young woman, richly dressed, reposing on a couch of silver, and her head encircled with golden rays; but I was astonished to find that female dress had undergone so little variation in Spain for these last thousand years. Santa Barbara might have gone to court without being stared at; and even her shoes, which were of red Morocco leather, I should have imagined had been made only a few days before, had not two long rows of tapers, a band of soldiers, and a kneeling multitude sufficiently proved that they could not be less than a millennium old. A church had been previously illuminated and prepared for her reception; and rockets were fired in constant succession, until she was safely lodged before the grand altar. Here she lay in state, until at least one-fourth of the population of Madrid had passed in review through the church, and paid their devotions at her shrine."

The standard of morals in the capital cannot be expected to be higher than in the southern cities. Mr. Townsend states, that jealousy is never discovered on the part of a modern husband, but fickleness in a lady towards her *cortejo* is disreputable. "As soon as any lady marries, she is teased by numerous competitors for this distinguished favour, till she has fixed her choice. If the lady is at home, he is at her side; when she walks out, she leans upon his arm; when she takes her seat at an assembly, an empty

chair is always left for him; and if she joins the country-dances, it is commonly with him.' The husband is completely nobody at home, seldom visible, or, if visible, often a perfect stranger to those who visit in his family. The *tertulias* are given by the ladies, and an introduction to the lady of the house is all that is requisite to give a free admission. Friendship apart from passion, domestic virtue, and the charities of life, cannot be known where such a system prevails. The old Spaniard whom we meet with in novels, was a more respectable personage. Altogether, Mr. Southey says, this is "an unpleasant town,"—at least to an Englishman. "The necessaries of life are extravagantly dear, and the comforts are not to be procured. In summer, the heat is intolerable, and in winter, the cold is very severe; for the soil round the city produces nitre in great abundance, and the Guadarama mountains are covered with snow. You have then the agreeable alternative of being starved for want of a fire, or suffocated with the fumes of charcoal. Farewell Madrid! I shall say of thee with the Portuguese poet (Pedro da Costa Perestrello),

> *'Quien te quiere, no te sabe;*
> *Quien te sabe, no te quiere.'*
>
> He who likes thee, does not know thee
> He who knows thee, does not like thee." *

Madrid has, properly speaking, neither suburbs nor environs. Immediately after passing through most of the gates, the traveller enters on a desert, and looks in vain, except toward the Manzanares, for woods, or even trees,† for pleasant villages or farm-houses. The

* Southey's Letters from Spain, &c., vol. i. pp. 201, 12.

† "It would be easy," remarks Laborde, "to re-introduce foliage into a country that was once covered with wood, and has

few hamlets seen at a distance in various directions, have a dull and melancholy appearance. Of the few favoured spots in the vicinity, the greater part belong to the crown. Such is the *Casa del Campo*, to the east of Madrid, on the opposite side of the river; the *Zarzuela*, two leagues north of Madrid, celebrated for its gardens; and the royal hunting-seat of the Pardo, situated between two hills on the left bank of the Manzanares, two leagues from the capital, and embosomed in forests, to which the Castilian monarchs used to repair before the court was transferred to Madrid. "The Manzanares," says Mr. Semple, "although in summer a mere rivulet, is yet of great importance to a large city, situated in the middle of an arid country, and in a warm climate. As the heat of the summer increases, it is carefully husbanded, and led into narrow channels, where several hundreds of washerwomen are constantly seen employed. In one of these channels, square holes are dug, and little huts covered with mats are erected over them. These are the baths of Madrid, and as the stream, though small, keeps perpetually running through them, they may well supply the place of more elegant edifices. In the month of September, these are struck, one after another, unless perhaps a solitary one remains until heavy rains among the hills swell the Manzanares into a torrent, and in a night's time sweep away all vestiges of these summer structures. These, however, seldom come unawares. For several days, large clouds collect on the summits

since been cultivated with wheat and barley. There are few vineyards, though the soil is most happily adapted to such plantations." Dillon assigns as one reason of the notorious antipathy of the Castilians to trees, that the farmers object to them as attracting and harbouring birds.

of the Guadarrama mountains, and announce by their thick darkness and vivid flashes of lightning, the heavy rains which are falling near the sources of the river. The distant thunder is faintly heard to roll among the valleys, and a few drops of rain even reach as far as Madrid: but in the morning, the air, which for several days has been oppressive, becomes cool and refreshing, and the inhabitants, with some satisfaction, desire a stranger to go and see their river, the Manzanares.

"The most interesting walk in the neighbourhood of Madrid is on the north side; for, although the country is perfectly open, yet, the range of the Guadarrama mountains, the nearest of which are about twenty miles distant, presents at all times a grand object. If the sky is clear, we contemplate with pleasure their bold outlines, the deep shades which mark their valleys, and their prominent distant cliffs, enlightened by the sun. Their appearance is still more interesting when shrouded, almost to their bases, in clouds and rolling storms; and in winter, their summits are covered with snow. Of a different nature is a walk of a few miles along the borders of a canal planted with trees, and not worthy of being mentioned, except as the only one of its kind near the city. This canal was begun with great eagerness and great magnificence. It was destined to open a communication between the capital and the eastern provinces, but particularly with the rivers which take their rise in the mountains on the borders of Arragon; namely, the Tagus, running to the westward, and the Guadalaviar and the Xucar, which fall into the Mediterranean, opposite to the islands of Ivica and Majorca. Reservoirs were sketched out among the Guadarrama mountains, to collect and preserve the winter rains;

several miles of the canal were dug, furnished with two or three locks, and planted along the borders with trees; but, by some fatality, the project is still incomplete, or rather has been abandoned for a new one. The traveller toward San Ildefonso or Segovia beholds the ruins of immense mounds across the valleys, destined as reservoirs; or, if at Madrid, may walk a few miles under the shade of trees, along the banks of a stagnant canal; and he has then seen all that exists of this mighty project, the advantages of which to Spain were to have been incalculable. A third walk is along the great road leading to San Ildefonso and the Escurial. It runs for some distance along the Manzanares, shaded by trees; and, after walking a few miles, we arrive at a small wood, the only one near Madrid. Here the citizens, both men and women, resort on their holidays in great numbers, forming cheerful parties under the shade of the trees, where they come and eat their dinners with a better relish than at home. As the Spanish women of all ranks are wholly free from reserve, they sing, and laugh, and joke with the passing stranger, whom they never fail to offer a share of their repast."

THE ESCURIAL.

THE grandest monument raised by the Spanish monarchs, one of their favourite places of resort, and their final home, is the Escurial; more properly, the palace and monastery of San Lorenzo, distant seven leagues from Madrid.* The road for the first

* Escurial is properly the name of the village, which is about a mile from San Lorenzo. Different etymologies have been assigned; among others, *Esculetum*, a beech-grove, and *Scoria*, the dross of iron-forges: but Casiri says that the word is Arabic (which is

three leagues over the desolate plain, is wholly uninteresting. The forests of El Pardo and La Zarzuela are left on the traveller's right hand. The road then crosses a mountain, from the top of which is obtained the first view of the palace; and thence descends into a basin, surrounded by hills of the wildest aspect, and covered with large stones or brushwood, with few signs of cultivation. On approaching the Escurial, the road improves; and after entering the first gate, which is about a league from the palace, it is evident that pains have been taken to render the land more worthy of being included in the royal demesne. It is, however, so marshy and rocky as to produce scarcely any thing but stunted trees. "The beautiful and sacred bird, the stork," may often be seen marching here in all the pride of his snow-white plumage, and in conscious security. "The choice which Philip II. made of this sandy, rugged situation," remarks M. Bourgoing, "well coincides with the savage, morose character ascribed to that prince." We shall avail ourselves of Mr. Quin's visit to this place, as the latest description.

"The edifice, popularly called 'The Escurial,' consists of a palace and a convent. But the title of palace belongs, in truth, more to the convent than to that part of the building which is appropriated to the royal residence. It unites a regal costliness and design with religious gloom: it is an abode fit for a kingly monk, who wished to withdraw occasionally from the cares of the throne, and to relieve or restrain the projects of an ambitious mind, by the solitude of the clois-

far more probable), signifying the rocky place. The quarry from which the stone was obtained with which the edifice is built, is in the vicinity; and this circumstance is said to have been one of the motives for choosing the situation.

ter and the affecting ceremonies of religion. To such an establishment a number of monks was necessary, in order that the hood and habit might give a character to the scene; that the royal solitary might have opportunities of observing them move through the cloisters; that the high altar might be decorously served, the processions fully attended, the hymns and psalms chanted by an adequate choir, with the assistance of organs; and that the matin and vesper bells might soothe his wearied spirit.

"Such a king was the founder of this royal monastery, Philip the Second, who dedicated it to St. Lorenzo, in consequence of a particular devotion which he paid to that martyr, and of his success in the memorable battle of St. Quintin against the French arms, on the 10th of August, 1557, the festival of St. Lorenzo's martyrdom. In the plan of the convent, that of a pantheon was included, in pursuance of the will of the emperor Charles V., in which his remains and those of the empress were deposited, in order that frequent masses might be said over their tombs for the repose of their souls. The edifice was begun in 1563, and finished in 1584. It stands in an elevated situation, between the declivities of two mountains which divide the two Castilles, and forms a rectangular parallelogram, measuring, from north to south, seven hundred and forty-four feet, and from east to west, five hundred and eighty. Its elevation is in due proportion: it is built chiefly of granite in the Doric order, the roofs covered with slates or lead, with the exception of the roof of the temple, which is of granite. The towers, domes, spires, gates, doors, and windows, are constructed with a uniformity which, upon the first view of the Escurial, gives it rather a heavy appearance. Its plan is in imitation of a grid-

iron, in reference to the torture suffered on that utensil by the martyr to whom the convent is dedicated. The royal residence forms the handle, and the feet are designated by the four towers in the corners of the edifice.

"The original architect, Juan Bautista, avoided placing the four façades directly opposite the four points of the compass, in order to protect the building from the four cardinal winds, which of all others are the strongest, and particularly so in this situation. The principal front, in which is the general entrance, looks towards the west. Over the gate is a statue of St. Lorenzo, vested as a deacon, and holding a book in his left hand, and in his right a gridiron of gilt bronze. The whole building consists of three principal parts: the first, which occupies the whole diameter of the parallelogram from west to east, comprehends the grand entrance, the patio or square of the kings, as it is called, and the temple. The second comprises the southern side, which is divided into four cloisters, and contains the cells of the conventual monks, and is therefore more particularly called the convent. The third part corresponds to the northern side, and is appropriated to the palace and two colleges.

"On entering by the great western gate, the visiter finds himself in the square of the kings, so called from six statues of scriptural kings, which are in front of the temple. They are at least twice as large as life; and it is a curious circumstance, that the six statues, as well as that of St. Lorenzo, already mentioned, were cut out of the same block of stone. It is more curious still, that as much of the block yet remains as would furnish materials for seven more statues equally large.

" Beneath these statues is the principal entrance to the temple, which is a very noble building, and impresses the mind with a stronger feeling of religious solemnity and awe than any sacred edifice I have ever seen. It consists of three aisles. In the middle aisle, over the principal entrance, is the choir, which looks towards the high altar; and at the sides are several small chapels. The roof is vaulted, and there are eight compartments of it, exquisitely painted in fresco by Lucas Jordan. The most interesting subjects of these paintings are, the conception, the birth of Christ and adoration of the angels, and the prediction of the mysteries of our redemption by the four sibyls. The floor is formed of squares of white and grey marble, alternately arranged. The whole building is three hundred and twenty feet long by two hundred and thirty feet wide: the height in proportion. It is constructed of the best granite, and in the Doric order.

" The aspect of the great altar, which is at the eastern side of the temple, is extremely imposing. It is ascended by nineteen steps of red-veined jasper marble, which elevate it to a majestic height. The altar-piece is composed of eighteen columns of red or green jasper, in the intervals between which are fifteen bronze statues gilt in fire, together with eight large and original paintings. The bases and capitals of the columns are of gilt bronze, and they form four compartments, which are in the four different orders of architecture—the Doric, Ionic, Corinthian, and Composite. Behind the great altar is the sacrarium, where the tabernacle is placed. The steps leading to the altar, on which the tabernacle reposes, are formed of jasper inlaid with white marble. The walls

are painted in fresco with scriptural subjects, analogous to the ministry of the place,—such as, the Israelites gathering the manna, and the last supper. The custodia, which is now deposited there, is a small temple of gilt wood. The precious tabernacle which formerly belonged to it, was taken away and broken up by the French. It enclosed a small custodia, which was ornamented with a profusion of gold and precious stones.

"At each side of the great altar in the temple are oratories for the king and other members of the royal family. Over these oratories are two small and curious chapels; in each of which are five figures larger than life, of bronze gilt in fire, which are said to be good resemblances of the royal personages whom they represent. The principal figure in the chapel, on the gospel side of the altar, is that of Charles V. in an imperial mantle, with his head uncovered. He is on his knees, his face turned towards the great altar, and his hands joined in the attitude of prayer On his right hand is the empress Isabel; behind, his daughter Maria, also in an imperial mantle; and in order after her are Eleanora and Maria, sisters of the emperor. On the wall of this chapel there are several inscriptions, among them the following:—'*Hunc locum si quis posterorum Caroli V. habitam gloriam rerum gestarum splendore superaveris, ipse solus occupato, cæteri reverenter abstinete.*'—'If any of the posterity of Charles V. exceed in splendour the wonted glory of his achievements, do you alone occupy this place; all others reverently keep away.'—In the chapel on the epistle side are figures of Philip II.; his fourth and last wife Ana; on his right hand, behind her, his third wife Isabel; on her right his first wife Maria,

princess of Portugal, and her son Don Carlos behind her; all in the same material and attitudes as those on the opposite side. The temple is decorated with forty paintings, including those of the great altar, by different masters.

"From the temple, Padre Miguel conducted me to the pantheon, which is immediately under the great altar. We entered by a door of rich wood, and after descending a flight of twenty-five steps, we came to a landing-place, where is found the entrance to the principal staircase of the pantheon. Over the door is a slab of black Italian marble, upon which is an inscription in letters of gilt bronze, importing that the vault is sacred to the mortal remains of the Catholic kings, that it was directed to be constructed by Charles V., planned by Philip II., begun by Philip III., and finished by Philip IV. Over this marble, at each side, is a bronze figure of Italian workmanship: that on the right represents human nature as perished, in signification of which a crown is falling from her head, and a sceptre from her hand, and on a small tablet is written, *Natura occidit.* The other figure is Hope, signified by the inscription, *Exaltat Spes*, and a torch of bronze. Passing through this superb entrance, we descended by a staircase of thirty-four marble steps, the landing-place, roof, and sides cased with jasper marble highly polished, and hung with two massive bronze gilt candelabras. The pantheon, where the remains are deposited, is a circular vault of thirty-six feet diameter by thirty-eight feet in height. The materials of which the pantheon and chapel adjoining it are formed, are jasper and other marbles of fine polish, filled with ornaments of gilt bronze, in the composite order of architecture; and in all their parts the greatest uniformity and symmetry are observed.

In the sides of the pantheon, to which but a very feeble light is admitted, are twenty-six niches, in which are deposited as many sepulchral urns of black marble, with bronze gilt mouldings, supported on lions' claws of bronze; and in the front of each is a bronze gilt plate, on which are inscribed the name and titles of the persons whose remains it encloses. The relics mouldering here are those of the Emperor Charles V., of Philip II., Philip IV., Charles II., Luis I., Charles III., Charles IV., the Empress Isabel, Ana, fourth wife of Philip II., Margarita, only wife of Philip III., Isabel of Bourbon, first wife of Philip IV., Maria Ana of Austria, second wife of Philip IV., Maria Luisa of Savoy, first wife of Philip V., Maria Amalia of Saxony, only wife of Charles III., Maria Luisa of Bourbon, only wife of Charles IV. In this principal pantheon only crowned kings are interred, and such queens as continued the succession. The other queens, together with the princes and princesses, are deposited in another less splendid and more crowded vault, which is called the pantheon of the Infantes.

"It is not unworthy of remark, that although the construction of a sepulchral chamber for the remains of his august progenitor, his own, and those of other kings his successors, was one of the principal objects which induced Philip II. to build the Escurial, yet he gave his attention chiefly to the monastery. The original vault which he had constructed was a small one of common stone, without light or ornament, with a dark, narrow, winding staircase. This defect he acknowledged when he said, that 'he had raised a habitation for GOD, and that his son might, if he wished, make one for his bones and those of his fathers.'

"From the pantheon, we ascended to the principal library, which is situated over the porch in the square of the kings, and occupies a great extent on that side of the building. The floor is of white and grey marble, and the ceiling is admirably painted in fresco with subjects analogous to the place. In one compartment, Philosophy is shewing the terraqueous globe to Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, and Seneca, all in colossal figures; and below the cornice is the school of Athens, divided into the two sects of Stoics and Academics. In another, Grammar, enthroned on clouds, surrounded by children with books and papers in their hands, presents to them a wreath of flowers to excite emulation. Beneath the cornice the sons of Noah are seen building the tower of Babel, where God confounded their language, and gave them different dialects; and on the opposite side is represented the first school that was ever formed in the world, as far as we know, in which, by order of Nebuchodonosor, the Israelite and Chaldean boys were collected, in order to learn the Babylonian idiom and other sciences. A third compartment is assigned to Rhetoric, in which are introduced Isocrates, Demosthenes, Cicero, and Quintilian. Cicero is pleading for Rabirius, accused of treason, and the painting represents the emotions which his eloquence kindles in the hearts of the judges, and the liberation of the prisoner. Arithmetic, dialectics, music, geometry, astronomy, and theology, have each their separate compartments, and the *tout ensemble* is magnificent. Along the middle of the room are ranged seven tables, two of porphyry, and the other five of marble, which sustain spheres, terrestrial and celestial globes, according to different systems. The book-cases are ranged on both sides, between the windows, and

contain printed books in all languages. They are mostly bound in parchment; upon their edges, which are all gilt, the titles are written, and for this reason, as well as for that of enabling the librarian to take them out and put them in again with greater facility, the books are placed with the edges outwards. Amongst the curiosities of this library, is preserved with much care a large folio volume, in which the four gospels and certain productions of the holy fathers are written in letters of gold. It was commenced by direction of the Emperor Conrad, and finished in the time of his son, Henry II., and is, therefore, at least 780 years old; yet the letters appear as fresh as if they were recently executed. The pages are beautifully illuminated. Another curious volume is also shewn, which contains the Apocalypse exquisitely written. At the beginning of each chapter, there is an illuminated representation of its contents.

"Over this library there is another apartment equally extensive, which is chiefly appropriated to manuscripts in Hebrew, Greek. Arabic, Latin, and other languages. Amongst these are several very ancient Bibles in different languages, particularly a Greek copy a little injured, which belonged to the Emperor Cantacuene. Not the least curious of these treasures is an Alcoran. The total number of the manuscripts is at present estimated at 4,000; and that of printed books, in both libraries, at 24,000. Their number was at one time considerably greater, but several of the former were consumed in a destructive fire which occurred in the Escurial in 1671; and when the intrusive king was in Madrid, he ordered the printed books to be removed to the convent of the Trinity in that capital. Upon the

restoration, they were conveyed back to the Escurial, but upwards of ten thousand were found missing.

" From the libraries we descended to the sacristy, which, estimating it by the treasures it contains in paintings, may be considered the most valuable apartment in the building. Amongst these are several works of Leonardo da Vinci. Carlo Veronese, Titian, Raphael, Guido, and the Spanish Raphael, Murillo. It would have required at least a week to examine these and all the other paintings in the convent, with the attention which they deserve; but there is one picture in the sacristy, which, from its divine execution, claims particular notice. It is called La Perla, or The Pearl, as indicative of its superiority to all the others. It is five feet high, by three and three quarters wide. The Virgin has her right hand around the Child, who is sitting in her lap, and rests one leg on the right knee of his mother; the other being extended, the foot gently presses the little blankets in a cradle, out of which he appears to have been just taken, glowing with life and infantile loveliness. The left hand of the Virgin rests on the shoulder of St. Anne, who is upon her knees near her. The infant St. John is offering some fruits, in his garment of camel-skin, and the Child makes a motion to take them, at the same time turning his laughing face to his mother, who is looking on St. John. On one side of the picture is seen an opening of light in the horizon, in front of which are a river, a town, and various little figures. On the other side there are ruins of an edifice, in the shade of which St. Joseph stands contemplating this beauteous scene. It is painted on pannel by Raphael; and for its better preservation, it is usually covered with a green silk curtain, which is drawn

aside by the father, when he wishes to shew the greatest ornament of his convent.

"In the southern front of this sacristy is preserved with great devotion, and amidst sumptuous ornaments, a consecrated host, the history of which is said to be as follows. At some period, not well ascertained, in the sixteenth century, a party of Zuinglian Dissenters entered the cathedral church of Gorcum, in Holland, threw this host on the ground, and repeatedly trampled upon it, till it was rent in three places. Whilst they were yet trampling upon it, one of the Zuinglians perceived that blood came forth from the three rents, which may still be seen. He was struck with such a strange appearance, and went out to communicate it to the dean. Both proceeded to the church, and taking up the host with fearful respect, they carried it to Malines, where they deposited it in a convent of Franciscan friars. There it remained for a length of time, greatly venerated. From thence it was transferred to Vienna, and afterwards to Prague, where it remained for eleven years, until Philip II. obtained it from Rodolphus II. Emperor of Germany. It was deposited amongst the relics in the temple, until Charles II. erected a peculiar altar for it in the sacristy, whither it was removed in 1684. Upon the invasion of the French, the monks, fearful that the enemy would profane it, concealed it in one of the cellars of the monastery, where it remained until the liberation of the country, when it was restored to the altar, where it is still preserved. Although such a length of time has elapsed since its original preparation, it is yet as free from corruption as if it were but just consecrated. Such is the history of the 'Santa Forma,' as it is piously called by the monks, and they believe it to be true.

" Besides the sacristy, there are the principal lower cloisters, the chapter hall, the prior's hall, the vicar's hall, the old chapel, the principal upper cloister, the hall of morality, and other apartments, in which there are upwards of two hundred and fifty pictures, very many of them by the best Italian and Spanish masters. I had not time to take more than a hasty view of so many works, and shall, therefore, omit any further notice of them.

" One of the most magnificent things in the convent is the principal staircase. It is composed of two parallel flights of steps, each step being formed out of a single block of stone. The vaulted roof, with its fine fresco paintings, is, however, the great object of a stranger's attention. In the middle is a representation of the Trinity seated on a throne of splendid clouds, and surrounded by hosts of angels. On one side are the Virgin and other saints with the insignia of the Passion. Lower down are St. Lorenzo and several princes and kings. Charles V., in his imperial robes, is seen presenting the crown of Germany in one hand, and that of Spain in the other, and behind him is Philip II. with a globe in his hand. Below the cornice is an animated representation of the battle of St. Quintin, the history of which occupies a portion of three sides of this lofty hall.

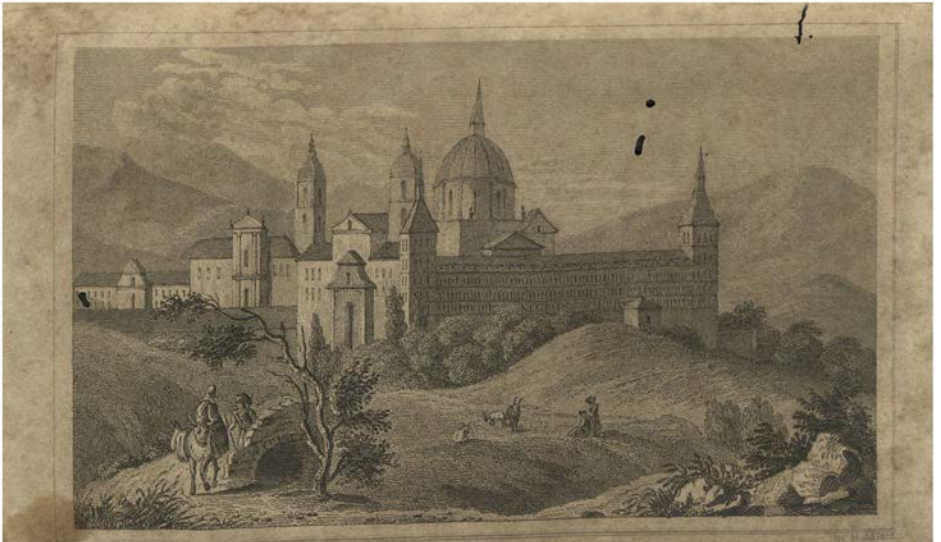
" After going through the convent, there is little either in the palace or the college that can detain a visiter; and he passes through them with a feeling that they are scarcely worth seeing."*

Few edifices, Laborde remarks, have given rise to so great a variety of opinions as the Escurial. By

* Quin, pp. 260—271.

almost all Spaniards, it has been regarded as the eighth wonder of the world. Swinburne says: "The orders employed are Doric and Ionic; but the outward appearance of this vast mass is extremely plain, and I am sorry to say, in my eyes, extremely ugly. With its narrow, high towers, small windows, and steep, sloping roof, it certainly exhibits an uncouth style of architecture; but the domes, and the immense extent of its fronts, render it a wonderfully grand object from every point of view.* The best side to see it from (for I tried them all) is about half a mile down the hill, on the Madrid road, as you are then so much below it, that the building hides the bleak mountain which presses very close upon it behind. The green fields and woods behind it make a good contrast, and set it off to the best advantage. The church, which is in the centre of all, is large, awful, and richly, but not affectedly ornamented. The cupola is bold and light." M. Bourgoing says: "Such a prodigious pile has unquestionably a very imposing air, but it by no means comes up to those ideas which its reputation might suggest. The architecture is not splendid: it has the grave simplicity suited to a convent, rather than the magnificence of a royal mansion. The west front is the only part which has an elegant portico. This principal entry is never thrown open to the Spanish monarchs or the princes of the blood, except on two solemn occasions: one of these is, when they

* "The building is an oblong of 640 feet (Townsend and Quin say 740) by 580; so that, allowing besides 460 for the projection of the chapel and the king's quarter, the whole circumference amounts to 2,900 Spanish feet. The height up to the roof, all round, is 60 feet, except on the garden side, where more ground has been taken away. The square towers at each angle, are 200 feet high. There are 200 windows in the western front, and 366 in the eastern."—SWINBURNE, vol. ii. p. 224. The dome is 360 feet in height.



THE ESCURIAL TAKEN FROM THE SIDE OF MADRID.

are carried to the Escurial after their birth; and the other, when their remains are carried out to be deposited in the vault which awaits them.....The most obvious defect in the architecture of the Escurial is, that the principal objects are misplaced..... Stripped of its valuable collection of paintings, if the court did not annually display its magnificence here, it would be nothing more than a prodigious convent, more remarkable for its enormous bulk and massive proportions, than for the elegance of its decorations." Mr. Semple, on the other hand, says: "I know not what traveller has given it as his opinion, that the building is very splendid in its interior decorations, but exceedingly heavy as a whole. I never yet have seen a building so simple, without the least heaviness." At all events, it is, in M. Laborde's most convenient and all-comprehending phrase, a *superb* edifice. Some writers have gone so far as even to speak of an immense park attached to the Escurial; while Mr. Semple, at once more accurate and more imaginative, was transported at the sublimity of its situation, in a spot, as it were, abandoned by nature, amid wild and barren mountains. "For my part," says Bourgoing, "I have seen nothing in the environs of the Escurial, but thinly scattered woods full of small rocks, intersected with meadows which are rarely green, and peopled with deer; for there is no walled enclosure, no park, properly so called, and nothing exhibiting that character of pomp and grandeur by which you might be apprised of your approach to a royal habitation." Lastly, Mr. Townsend says: "The Escurial, as a residence, is far from pleasant. Were it low and sheltered, like Aranjuez, it would be agreeable in spring; or, were it elevated, hanging to the north, and covered by thick woods, like San Ildefonso, it

might be delightful as a retreat in summer; but, exposed as it is to the full stroke of the meridian sun, and raised up near to regions covered with eternal snow, without shelter, and destitute of shade, it has no local charms at any season of the year. The ministers, foreign and domestic, give good dinners, and do every thing they can to make this solitude supportable; but, as few ladies can be accommodated here, the assemblies want that gayety which they alone can inspire." In fact, Mr. Quin seems to be very correct, when he describes it as an abode fit only for a royal monk,—for a king of Spain.*

FROM MADRID TO SEGOVIA AND BURGOS.

THE mountains amid which the Escurial stands, form a natural boundary between New and Old Castile. They consist, Mr. Semple says, chiefly of granite, immense blocks of which are seen on approaching the small town of Guadarama, distant thirty miles from Madrid. Towards the summits, these mountains are bare in some parts, in others, covered with forests of oak, beech, and cork-trees. Some tracts are distinguished by pine-forests, which, although they approach the other species of wood, are still so clearly separate, as to mark a radical difference in the soil. "After reaching the summit, we see below, an astonishingly deep valley, the sides of which would be almost too steep even for goats, were they not covered with pines and lower bushes. The valley

* See, for further details, Swinburne, vol. ii. pp. 222—236; Bourgoing, vol. i. pp. 205—229; Laborde, vol. iii. pp. 144—155; Townsend, vol. ii. pp. 119—123; and if these will not suffice, the pompous descriptions given by the Abbé de Vayrac and M. Colmenar, and the Tour of the Abbé Ponz, in seventeen volumes, one of which is wholly occupied with a description of this monastery.

has all the appearance of an enormous crater. The road to the bottom is cut in a zig-zag form, and supported in many parts by stone walls or terraces. There are also several handsome fountains near the road, where the traveller may stop to refresh himself under the shade of trees." The snow was still very deep on the summits of these mountains when Swinburne crossed them on the 10th of June. Leaving the Escurial on the left, the road ascends by the *Puerto de Fuenfrio* (cold spring). From this elevated pass, the whole country towards Segovia appears as level as the surface of a lake, and extended like the ocean; but, as the traveller descends into the plain, he sees the mountains rise before him. The aspect of the scenery near the summit is majestically wild; and some of the views which now and then open over the plains of Old Castile, the town of Segovia, and the palace of Rio Frio, are extremely picturesque.

"In a deep recess, open and exposed only to the north wind, stands San Ildefonso, enjoying the freshness, and gathering the fruits of spring, when all to the south of these high mountains, fainting with heat, are engaged in reaping and collecting the autumnal crops.* This change of climate in the space of eight leagues, (the distance from the Escurial to San Ildefonso,) induced Philip V. to build a palace here. San Ildefonso occupies three sides of a square, the

* "The earliest fruits are but just ripe in August at St. Ildefonso; carnations and roses then adorn the *parterres*; September is the season for strawberries, raspberries, currants, and barberries; and snow lies on the mountains till the beginning of June.....Owing to its lofty situation, the night air, even after the hottest summer's day, is so piercing, that it makes precaution necessary, to guard against its sudden and pernicious effects."—DILLON'S *Travels*, p. 109.

two wings of which being joined, each by a long range of buildings designed for the king's retinue, and closed in at the bottom by iron gates and rails, the whole forms a beautiful and spacious area. The principal front, 530 feet in length, is to the south, looking to the garden; and through its whole extent, the apartments communicate with all the doors on the same line." "The palace," Swinburne says, "is patchwork, and no part of the architecture is agreeable." The gardens, which occupy a ridge rising to the south, are laid out in the formal French style, with clipped hedges and straight walks. The trees are poor, starved limes, for the soil is too shallow, and the rock too compact, to allow of their striking deep root. To plant them, square beds were blown out of the rock with gunpowder, and then filled with earth, and they are only kept alive by watering. The quantity of fine water is one great recommendation of the place. A romantic brook rolls over the rocks at no great distance from the town, through a large tract of thickets, affording his majesty the amusement of fishing. A walk has been made for a mile or two along the bank. "The water-works surpass all I ever saw," says Swinburne, "not excepting the finest at Versailles. The *jets d'eau* send forth a stream as clear as crystal, and it falls around like the sweetest, finest dew.....The most remarkable are eight fountains, dedicated to the principal heathen deities, and adorned each with its proper emblems. In one, Diana appears, attended by her nymphs, who are hiding her from Acteon. In another is seen Latona with Apollo and Diana, surrounded by sixty-four jets of water. The most surprising is Fame seated on Pegasus, with a trumpet to her mouth, throwing up a stream of more than two

inches in diameter to the height of 132 feet.* But the most pleasing sight is the *Plazuela de las Ocho Calles*, where eight walks unite, each with its fountain in the centre, and where eight other fountains under lofty arches, supported by Ionic pillars of white Italian marble, form an octagon, adorned with images of Saturn, Minerva, Vesta, Neptune, Ceres, Mars, Hercules, and Peace, standing round it, and Apollo with Pandora in the middle. The statues are all of lead, varnished in imitation of brass. Besides fountains innumerable, here are vast reservoirs and falls of water, so disposed as to contribute much to the beauty of the place." One of the reservoirs at the foot of the mountain is allotted solely to the fountain of Diana. The larger one, by which the other waterworks are supplied, is a very pretty lake called *El Mar*.† "When we consider," continues Mr. Townsend, "that the whole of the garden was a barren rock,‡ that the soil is brought from a great distance, and that water is conveyed to every tree; when we reflect upon the quantity of lead used for the images, and of cast iron for the pipes, with the expense of workmanship for both,—we shall not be surprised to hear that this place cost nearly six millions and a half sterling."

* Mr. Semple says, fifty feet, and that it is visible at Segovia, ten miles distant.

† The reservoirs, Mr. Semple says, do not, however, furnish water sufficient to make all the fountains play more than two or three times a year, one of which is always fixed for the great feast of St. John.

‡ The mountain is granite, but on the top is found a mixture of clay and fine sand, which being mixed with decayed vegetable matters, forms a light coating of earth which just covers the rock. At a short distance from the palace, near the powder-magazine, a vein of quartz appears above ground, running N. and S. for about half a league.—DILLON, p. 112.

Below the town is the royal manufactory of plate-glass, which supplies the kingdom with looking-glasses. "The largest mirrors are made in a brass frame, 162 inches long, 93 wide, and 6 deep, weighing nearly nine tons." Bottles and drinking-glasses are also made here. In 1776, the number of men employed was 280, and twenty-seven mule-loads of fir-wood were consumed daily. The profits accruing to the crown were trifling; and the manufactory, Townsend remarks, proves a devouring monster in a country where provisions are dear, fuel scarce, and carriage exceedingly expensive. There was also a royal manufactory of linen here, employing fifteen looms, by which the king was positively a loser!

Two short leagues from San Ildefonso, through an uncultivated country, abandoned to the royal deer, lead to the episcopal city of Segovia, once celebrated for its woollen manufactories. It is built on two hills and in the valley which separates them. "The unevenness of the crown of the hill," Swinburne says, "gives a wild look to the city. Most of the streets are crooked and dirty, and the houses are wooden and wretched." In the year 1612, 25,500 pieces of cloth were made here, which consumed 44,625 quintals of wool, employing 34,189 persons. In 1786, the average quantity made was only about 4,000 pieces. In 1525, the city contained, in its twenty-five parishes, 5,000 families. In 1786, they were reduced to 2,000. Besides the twenty-five churches, there were one-and-twenty convents. The cathedral is described by Swinburne as one of the handsomest churches in Spain, but Townsend speaks of it as having no great pretensions. It exhibits a mixture of the Gothic and the Arabian styles, and is nearly upon the model of the great church at Salamanca. The interior is cha-

racterised by a majestic simplicity rarely seen in the Spanish churches. In one of the chapels is a Descent from the Cross in *mezzo-relievo*, by a disciple of Michael Angelo, finished in 1570. The Alcazar, or royal castle, is in good preservation. It occupies a commanding situation on a rock rising above the open country. "A very pretty river washes the foot of the precipice, and the city lies admirably well on each side of the brow of the hill. The declivity is woody, and the banks charmingly rural; the snowy mountains and dark forests of San Ildefonso composing an awful back-ground to the picture. Towards the town, there is a large court before the great outward tower, so well described by Le Sage as the prison of Gil Blas. The rest of the buildings form an antique palace, which has seldom been inhabited by any but prisoners* since the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, who were much attached to this situation. There are some magnificent halls in it, with much gilding on the ceilings in a semi-barbarous taste. All the kings of Spain are seated in state along the cornice of the great saloon. The royal apartments are now occupied by a college of young gentlemen cadets, educated, at the king's expense, in all the sciences requisite for forming an engineer. The grand-master of the ordnance resides at Segovia, which is the head establishment of the Spanish artillery. The mint is below the Alcazar, the most ancient in the kingdom. Copper only is coined here, which is brought from the mine of Rio Tinto, fourteen leagues from Seville." †

* The Alcazar was long used as a prison for the Barbary corsairs who fell into the hands of the Spaniards, but who were released on the conclusion of an alliance between the Court of Spain and the Emperor of Morocco.

† Swinburne, vol. ii. pp. 246—50; Townsend, vol. ii. pp. 115—18.

Segovia, Mr. Semple says, retains more traces of the Moors, than any town in this part of the Peninsula. The inn in which he put up had been a magnificent abode, built in the Moorish fashion round a *patio*. The castle must have been almost impregnable before the use of artillery. That the city was a place of some consideration in the time of the Romans, is evident from the aqueduct, supposed to have been built in the time of Trajan, and which is one of the most astonishing and best preserved Roman antiquities in the country. From the first low arches, at the point where it receives the rivulet, to the reservoir in the town, it is 2,400 Spanish feet in length. Its greatest height is 104 feet, where it is composed of a double row of arches, built of large square stones without mortar, over which is a hollow channel of coarser materials. "The spectator is terrified," says Bourgoing, "on comparing their diminutive base with their height." Swinburne says: "The aqueduct is not only an admirable monument of antiquity for its solidity and good masonry, which have withstood the violence of so many barbarians and the inclemencies of the seasons during so many ages, but is also wonderfully beautiful and light in its design. I do not think the Pont du Gard equal to it in elegance of proportions." Some wretched houses have been built against the pillars of the arches, which, rising to only a third of its height, exhibit to still greater advantage the grandeur and nobleness of its dimensions. A small convent, too, exhibits its pitiful architecture at the angle formed by its two branches. The style of the arches, 175 altogether in number, is the same as that of the bridge of Merida. Mr. Semple concurs in expressing astonishment "how such a mass of stones should hang together in the air for so many centuries." Near the

posada at which he rested, this Traveller noticed, half buried in the earth, and serving as a seat, an antique sculpture, in basaltic stone, of a huge boar, " clearly neither of Grecian, Roman, nor Moorish workmanship, but resembling in its style the two military figures which now stand at the entrance of the botanical garden at Lisbon." Rudely carved images of a wild boar, or some such animal, are to be seen built into the bridges of Salamanca and Ciudad Rodrigo, and also near the churches of Gallegos and San Felice on the river Coa in Portugal. Tacitus states, that the ancient Estii, a Sclavonic tribe who have given name to Esthonia, worshipped a divinity under this symbol, which they carried with them on all their expeditions; and a branch of this tribe are supposed to have passed into Spain, and to have occupied this part of Castile, extending themselves westward. At all events, this rude sculpture would seem to be a monument of the ancient Spaniards.

A distance of eleven leagues, one of the poorest and most depopulated districts in Spain, separates Segovia from Olmedo, through which lies the direct road from Burgos to Madrid. This is a decayed town on an eminence, in an almost boundless plain of rich corn-land and pasturage. It was formerly a place of strength, and has a thick wall about three quarters of a league in extent. " Its interior announces a ruined city, destitute of population and industry, and exhibiting symptoms of degradation and misery. Seven churches and seven convents, some brick-kilns, and some kitchen-gardens under the shade of the old walls, compose the whole fortune of the inhabitants." Soon after leaving Olmedo, the traveller passes the river Aldaja, the banks of which are prettily wooded; and after traversing a very sandy tract of forest land,

ascends a hill from which he discovers the plains of Valladolid, and the course of the Duero.

Valladolid is described by Swinburne "as a very large, rambling city, full of edifices, which, during the reign of Philip III., who made it his constant residence, were the palaces of his great officers and nobility. Being abandoned by their owners, who have followed the court in all its different emigrations, they are fallen to decay, and exhibit a picture of the utmost desolation. The palace of the king is so ruined, that I could with difficulty find any body to shew me the spot where Philip had resided. The private houses are ill-built and ugly. The great square, some streets built upon porticoes, many colleges and convents, are still grand, and denote something of the magnificence of a place that had been long honoured with the presence of its monarch. But, in general, Valladolid has the appearance of having been run up in a hurry to receive the court, and as if it had been meant to rebuild it afterwards at leisure, of more durable materials than bad brick and mud, the composition of most of its present houses. The Dominican convent, a Gothic edifice, is the most remarkable in the city. The university is in the last stage of a decline, and trade and manufactures are at as low an ebb. It is melancholy to behold the poverty and misery painted in the meagre faces, and displayed in the tattered garments of the common people: the women go quite bareheaded."

Yet, this is the second city of Old Castile, a bishop's see, and the seat not only of a university, but of a royal chancery. It stands at the confluence of the Esgueva and the Pisuerga, almost at the extremity of a large plain, surrounded with hills of gypsum and calcareous earth, the sides of which are generally

planted with vines, and the flat summits are sown with grain. The ancient name of the city was *Vallisoletum*. Here Charles the Fifth received the news that his victorious troops had taken Rome, and made the pope his prisoner; and in this city his successors held their court till Philip IV. removed it to Madrid. In the time of the emperor, the population was estimated at 200,000 souls: it does not now exceed a tenth of that number. The city covers a very large extent of ground, and the numberless spires, domes, and turrets of its sacred edifices, give it still the appearance of a large metropolis; but a large portion of the ground within the walls is occupied with gardens, squares, and orchards. In 1786, the city contained fifteen parish-churches, five chapels of ease, forty-six convents, six hospitals, seven colleges, 5,000 families, and 20,000 souls. Among the colleges, there are two for British subjects; one for the Scotch, and another for the English. The Scotch occupy the college of St. Ambrose, the oldest house of the Jesuits in Spain, where St. Francis Borgia and many of the early and most distinguished members of the order resided. They have a magnificent country-house near Baccillo, a village eight miles from Valladolid: it is finely situated on a wooded eminence overlooking the Duero and the whole plain; and there are some fine vineyards belonging to the college. They have also a college at Madrid, which is let as a mansion, and yields a considerable rent. The English college is more richly endowed. There are several corn-farms and vineyards belonging to it at Portillo, a village on an eminence, about four leagues from Valladolid, where there is a fine Moorish castle, enclosing a remarkable well-staircase, or spiral flight of steps, about

six feet wide, constructed of hewn stone, and reaching from the summit of the hill to the plain below, with landing-places leading to subterranean apartments, each capable of containing fifty men.* The English college possesses also a delightful villa, with vineyards, orchards, and corn lands, at a place called Viana, on the well-wooded banks of a clear stream, about half way to Portillo. The *Riberas de San Ambrosio*, and of *San Ignacio*, extensive orchards on the banks of the Pisuerga, at either end of Valladolid, formerly belonging to the Jesuits, are also the property of this rich establishment.

The university was founded by Alonso XI. in the year 1346. When Mr. Townsend visited Valladolid, it had forty-two professors and fifty doctors; and in the years 1784, 5, there had entered and been matriculated 1,299 students. At that time, the city had been much improved within a few years. M. Bourgoing confirms the account given by Swinburne of its previous state of dilapidation and wretchedness. "In 1777," he says, "the first time I saw this city, I was disgusted with the filthiness which every where appeared, and by which all the senses were in turn assailed. Eight years afterwards I was less so; and in 1792, I found Valladolid not only much cleaner, but greatly embellished." The entrance is described by Mr. Townsend as highly imposing. "Upon passing the first gate, you find a spacious area (the *Campo Mayor*), bounded by seventeen convents. From hence, entering through the second gate, the city strikes you with every appearance of antiquity. The

* This excavation appears very closely to resemble the subterranean reservoir in the Dominican convent at Ronda.—See vol. i. p. 295.

Plaza Mayor * is spacious and venerable; yet, compared with the great body of the city, it is evidently modern. The cathedral, built by Juan de Herrera, is massive, heavy, and far from elegant. It has the Grecian arch, and the pillars in front are Doric.† The church and convent of San Benito are worthy of at-

* It is surrounded with three rows of balconies, in which, it is computed, 24,000 persons may be seated. Here were held the triennial bull-fights.

† This is, we presume, the new cathedral referred to by Bourgoing. "It is described," he says, "by the Abbé Ponz, as a splendid monument. I saw in it nothing but a mass of brown, dirty-coloured stones; a Doric order of the worst kind reigns in pilasters round the nave; and a high wall, forming the back of the choir, conceals from those who enter, the view of the rest of the church.····The churches of the Dominicans and of San Benito have to boast of the kind of beauty peculiar to almost all the sacred edifices in Spain; that is to say, they are spacious and filled with altars overloaded with decorations and gilding: they contain, besides, some tombs of white marble, sculptured with admirable care. The works of sculpture, whether in wood or marble, may be referred to the era of the restoration of the arts in Spain; an age which produced Juan de Juni, Berraguete, Becerro, and other artists little known beyond the Peninsula, but who would have done honour to more enlightened times."—Vol. i. p. 50. Laborde states, that Herrera left the cathedral unfinished at his death, and that it has the appearance of being only half built. The fact is, that only one wing is finished. According to the original plan, it was to have been 400 feet by 240, in the figure of a cross, each wing having a tower surmounted with a *cupola*, and a larger dome was to have risen from the centre. The treasures of this church were inestimable. There was a *custodia* of solid silver, six feet high; also, a triumphal car of massive silver, on which the host was placed in a shrine of gold, enriched with most valuable jewels, and fixed in the centre of a small temple of silver, with pillars of beaten gold. On the festival of Corpus Christi, this car was paraded through the city, preceded by the different religious orders, and followed by the bishop and other civil and ecclesiastical authorities, the streets being strewed with flowers and lined with troops, and the houses in the line of march hung with tapestry. Such well-known treasures can hardly have escaped the French plunderers.

tention; but the public edifice most to be admired is the church of San Pablo (belonging to the Dominicans), near the palace, whether we consider the elegance of the whole, or the high finishing of the figures and ornaments in bas-relief, which, after a lapse of three hundred years, seem to have suffered little by their exposure to the weather. The quadrangle of the novices in this building deserves the highest praise. The king's palace, rather elegant than grand,* is still preserved; but all the palaces of the great nobility are going to decay. The buildings are chiefly brick, but some are of limestone. Among the materials, no inconsiderable quantity of granite, brought from the neighbourhood of Villacastin, at the distance of thirteen leagues, with many hundred pillars of the same material, remain as monuments of ancient splendour. At present, the poor are numerous, fed by the convents, and manifest the wretchedness of this once flourishing metropolis. It is fallen indeed; but on the projected canal we may evidently read *Resurgam.*" †

* The foundations and lower part of the walls are of hewn stone: the rest of the building is literally of mud, which, however, owing either to its nature or the climate, hardens with time till it becomes as solid as stone. We presume that it is made of earth and lime, *tapia real.*

† Among the other treasures of Valladolid, Laborde mentions a fine piece of sculpture in the church of San Pablo, by Gregory Hernandez, representing a Dead Christ; in the church of Las Angustias, a statue of the Virgin by the same artist; also a groupe representing the Virgin with the dead body of our Lord in her arms, and the two thieves; and in the church of the Carmelites, a statue of our Lord on Mount Carmel, of exquisite beauty, also by Hernandez. The house of the Inquisition is a large square building without ornament: over the gate is inscribed, *Exurge Domine, et judica causam tuam;*—" words," remarks the Catholic clergyman to whom we are indebted for some of our information respecting Valladolid, " in which its members might read their own condemnation, while they presumed to judge that cause for Him."

It has not yet risen, however; nor has the canal, we believe, which was to be finished in *thirty* years, been completed. "It has been attempted," says Bourgoing, "within these few years, to rouse Valladolid from the state of lethargy into which it has fallen. A school for drawing and an academy of mathematics were established; several of the streets were improved by the establishment of a police, and its environs, by promenades and plantations of chestnut-trees. On coming out of the *Campo Grande*, where new alleys have lately been planted along the Pisuerga, there are two leagues of excellent road towards Madrid, and eight towards Palencia, through a naked country; for the scarcity of wood which forced Philip III. to abandon Valladolid, has even increased since his time."* If the want of *fuel* was really the cause of

* The scarcity of wood began at length to attract the attention of the government in 1753; and an ordinance of the Council of Castile enjoined every inhabitant of the country to plant five trees. "In some places, however, malice, in others prejudice, particularly throughout Old Castile, dictated the insinuation that the trees attracted birds and other destroyers of grain; trees which began to thrive were cut down by passengers, and others perished for want of care. Almost every where the ordinance was neglected. At length, towards the latter end of the reign of Charles III., recourse was had to the most efficacious of measures, that of example; and already do a few orchards and clumps of trees interrupt the monotony of the horizon, enlivening with a little verdure the parched and naked soil of La Mancha and the two Castiles."—BOURGOING, vol. i. p. 44. In the plain or *campo* extending between Valladolid and Villadrigo, a little lavender, two species of Jerusalem sage, and meadow-ragwort are the only plants the country affords. "All the territory of Campos," adds Dillon, "is so bare and destitute of trees, that the inhabitants are obliged for fuel, to burn vine-stocks, straw, dung, and the few aromatic shrubs they can find. Their kitchens are like stoves, and they sit round them on benches, giving to these wretched hovels the emphatic name of *glorias*. A solitary elm or walnut-tree now and then appears near a church, a sure sign that water is not far from the surface, and that its roots

his deserting this city, in what a light does it place the administration of a country once covered with forests, and affording coal at no great distance from this ancient metropolis, to which it might easily be transported by a canal! "Out of the town," adds this Traveller, "in spite of the fertility of a country adapted for every kind of culture, and abounding in rivers, all is nakedness and misery. Within the city, the same baneful want of industry is observable. The only manufactures which have an appearance of flourishing, are those of woollens. The goldsmiths and jewellers have acquired a deserved renown, and there are still a great number of them in one of the most frequented parts of the city, but they are not above mediocrity."

The canal referred to by Mr. Townsend, was to begin at Segovia. "Quitting the Eresma, it crosses the Pisuerga near Valladolid, at the junction of that river with the Duero; then, leaving Palencia with the Carrion to the right, till it has crossed that river below Herrera, it once more approaches the Pisuerga; and near Herrera, twelve leagues from Reinosa, receiving water from that river in its course, it arrives at Golmir, from whence, in less than a quarter of a league to Reinosa, there is a fall of 1000 Spanish feet. At Reinosa, is the communication with the canal of Aragon, which unites the Mediterranean to the Bay of Biscay; and from Reinosa to the Suanzes, which is three leagues, there is a fall of 3000 feet. Above Palencia, is a branch going westward, through Beceril de Campos, Rio Seco, and Benevente, to

have partaken of it. When this happens, independent of every vicissitude of climate, other trees would thrive in like manner, and the country might be rendered shady and pleasant, instead of being the most desolate in Europe."—*Travels*, p. 118.

Zamora, making this canal of Castile, in its whole extent, one hundred and forty leagues." In 1786, they had already completed twenty leagues of it, from Reinosa to Rio Seco, " which, with twenty-four locks, three bridges for aqueducts, and one league and a half of open cast through a high mountain, had cost 380,000*l.* sterling; about 4,320*l.* a mile."* The canal is nine feet deep, twenty feet wide at bottom, and fifty-six at top. When completed, " to say nothing of coals to be carried from the Asturias to the south, and of manufactures which might then be established in Castile, and find a ready market by the Bay of Biscay, the excellent wines of that sandy province, now scarcely paying for cultivation, would not only find a ready sale, but be held in the highest estimation; the oils would fetch their price, both for the table and for soap; and the corn which, in abundant seasons, proves the ruin of the farmer, would be a source of opulence, and stimulate his industry to fresh exertions. For want of such an outlet, provinces designed by nature to rejoice in plenty, and to furnish abundance for exportation, are often reduced to famine, and obliged to purchase corn from the surrounding nations."

Valladolid is deemed highly salubrious, though often

* Townsend, vol. i. pp. 367—369. Two thousand soldiers were employed on this magnificent undertaking, and as many peasants. They were paid " by the piece," the price varying according to the quality, the depth, and the distance. The qualities were distinguished into sand, soft clay, hard clay, loose schist, hard schist, and solid rock of three kinds; such as could be worked with pick and shovel, such as required wedges and sledges, and such as was worked by boring and blast. " When this canal is perfected," adds this Traveller, " which may be in less than thirty years, the world, perhaps, will have nothing to compare with it in point either of workmanship, of extent, or of utility."

visited by fogs exhaled from the Duero and the "stagnant waters" of the Esgueva. The country round the city, Mr. Townsend says, is a perfect garden, watered by *norias*. It produces excellent wine: there are a few olive-plantations, and the mulberry-tree has been cultivated with success. Madder is produced in some part of the environs, as well as near Burgos and Segovia; also in the Asturias, Aragon, Catalonia, and the southern provinces. Bourgoing says, that it is superior to that of any other country, the climate being peculiarly favourable to it. A beautiful species of thyme, oak of Jerusalem (*chenopodium botrys*), and green wormwood cover the neighbouring plain.

"The admirers of the fine arts go a league to the north of this city, to the nunnery of Fuensaldanca, to see three paintings by Rubens." Two of these are representations of Saints Francis and Anthony; the third and principal one is the Assumption of the Virgin, which is considered by some connoisseurs as the finest and boldest production of that master.* All three were presented to this church by the Duke of Alba, who brought them from the Netherlands. Charles III., wishing to transfer them to the Escurial, offered to rebuild the nunnery on a larger scale, and with stone instead of *tapia*, and to double the revenues of the sisterhood, if they would part with these treasures. The reply given was, that his majesty might take, but they had it not in their power to give what he requested. They were consequently suffered to retain them in their possession. Half a league below

* This picture has been described to us by the gentleman referred to in a preceding note, as a magnificent production. The number of figures is very great, and the angels in the foreground are of colossal size, their attitudes exceedingly fine and wonderfully varied. But nothing can exceed the ecstatic appearance of the

Valladolid, on the other bank of the Pisuerga, is a superb monastery of the Geronimites (or Jeromites), containing a beautiful cloister by Herrera, embellished with paintings by Vicente.

On leaving Valladolid for Burgos, the road for half a league leads through a noble avenue of mulberry-trees, with cross walks, which serves as a promenade. It then enters on the naked plain, crossing the Pisuerga at the village of Cabeçon, which has the reputation of producing the best wine in the province. The soil is clay mixed with sand; the hills are of clay and marl. There is a great scarcity of wood; yet, the country, in Swinburne's opinion, wears a much more cheerful appearance than any part of New Castile. "The number of small towns or villages," he says, "is considerable, and on most of the hills are seen ruined castles or towers. We travelled up the Pisuerga for many miles through a broad vale, bare of trees, but tolerably well cultivated, crossing and re-crossing the river several times: the largest bridge is near Torquemada, of twenty-two arches. The houses hereabouts are built of sun-dried bricks. The next day, we came to a much more agreeable country, better wooded and more thronged with habitations. On every steeple we saw one or two storks' nests: these birds seem to be held in the same veneration here as in the Low Countries." The Pisuerga is crossed for the last

Virgin, who is fixing her eyes on her Divine Son in the clouds. The picture is sadly disfigured, however, to a Protestant, by a representation of the Eternal Father, "with locks as white as snow, throned, and leaning on a sceptre," while above is seen "the Mystic Dove." The colouring is particularly splendid. The upper part of the picture, which was square, not fitting the semi-circular dome, has been rounded off, part of the sky and whole groupes of angels in the distance being cut away by the Gothic barbarians.

time at Quintana de la Puente, which takes its name from a stone bridge of eighteen arches. The road then crosses two rugged acclivities, the bases of which are washed by that river flowing from N. to S.,* and then descends to Villadrigo, a miserable village, though agreeably situated on the right bank of the river Arlançon, which is not lost sight of during the rest of the way to Burgos. The approach to that city, up a long valley, chiefly corn land, is rather pleasing. The castle, the ancient broken walls sloping down from it, and the cathedral a little below, form a very picturesque termination of the prospect. The distance from Valladolid to Burgos is 22 leagues, and 42½ from Madrid.

BURGOS,

THE capital of Old Castile, is pleasantly situated on the right bank of the Arlançon, at the foot of an eminence upon which an old castle displays its ruins, once the abode of the counts, and afterwards of the kings of Castile. The origin of the city cannot be traced with any certainty higher than the ninth century. It is built in a very irregular manner on the declivity, with narrow, crooked, uneven streets, and is surrounded with high walls. "Formerly," says Bourgoing, "this city was remarkable for its riches, industry, and commerce: it now presents the perfect

* According to Laborde, the Arlançon (the Burgos river) is joined by the Arlanza at the *venta del Moral*, a little below Villadrigo; and at Magaz, half way between Torquemada and Dueñas, it receives the Carrion. Bourgoing places the confluence of the Arlanza and the Arlançon at Magaz; a little further on, he says, these two rivers are united to the Pisuerga, and then to the Carrion. It is the junction of these four rivers which, under the continued name of Pisuerga, skirts Valladolid, before falling into the Duero.

image of poverty, idleness, and depopulation. It does not contain more than 10,000 inhabitants;" (in its prosperity, it contained four times that number;) "and its only branch of trade is now confined to the carriage of wool, which is sent off for embarkation at the northern ports. Its manufactures, if we except that of leather, scarcely deserve mention. The magnificence of the cathedral forms a disgusting contrast with the rubbish that surrounds it. This imposing and well-preserved edifice is a *chef-d'œuvre* of elegance. It is almost opposite one of the three bridges which cross the Arlançon. One of its chapels contains a picture by Michael Angelo, representing the Virgin clothing the infant Jesus, who is standing erect upon a table. We recognise the air of nobleness and grandeur which that master knew how to give to his figures, with that vigour and correctness of design to which he sometimes sacrificed the graces."—Mr. Swinburne thus speaks of this fine edifice.

"The cathedral is one of the most magnificent structures of the Gothic kind now existing in Europe. But, though it rises very high, and is seen at a great distance, its situation, in a hole cut out of the side of the hill, is a great disadvantage to its general effect. Its form is exactly the same as that of York minster. At the western or principal front, are two steeples ending in épines; and on the centre of the edifice rises a large square tower, adorned with eight pinnacles. On one side of the east end is a lower octagon building, with eight pyramids, corresponding exactly to the chapter-house at York. We were struck with the resemblance between these buildings. Both were embellished with a profusion of statues; but, while most of those at York were destroyed in the first emotions of iconoclastic zeal, those at Burgos are still

in full possession of the homage of the country, and are consequently entire. Several of them are much more delicate than one would expect, considering the age in which they were sculptured. Santiago, the patron of this cathedral, stands very conspicuous on his war-horse among the needles of the main steeple; and the Virgin Mary is seated in solemn state over the great window of the west porch. The foliage-work, arches, pillars, and battlements are executed in the most elaborate and finished manner of that style which has been usually called Gothic."

The church of San Pablo is also, according to Laborde, "a noble Gothic structure." The high altar is decorated with a groupe of figures, the size of life, representing the conversion of St. Paul. The Augustinian convent in the suburbs, near the gate of Santa Maria, is without any pretensions to architectural beauty, but has acquired both wealth and fame from the possession of a crucifix to which are attributed miraculous virtues. The figure is an exact outline of the human body, enveloped from the waist downwards in a kind of petticoat, full plaited, of the finest cloth. The tradition is, that it was made by Nicodemus; and it is the subject of many marvellous legends, which are always acceptable to vulgar credulity. All around it are seen the rich offerings of private individuals, distinguished nobles, and munificent kings. Some of these gifts are of silver, others of gold, and not a few are enriched with precious jewels. The front of the altar, the steps, and the balustrades are all of silver, as are also the sixty chandeliers, each five feet high, and of proportionate bulk, ranged on the ground immediately below the altar. Of the same precious metal are those standing on the altar, intermixed with silver crowns and

crosses, emblazoned with precious stones. Eighty silver lamps, of a magnificent size, are suspended from the vaulted roof. The walls are hung with cloth of gold, but it is almost black with the smoke of lamps and incense.

Burgos was originally an episcopal see: it was erected into an archbishopric in 1574. It is a very extensive diocese, including 693 parishes. The city, though scarcely a vestige remains of its ancient splendour, still claims precedence in rank of all other cities in the two Castiles, Toledo alone disputing this point of punctilio. Burgos was the birth-place of two of the most celebrated military heroes of Spanish history; Ferdinand Gonzales, the first count of Castile, and the Cid Campeador.* In the reign of

* "Lusitania," says the canon in Don Quixote, "had a Viriatus, Rome a Cæsar, Carthage a Hannibal, Greece an Alexander, Castile a Count Fernan Gonzales, Valencia a Cid, Andalusia a Gonzalo Fernandez, Estremadura a Diego Garcia de Peredez, Xeres a Garcia Perez de Vargas, Toledo a Garcilasso, and Seville a Don Manuel de Leon." Don Garcia Perez de Vargas (called in the first volume of Don Quixote, Diego Perez de Vargas) was surnamed *Machuca* (the pounder, or bruiser), because having one day broken his sword in the heat of an engagement, he tore up an oak, or at least a massy branch, and did wonderful execution on the Moors, crashing and grinding them as with a flail. He is the hero of many a ballad; and mention has been made of him at page 2 of this volume, as the deliverer of Seville. The claim of Valencia to the Cid rests on his having won it from the Moors (see vol. I. p. 143), in consequence of which it for some time bore his name. There is a whole body of ballads concerning Fernan Gonzales, under whose rule, in the tenth century, Castile first became a powerful and independent state. Dr. Southey's delightful "Chronicle of the Cid" has made Ruy Diaz still more familiar to the English reader; and "The Cid's Wedding" is the subject of one of the spirited ballads from the Spanish, by the editor of Don Quixote, in which there is an allusion to customs which still exist.

"Within his hall of Burgos, the king prepares a feast;
He makes his preparation for many a noble guest.

Charles the Fifth, a triumphal arch in very good taste was erected in memory of the former; and more recently, Burgos has paid a similar tribute to the memory of the Cid, by raising a monument upon the spot where his house is supposed to have stood. In the centre of the new *plaza*, which is surrounded with uniform houses, but small and paltry in their appearance, is a bronze statue of Charles III., "badly designed and worse executed," and not otherwise remarkable than as being almost the only monument of the kind — the only one erected in honour of a Spanish sovereign — in the kingdom. The environs of Burgos are fertilised and embellished by the waters of the Arlançon, which meanders through luxuriant meadows, and has to boast of three very fine stone bridges within half a league of each other. A little below the city, it washes the walls of a famous nunnery called *Las Huelgas*, one of the most richly endowed in Spain. The nuns, Swinburne says, are all noble; and the abbess is almost a sovereign princess by the extent of her territories, the number of her prerogatives, and the variety of her jurisdictions. The convent is not a shewy building, and the situation is low and unpleasant. At the distance of half a league south-east of the city, is the

It is a joyful city, it is a gallant day;
'Tis the Campeador's wedding, and who will bide away?
"The king had given order that they should rear an arch,
From house to house all over, in the way where they must march;
They have hung it all with lances, and shields, and glittering helms,
Brought by the Campeador from out the Moorish realms.
"They have scatter'd olive-branches and rushes on the street,
And the ladies fling down garlands at the Campeador's feet;
With tapestry and broidery their balconies between,
To do his bridal honour, their walls their burghers screen; &c.

Carthusian monastery of *Miraflores*, in the church of which are the magnificent tombs of King Juan II. and his consort, and Don Juan their son. The choir and chapter-house are decorated with some ancient paintings. In the environs of Burgos, there are trees enough to serve as ornamental avenues and promenades; but there is a great scarcity of fuel, and this is one of the coldest countries in Spain.

From Burgos, the road to Bayonne leads over the lofty Sierra del Oca into the valley of the Ebro, and by Vittoria and Tolosa to St. Jean de Luz. Before we proceed further northward, however, we shall throw together some general remarks on the two Castiles, and then avail ourselves of Mr. Townsend's account of the kingdom of Leon, with which that of Castile was so closely identified.

Old Castile, which may be considered as the cradle of the Spanish monarchy, forms an irregular triangle, the base of which, extending from the Asturias to Estremadura, is fifty-nine leagues in length, and its diameter from east to west, forty-three leagues. Its eastern point borders on Aragon; the river Ebro separates it on the north and north-east from Navarre; the Sierra d'Oca divides it on the north and north-west from the Asturias; Leon joins it on the west; and on the south it is bounded by New Castile. It presents a succession of plains, surrounded and intersected with lofty mountains, and copiously supplied with streams. Mineral springs, both hot and cold, are numerous.* Many of the mountains yield delicious pasture to immense herds of cows, especially the mountains of Santander and of Reynora, which

* The most celebrated are at Baños near Bejar; at Barco de Avila; and at Arnedillo.

xtend northward of Burgos to the Bay of Biscay. Innumerable flocks of sheep also winter in the plains, and during summer browse on the mountains. The soil is for the most part extremely fertile. In many parts, water is found at a few feet below the surface, so that, notwithstanding the heat of the climate and the dryness of the atmosphere, the crops seldom fail. The wheat and barley are of excellent quality; and some districts (especially the Burela and the Rioja) abound in luxuriant orchards and vineyards. The plains are, for the most part, bare, owing to the invincible antipathy of the Castilian husbandmen to plantations, and large tracts are suffered to remain an unprofitable waste; but this province might be rendered one of the most delightful and productive in the Peninsula. Such has been the depressing effect, however, of the withdrawment of the court and the decline of the manufactures, that the existing population, at the beginning of the present century, was estimated at less than 1,200,000 souls.* In the short space of fifty years, Laborde says, this province had lost one half of its former inhabitants. Old Castile once held the first rank in Spain for the diversity and extent of its manufactures; and the woollens of Segovia, Avila, and Medina del Campo were in request throughout the Continent. It now ranks as the last and lowest province both in manufactures and commerce. All the towns are in a state of decay. Some good roads have been made in particular districts; but the cross roads are precisely what they were four centuries back, and are scarcely passable on horseback. The only mode of conveyance is on

* In this estimate were included 146,000 nobles; 14,580 ecclesiastics, secular and regular; 3,210 nuns; 5,760 students; 1,865 writers and advocates; and 37,163 domestics.

mules. Besides Burgos, the capital, Old Castile contains seven episcopal cities, namely, Valladolid, Segovia, Calahorra (the birth-place of Quintilian), Soria, Osma, Siguenza, and Avila; 4,555 parishes, 390 religious houses, and three universities.

New Castile, comprehending the greater part of the ancient Celtiberia, is one of the largest provinces of Spain, being, exclusive of La Mancha, 56 leagues from N. to S. and 49 from E. to W., having Old Castile on the N., Aragon and Valencia on the E., Jaen and Cordova on the S., and Estremadura on the W. The principal towns, besides Toledo and Madrid, which have already been described, are, Cuença, an episcopal city; Alcala de Henarez and Guadalaxara in the Alcaria; Talavera de la Reyva; and Requena. The last three cities, Laborde says, subsist by their manufactures, Alcala, by its university, Toledo, by the clergy, and Madrid, by the court. The remarks made respecting Old Castile will apply with almost equal correctness to this province. Its general aspect is that of poverty and depopulation. Laborde states, that there are no fewer than 195 chapels, which perpetuate the names of hamlets that have long been left without an inhabitant. In 1787-8, New Castile contained 1,301 parishes, 375 religious houses, two universities, fifty colleges, and 940,650 inhabitants.*

The Sierra de Cuença, which runs between New Castile and Valencia, is considered as the most elevated land in Spain.† It is a mountainous district,

* Including 12,687 nobles; 11,400 ecclesiastics; 2,845 nuns; 2,859 students; 2,120 writers and advocates; and 46,742 domestics.

† Mr. Townsend speaks of Daroca in Aragon as standing on the

affording excellent pastures, and diversified by extensive vales. Cuença (Concha), the capital, is built on a very steep acclivity, between two lofty mountains, and is divided by two narrow chasms, into which are precipitated the rivers Huecar and Xucar. There is a bridge over the former, the central piers of which rise 150 feet from the channel of the river; it is nearly 400 feet in length. The city contains thirteen parishes, six monasteries, six nunneries, and about 6,000 inhabitants. The cathedral is spacious, but very plain: it was founded by Alphonso IX. The city contains nothing of any interest. It is about 32 leagues east of Madrid, and 23 west of Requeña, the frontier town towards Valencia, containing about 6,000 inhabitants: this town is well built, and stands in the midst of a very fertile district lying between the Cabriel and the Guadalaviar, and watered by numerous smaller streams which ultimately join the Xucar.*

The routes from Madrid to Oviedo, to Coruña, to Lisbon, and to Bayonne, will complete our survey of this interesting country.

highest land. "We are here," he says, "on the highest land in Spain, with the water falling behind us into the Ebro, while immediately before us it runs into the Tagus."

* The mountains of Cuença invite the researches of the geologist. Laborde mentions several large caverns. One called *Cueva de los Griegos* (Cave of the Greeks), or Belvalle, near Masegosa, is forty feet in height and of unknown depth, and contains some remarkable stalactites. Not far off is the *Cueva del Hierro* (Iron Cave), supposed to be the remains of a mine; within it are several galleries and a fountain of fresh water. The *Cueva de Pedro Cotillas* is also supposed to have been a mine: it communicates with the summit of a mountain near Cuença, and contains some remarkable stalactites. Mineral springs are found in the *sierra* in various places. Another spacious cavern, called *Cueva de las Judias*, is found near Bonaco.

FROM MADRID TO OVIEDO.

THAT tract of country which lies on the left in going from Segovia to Burgos, is a deserted district, rarely visited by modern travellers. In this route, however, two cities occur, which are deserving of notice, were it only for the contrast they present to their ancient prosperity. These are the two Medinas, distinguished by the adjuncts, *de Rio Seco* and *del Campo*. Mr. Townsend, whom we are now to follow, travelled from Madrid to Oviedo in July 1786. At the end of about seven leagues, (a ten hours' journey,) he began to ascend the Guadarama mountains; and in two leagues more, having passed the *Puerto*, reached a *venta* on the northern declivity. The next day, he passed through Villacastin, and at the end of seven Spanish leagues, (or, as he imagined, above thirty-five miles,) arrived at San Chidrian. He now entered on a vast plain of granite sand, very coarse, loose, and unprofitable, but which would evidently bear good elm and fir; and passing through Adinaro and two other villages, arrived at Aribalo (Arevalo), "a considerable city with nine parish-churches, eight convents, two hospitals, two royal granaries, forty-two priests, and sixteen hundred houses." The same sandy *campo* extends to the Adaja, which he crossed, and at three leagues from Aribalo, reached Ataquines, a miserable city of cottages, two hundred and seventy in number. Three leagues further over the plain brought him to Medina del Campo, in the kingdom of Leon.

This ancient town (to which Laborde assigns the classic name of *Methymna Campestris*) was formerly the residence and the birth-place of several monarchs,

and is invested with peculiar privileges. It is free from all taxes, and its inhabitants enjoy other immunities. Cardinal Ximenes made it one of his principal magazines for the military stores collected with a view to curb the great nobility; but when, in 1520, the commons of Castile sought redress of grievances, they seized this magazine, and defended the town with such obstinacy, that Fonseca was obliged to retire and leave them in quiet possession of the ruins. It is said to have contained at one time 14,000 families. Nine parish-churches, with seventy priests, seventeen convents, and two hospitals, still remained, in 1780, to attest its former importance, but there were not above a thousand houses left, and these were all of brick, irregular and low. The collegiate church, built of brick, "is much and deservedly admired for its roof." "Its celebrated fairs, its commerce as the great depô for the cloths of Segovia, the beauty of its edifices, the neatness of its streets,—all these," says Bourgoing "have ceased to exist, except in the annals of history. Next to the churches, which the opulent and the slothful so largely contribute to keep in repair, the finest edifice of Medina del Campo is the shambles. Philip III., whose extravagant enterprises contributed so much to the degeneracy of Spain, has left this city at least a monument of his good-will." The Zapardiel, a little river or torrent which falls into the Duero between Toro and Tordesillas, divides the town into two parts. The surrounding country is naturally fertile; and it is evident, says Mr. Townsend, that the elm, the poplar, the mulberry, the vine, and the olive would flourish here.

Instead of pursuing the direct road to Tordesillas, distant four leagues, Mr. Townsend turned off through Valdestillas, over an undulating country, rich in corn

and wine, to Valladolid. Tordesillas (Torre-de-Sillas, *Turris Sillæ*), situated on the right bank of the Duero, six leagues to the west of Valladolid, was built in the time of the kings of Leon, and is styled by Laborde, ancient, handsome, and agreeable; it contains six parishes, one monastery, two nunneries, and a population of 4,000 persons. A little higher up the river, near where it receives the Pisuerga, stands the town of Simancas, where the archives of the monarchy were deposited by Philip II., and where, we believe, they still remain.

From Valladolid, Mr. Townsend ascended a limestone hill to the elevated plain on which, at the distance of between seven and eight leagues, stands Medina de Rio Seco. This city, once celebrated for its manufactures, and surnamed, for the opulence it derived from its fairs, *India Chica* (the Little Indies), is now reduced from a population of about 30,000 souls or 7,000 houses, to about 1,400 houses, and between 8 and 9,000 souls. There are three parish-churches, four monasteries, and three nunneries. "The churches are all good; that of S. Maria is elegant, with a lofty roof highly finished, and supported by well-proportioned pillars; the *custodia* is solid silver, and weighs more than a hundred weight." Of the castle, which sustained an unsuccessful siege from Henry of Transtamare in his war against Don Pedro the Cruel, the ruins alone remain. In 1786, the trade of Rio Seco was rather on the increase, and the manufactures of serge had begun to revive, owing to the influence of the canal. "From hence to Mansilla," proceeds Mr. Townsend, "a distance of eleven leagues and a half, the country is all level, open, rich, and productive of both corn and wine, abounding in village and occupied by husbandmen. The route we

took was through Cedinos, Vecilla, Alvires, Matallana, and Santas Martas. The first of these includes a hundred mud-wall cottages and two churches; Vecilla, one hundred and sixty such miserable habitations, with two churches. Mayorga has now only 650 such cottages; and although formerly it numbered 17,000, no traces of these remain: it is divided into eight parishes, and contains three convents, and one hospital. Alvires is wretched; Matallana still more so; Santas Martas but little better; and Mansilla has no room to boast. All are equally of mud-wall, and are mouldering away. Mansilla was once fortified, as may be seen by the round towers still remaining. It contains 400 families, one convent, and one hermitage. From Mansilla, the face of the country changes. On crossing the Ezla, we find meadows, enclosures, and a variety of trees, chiefly poplars, elms, and walnuts. Then, passing among hills composed of sand, clay, and gravel, rounded by fluctuating waters, we fall down upon a rich valley, at the head of which stands Leon, protected by high mountains from the north."

LEON,

Which once gave its name to an independent kingdom and a line of sovereigns, contained, in 1786, a population of only 1,500 families, with 6,170 souls, distributed in thirteen parishes, and 420 priests. Besides the cathedral, there are two royal foundations of San Isidro and San Marcos, nine convents, a *beaterio*, and a few hermitages and hospitals. "The cathedral," Mr. Townsend says, "is deservedly admired for its lightness and elegance. It is a Gothic structure, with a lofty spire, highly finished, not only with *basso-relievo* ornaments, but with open-work, transmitting light,

resembling the finest point-lace or filigree. The windows are all of painted glass. In the sacristy is a silver crucifix, with its canopy supported by four Corinthian pillars, nearly seven feet high, the whole of silver. The silver mount on which it stands is divided into compartments, each exhibiting some representation of the Passion in *basso-relievo*. The custodia is more than six feet high, of silver elegantly wrought. The bishop's revenue is about 3,300*l.* sterling. The canons are forty, including always the king and the counts of Altamira. The *Casa Real de San Isidro* has sixteen canons regular of St. Augustine. In their church are deposited the bones of the patron saint in a large silver urn, and the bones of all the kings of Leon, from Alfonso IV., surnamed the monk, to Bermudo III., the last king of Leon; together with the ashes of Ferdinand I., in whom the crowns of Castile and Leon were first united, and who died in the year 1067. Their library contains many valuable manuscripts. The *Casa Real de San Marcos* has a prior and sixteen canons, supported by a revenue of about 8,790*l.* per annum. The front of this religious house merits particular attention. Various pieces of sculpture in *basso-relievo* are elegant and highly finished. Two of these represent the Crucifixion and the Taking Down from the Cross. But one of the most striking figures, with respect to design, execution, and expression, is San Jago on horseback. All the churches in this city, like those of Aragon, are crowded with pillars, and these pillars are nearly hid with most preposterous ornaments, such as vines, cherubs, angels, and birds, covered entirely with gold.

"Leon, destitute of commerce, is supported by the church. Beggars abound in every street, fed by the

convents and at the bishop's palace. The surrounding country is bold and beautiful, but ill-cultivated. It is watered by the Torio and the Vernesga, two little streams which unite below the city (and form the Ezla). In summer they are brooks, in winter torrents. With the rolling stones hurried down from the mountains by the impetuous raging of these torrents on the sudden melting of the winter's snow, a considerable part of the wall is built, forming a valuable collection for the naturalist: among these are found limestone, schist, and grit.* The best marble is brought from Nozedo, Robles, and Lillo; the former two distant five, the latter, eleven leagues from Leon."

This city is said to have been founded prior to the reign of Galba. It was called by the Romans *Legio Septima Germanica*, from the Legion stationed there. It was the first town of importance recovered from the Moors, after which it continued to be for three centuries the residence of the Christian kings. The ancient palace is still to be seen; it has been converted into a cloth-manufactory, now in a state of decay. The episcopal see is one of the most ancient in Spain: the bishop is suffragan to Compostella, but without being dependent on his jurisdiction. Laborde speaks of handsome squares and fountains in this city, but complains of its being detestably filthy. A heterogeneous assemblage of dirty streets filled with beggars, splendid churches, and half-ruined family mansions, forms, in fact, all that remains of the famous city of Leon. Thus, every where in Spain, the church has absorbed the wealth of the country; and its pompous edifices tower, as if in mockery, over dismantled

* Laborde says, that a great part of the walls is of green marble.

castles, ruined palaces, decayed manufactories, and streets silent and depopulated. This city is 174 miles (56½ posting leagues) N.N.W. of Madrid.

The kingdom of Leon (for so it is still called) forms a long irregular rectangle, about 200 miles in length from N. to S., and its mean breadth from E. to W. about 170. It is surrounded by Asturias and Galicia, Old Castile, Estremadura, and Portugal. The Duero (or Douro) divides it into two nearly equal parts, besides which it is watered by numerous streams, which ultimately fall into that river. Among these are the Carrion, the Eresma, the Tormes or Rio de Salamanca, the Ezla, and the Pisuerga. It contains six bishoprics; four to the north of the Duero,—Leon, Palencia, Astorga, and Zamora; and two in the southern part,—Salamanca and Ciudad Rodrigo. Besides these, the chief places are Toro, Carrion de los Condes, Medina del Rio Seco, Tordesillas, and Benevente in the northern part; and south of the Duero, Medina del Campo and Alba de Tormes. The province is divided into four intendancies, Leon, Salamanca, Toro, and Palencia,* in which were included, according to the census of 1788, 2,460 parish-churches, 196 convents, and 665,000 inhabitants: of these, 31,500 were nobles, 5,600 secular priests, 2,064

* The manner in which the military, judicial, financial, and ecclesiastical subdivisions cross each other in Spain, has led to much confusion. Zamora, though in the kingdom of Leon, has been for a long time the seat of the military government of Old Castile. In the map prefixed to Reichard's Itinerary, the province of Valladolid is made to stretch across Leon to Galicia; and we find it enumerated in some geographical works as a province of Leon, though the city of Valladolid is in Old Castile. The census of 1788, however, notices only the four intendancies of Leon, Palencia, Toro, and Salamanca, and we have adhered to this arrangement.

monks, 1,570 nuns, and 25,200 servants.* The towns (539 in number) are, Laborde says, half uninhabited, and there are no fewer than seventy-six deserted villages!

There is another route from Valladolid to Leon, by way of Palencia, towards which there has been made a new road of eight leagues. Palencia is eight leagues from Rio Seco, forty-five leagues from Madrid, and twenty-one from Leon. It is situated in a fertile territory, called *Tierra de Campos*, on the banks of the Carrion, near the borders of Old Castile. Its bishop is suffragan to Burgos. At the beginning of the thirteenth century, this city was honoured by being made the seat of the first university founded in Spain subsequently to the Moorish invasion; but, in 1239, it was removed to Salamanca. Besides the cathedral, there are four churches, eleven convents, two hospitals, and between 8 and 9,000 inhabitants, who are partly employed in manufacturing blankets, serge, and leather. Most of the edifices are said to be in the Gothic style: the most remarkable is the church of San Antolin, founded by King Sancho. Seven leagues over a level country† lead from this city to Carrion de los Condes, situated on the river of that name, in a fertile plain. This town was formerly strong, and is said to have contained at one time 12,000 inhabitants: it is now reduced to a very small population, although there are nine parish-churches, three monasteries, and nine nunneries. The counts of Carrion are often

* According to the usual reckoning of four to a family, this would make the nobles amount to not quite a fifth, and the ecclesiastics to 1 in 22 of the adult male population!

† Between four and five leagues from Palencia, the road crosses the canal of Campos.

mentioned as acting a distinguished part in the chronicles of Spain. Two roads now lead to Leon; one through the town of Saldagna, running along mountains: the other proceeds six leagues to Sahagun, situated in a plain on the eastern bank of the river Cea or Saha, which falls into the Ezla. The remains of its ancient walls and a castle attest its former importance; and there is a royal abbey of the Benedictine order, of high antiquity, with a magnificent church; also, a Benedictine nunnery and a monastery of Franciscans. The population is stated by Laborde at 4,000. From this town it is eight leagues to Leon.

To resume Mr. Townsend's route to Oviedo. From Leon, our Traveller ascended the valley of the Vernesga towards the mountains, and at the end of seven hours, reached the village of *Terras de las Dueñas*, where there is a nunnery. The next day, descending with the Luna, a little trout stream, the road wound through the gorges of schistous mountains, capped with marble, bare and rugged, often rising perpendicularly to the height of three or four hundred feet, and sometimes overhanging. In every little opening of the mountains, wherever a valley spreads wide enough to afford pasture for some cows, is found a village of from ten to twenty houses; "their numbers always bearing a proportion to the quantity of food." Flocks of goats here indicate the nature of the adjacent country. Some of these little villages are most romantically situated. That of Truovana consisting of twenty-two miserable cottages belonging to the monks of the Escurial, is situated in a small plain, well wooded, well watered, and shut in by high mountains of marble, whose bare and rugged cliffs form a striking contrast with the rich verdure of the

meadows and corn-lands, and the smooth surface of the river which glides by the village. The elm, the poplar, the ash, and the wild barberry are the indigenous productions of the soil. The fathers have here a farm-house, with a little mill, whose horizontal wheel is working day and night during the summer, to provide bread for two hundred shepherds who have the charge of their flocks, consisting of about 28,000 sheep, which in the summer feed on these mountains, travelling southward in the winter. "The oven is never cold, baking bread in the morning for the shepherds, and in the evening for the dogs." The shepherd-dogs are large and strong, well qualified to engage the wolves, who abound in these elevated regions, for which purpose they are armed with spiked collars. At Piedrafita, a little village of forty-six houses, Mr. Townsend was amused at seeing the women churning as they walked or stood chatting, by shaking the cream in a leather bag till the butter was completely formed. Snow still remained undissolved on these mountains on the 3d of August, not far from luxuriant crops of corn ready for the sickle. The basis of all the mountains is schist, every where covered with limestone, chiefly blue; the strata running in every variety of direction, and the rocks are "wonderfully rent." At the *Puerto de Somiedo*, where the waters part, are a few miserable cottages, which give name to the pass. Here, "ingulfed by stupendous rocks," the traveller begins to descend by a deep ravine into Asturias; and, as the country opens to the north, looks down upon mountains beyond mountains, resembling in their appearance the ocean vexed with a furious storm. Immediately before him, the little village of Gua looks as if about to be swallowed up by the impending rocks, which are

magnificent beyond description. Lower down, the little hamlet called *La Pola de Somiedo* occupies a small eminence surrounded by about fourscore acres of well-watered meadow, and shut in by limestone rocks of stupendous height, some naked and almost perpendicular, others covered with hanging woods;—the whole scene, with the little river, the goats leaping from rock to rock, and the cattle feeding peaceably below, is in the highest degree picturesque. In this charming village, however, neither bread, nor eggs, nor wine could be procured: both wine and meat are delicacies which the inhabitants seldom taste. The ravine through which the little river holds its course, alternately widens and contracts, being sometimes not more than two yards across, and never more than 600 feet; sometimes sloping and leaving a few acres for cultivation, at other times steep and inaccessible except to goats; often rugged and bare, but not unfrequently thickly covered with oak, ash, beech, filbert, walnut, and chestnut, and that even where they have apparently no soil in which to fix their roots. The rocks themselves are beautiful, more especially where the smooth white marble is almost concealed by foliage. Nearer to the water's edge, the plum-tree, the mulberry, and the fig vary the scene, marking the vicinity to some village. The way among the rocks is wild beyond all imagination, sometimes in the bottom and by the river's side, at other times climbing the steep ascent, or descending from the heights, beneath impending rocks on one hand, and on the brink of a precipice of two or three hundred feet on the other. Sometimes the river is pinched in between two rocks, and is out of sight; at other times a glimpse of it is caught sparkling among the branches of trees in the depth below; but, whether

visible or invisible, it is always heard roaring in the bottom. The track is in many places so narrow as to admit only of one mule; and the apprehension of danger too often counterbalances the pleasure which would otherwise arise from the romantic scenery. About two leagues from Pola de Somiedo, the limestone disappears, and is succeeded by a finely granulated sandstone and silicious pudding-stone. At San Andres de Aguera, four leagues from Piedrafita, the ravine expands into a valley, and admits of more extensive villages. This parish, which is esteemed the best living in the gift of the bishop of Oviedo, contained 150 families, consisting of 700 communicants, besides children under ten years of age, scattered in nine little villages, two in the valley, and seven on the mountains. The births average thirty, and the burials twenty-five in the year. Their industry is most striking. The higher lands are sown with wheat, the lower lands with maize: not a spot is left uncultivated. The limestone rock when burnt is their principal manure. The price of as much land as a pair of oxen can plough in a day, about half an acre, is worth 11*l.* sterling per year; and this, they reckon, should yield a *fanega* of wheat, or 56 lb. of bread, of 24 oz. to the pound. On the mountains, not only wolves, but bears and a species of tiger are said to abound, and in winter, they are all extremely ferocious: the shepherds are consequently obliged to drive their flocks into the villages by night.

From Aguera, Mr. Townsend descended for three leagues by the side of the same rapid stream which he had traced from its origin near the summit of this vast range, to a romantic spot called Belmonte. Then, leaving the ravine, he turned eastward, and after

ascending for an hour, reached the summit of a mountain, commanding a vast extent of pleasing country, resembling some of the richest English scenery. About the middle of the day, he reached the village of Grado, in the centre of a circular plain every where shut in by mountains. Thence, pursuing the course of a stream between high rocks, the track lay for some time through contracted valleys, and afterwards crossed several hills, till, about sunset, he reached the fertile plain at the head of which Oviedo is situated;—a journey which, if direct, would have been eighty-two leagues, but which the deviations from the track made more than ninety, or about 450 miles from Madrid.*

Oviedo, the capital of the Asturias, stands near the conflux of two little rivers, the Ovia and the Nora, which pour their united waters into the Bay of Biscay, near Villa Viciosa. It was built by Froila (or Fruela), the son of Alfonso I., surnamed *El Catolico*, in 757, and made the seat of his dominion. For a short period it enjoyed the honour of an archiepiscopal see in the reign of Alfonso the Great; but this dignity was afterwards transferred to Santiago de Compostella, and Oviedo again became a simple bishopric. In 1786, this city contained 1,560 families (including 5,895 communicants and 1,600 children under ten years old), and 7,495 souls. It has four parish-churches, eight chapels, three monasteries, three convents, three hospitals, and a university, founded in 1580. Mr.

* The expenses of this journey are thus given by Mr. Townsend: a calasine to Valladolid, 32 leagues,(160 miles), reckoned at five days out, one for rest and four for return, with driver's fee, 284 reals. Ditto to Leon, for half a calash, 100 reals. A mule to Oviedo, five days and return, 120 reals. One third provisions from Madrid to Oviedo, (the proportion agreed on,) 272 reals. Total expense, 776 reals—7*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.*

Townsend states the revenue of the bishopric at nearly 6,600*l.*, that of the chapter at 8,790*l.* That of the Benedictine nunnery, though the sisterhood consists of only fifty nuns, amounts to upwards of 2,000*l.* a year. Their convent is of vast extent and elegant architecture. Two of the monasteries are Benedictine: in one of them is shewn the cell of the famous Father Feyjoo. The cathedral, said to have been founded in 760, is of freestone, and Laborde calls it Gothic and handsome; Mr. Townsend, however, says nothing of its beauty, but only mentions the relics, in which the church of San Salvador is the richest in the world.* Here, it seems, when the Moors overran the rest of Spain, the holy treasures of the Peninsula were collected and safely deposited. Their extraordinary value will be seen from the following veritable history. "Tradition says, that when Chosroes, King of Persia, pillaged Jerusalem, God, by his omnipotence, transported a chest of incorruptible wood, made by the immediate followers of the apostles, and filled with relics, from Jerusalem, by way of Africa, to Carthagena, Seville, and Toledo, and from thence, with the Infant Don Pelayo, to the sacred mountain near Oviedo, and finally to the cathedral church of San Salvador. Upon its being opened, by the command of the sovereign Alonzo the Great, in the presence of assembled prelates, they found portions of all the following articles: the rod of Moses; the manna which fell from heaven; the mantle of Elias; the bones of the holy innocents; the branch of olive which Christ bore in his hand when he entered Jerusalem; great part of the true cross; eight thorns of his crown; the

* Laborde speaks of the church of San Salvador, which contains these wonderful relics, as distinct from the cathedral; but Mr. Townsend gives that dedicatory title to the cathedral itself.

sanctissimo sudario, or napkin stained with his blood; the reed which he bore by way of sceptre; his garment; his sepulchre; the milk of the blessed Virgin; the hood which she gave to S. Ildefonso, Archbishop of Toledo; one of the three crucifixes carved by Nicodemus; and a cross of the purest gold, made by angels in the cathedral.* 'Whosoever, called of God, shall visit these precious relics, shall obtain remission of one-third of the punishment due to his sins, with indulgence for a thousand and four years, and six quarantines, &c. &c.' Thus at least runs the promise in the name of the pope, and by authority of the bishop.

"Soon after I had examined all these relics," adds Mr. Townsend, "the *sanctissimo sudario*, or sacred napkin on which the Redeemer during his passion impressed his image, was exposed in the cathedral to eight or ten thousand peasants, collected from all the surrounding villages, most of whom had baskets full of cakes and bread, which they elevated as high as possible the instant the curtain was withdrawn, in the full persuasion that these cakes, thus exposed, would acquire virtue to cure or to alleviate all diseases. Many lifted up their beads, and every one had something or other to receive the divine energy which he conceived to be constantly proceeding from the sacred image of his Lord. After a few minutes, one of the canons drew the curtain, and the multitude retired. A few days after my arrival, I was present at a grand

* Morales mentions certain other relics of which the church of Oviedo boasted, but with the evidence for which he was not quite so well satisfied. Such were, a portion of Tobit's fish and of Samson's honeycomb, a piece of Saint Bartholomew's skin, and the sole of St. Peter's shoe. — See *Notes to* SOUTHEY'S *Roderick*. vol. ii. pp. 203—223.

procession of the bishop with his canons, attended by the principal inhabitants carrying torches, and preceded by the ashes of Santa Eulalia, to implore rain from heaven. But this patroness of the diocese, deaf to their petitions, would not intercede for one refreshing shower, and, in consequence, the maize was scorched up, and produced but little grain. Being at the time in blossom, it required daily showers to prevent the blight." *

One of the hospitals is an *hospicio* for pilgrims, who repair hither from every quarter of the globe in their way to Compostella. It is a miserable building, with numerous cells, where pilgrims are received and lodged for three nights. On their arrival at Oviedo, they present themselves before one particular altar, and receive every man ten *quartos* (about 3*d.*). Should any pilgrim chance to die here, "he is buried with more pomp than the first nobleman of the province," his remains being attended to the grave by all the canons. The rage for pilgrimage had much abated when Mr. Townsend travelled; but there were people then living, who remembered "when it was the fashion for all young men of spirit, both in Italy and France, before they married, to go as pilgrims to San Jago;" and it was still not uncommon to see straggling some few old men, and many companies of young ones, pursuing the same route. "We met," he says, "twelve fine-made fellows from Navarre, singing the rosary, and hastening towards the next convent, where they expected to lodge and receive more money for the journey."

The *hospicio* for the poor is both a general workhouse and a foundling hospital: it contained, at the

* Townsend, vol. ii. pp. 18–21, 25.

period referred to, 65 men, 55 boys, 90 women, and 70 girls; total, exclusive of infants at nurse, 280. To support this establishment, the funds were, 30,000 ducats annually raised by licenses to sell brandy in the Asturias, 3000 from rents, and other emoluments, making the total equal to 4000*l.* sterling; besides the produce of their labour, which was estimated at 30*l.* per annum, including what they make for their own consumption. The bishop, moreover, distributed seventy reals every morning at his gate, the canons scattered alms as they walked the streets, and the six convents administered bread and broth at noon to all applicants. When sick, the poor had a commodious hospital always ready to receive them. As to their children, the mother had only to take her infant to the hospital, "put it into a cradle, ring the bell, and then retire." As the natural consequence of this high bounty on pauperism, "beggars clothed in rags and covered with vermin, swarm in every street."* Spain may indeed be termed the paradise of monks and mendicants.

A few miles from Oviedo, are the hot springs of Rivera de Abajo; they resemble those of Bath, Mr. Townsend says, both in temperature and taste, but have never been analysed. The situation of the baths is most enchanting,—in a little valley shut in on all

* Mr. Townsend took the liberty of asking the bishop, whether he did not think he was doing harm by the distribution of alms. "Most undoubtedly," said he; "but then it is the part of the magistrate to clear the streets of beggars; it is my duty to give alms to all that ask." This answer did him honour. The duty of alms-giving can never be superseded by either the supineness or the officiousness of the magistracy. Is it not to be regretted that the character of the Christian clergyman should ever be merged in that of the magistrate?

sides by limestone mountains, in the centre of which, on a little eminence, stands a castle with round towers, called San Juan de Priorio, with a church near it, and a beautiful back-ground of oaks and chestnuts. The elm, the ash, and the poplar are also found in this district.

The principality of Asturias, the Wales of Spain, is classic ground to a Spaniard. Amid its mountain fastnesses, Pelayo (Pelagius) laid the foundations of the Spanish monarchy. The Asturians lay claim to the proud distinction of having never been conquered, either by the Carthaginians, the Romans, the Goths, or the Moors; their country being impenetrable to an invader, and, it may be added, not worth the cost of conquest. The chain of mountains which stretches east and west along the coast, separating the north of Galicia, Asturias, Biscay, and Guipuzcoa from the rest of the Peninsula, has at all times been the nursery of a hardy race, who, under every change of dynasty, have maintained their independence, and, in some parts, retain the original language of their Cantabrian ancestry. The name of this principality is of uncertain origin. Laborde states, that it is derived from a river which flows near the walls of Astorga, and falls into the Duero.* The principality is subdivided into the Asturia of Oviedo and the Asturia of Santillana, and forms an irregular parallelogram,

* Astorga once disputed with Oviedo the dignity of being the capital of Asturias, till it was decided that it belonged to the kingdom of Leon. Astorga (Asturica) is not upon a river, but a little stream flows a mile to the east, called the Tuerto. Asturica, Dr. Southey says, has been derived from the Celtic *stoer* or *stour*, a river, and *ye*, a dwelling-place; answering to our Stourton. The Astura river, however, is supposed to be the Ezla, the name having

opening on the Bay of Biscay, and bounded on the east by the mountains of Burgos and Biscay, on the south by Leon, and on the west by Galicia. The mean length from east to west is about forty-six leagues, and its breadth varies from twelve to eighteen. It is mountainous throughout, and can never, one would imagine, have been much more populous than it is now. The total number of inhabitants is stated by Laborde to be under 350,000; including 2,268 secular priests, 390 monks, 200 nuns, and 114,274 *hidalgos*.* The first capital of the little kingdom of Pelayo was the port of Gijon, from which his successors took the title of count; this was afterwards changed to that of count of Oviedo, till Alfonso II. assumed that of king of Leon. Like Wales, it has always continued to be a distinct principality, and, since the year 1388, has given the title of prince to the eldest sons of the Catholic kings. The infant Don Henriquez, son of Juan I., king of Castile and Leon, was the first who bore it.

There is but one great road through the principality, that which leads from Madrid to Oviedo, thence branching off to Gijon and Aviles, each five leagues distant. Laborde, however, enumerates eighteen passes in the mountains which separate the principality from Leon, though he has not described any of them. Mr. Townsend speaks of several, adding, "I

been corrupted into Eztola—Ezla. The province was named from the river, the people (*Astures*) from the province, and the capital from the people. There was a town of the same name, Astyra, in Italy, and another in the East.—SOUTHEY'S *Letters*, vol. i. p. 129.

* It would seem that adults only are reckoned, since the number of *hidalgos*, added to 2,658 ecclesiastics, 300 advocates, 1,500 students, and 6,200 servants, would amount to 125,000, not leaving two-thirds for women and children.

apprehend every one of them is strong."* The aspect of the country presents, he says, a striking re-

* Their names are: Del Quadro, *Cienfuegas*, Cerro de San Antonio, Leitariegos, Zareza, *Semiedo*, de la Meza, Ventana, Cubilla, Pajares, *Piedrafita*, Ligueras, San Isidro, Catiagro, Tarna, Ventaniella, Arcenario, and Beza. But as at least three of these passes occurred in Mr. Townsend's route, (for Cienfuegas is evidently the same place as Aguerina, the birth-place of Cardinal Cienfuegos, Del Quadro is possibly Grado, and Ligueras Aguera,) they must not be mistaken for distinct routes. Beza is probably the same as Buisa, a village on the frontier of Leon, whence the direct route to Oviedo leads to Pajares, four leagues, thence to Vega del Ciego, four leagues; to Oviedo, five; total, 13 leagues. This route twice crosses the river Candal, and afterwards follows the course of the Nalon. In Laborde's enumeration, and throughout his work, we look in vain for any mention of the far-famed vale of Covadonga, in which Pelayo destroyed a Moorish army that had rashly entered the perilous defile, by the same expedient that was had recourse to on a smaller scale in the Tyrol, in the memorable war of 1809. We learn from Dr. Southey, (no mean authority in all matters relating to Spanish history,) that Covadonga is the place where the sources of the Deva gush from the living rock on the summit of Auseva: and his description of the defile might almost seem borrowed from Mr. Townsend's account of the pass of Somiedo:—

> ——"the rocky vale, the mountain stream,
> Incumbent crags, and hills that over hills
> Arose on either hand, here hung with woods,
> Here rich with heath·····
> Pelayo, upward as he cast his eyes
> Where crags loose hanging o'er the narrow pass
> Impended, there beheld his country's strength
> Insuperable, and in his heart rejoiced."

After the Moors had been overwhelmed in the defile by the dread artillery of the mountaineers,—"huge trunks, and stones, and loosened crags, down rolled with crash continuous, and commixed with sounds more dreadful,"—we are told:—

> —— "By this the blood
> Which Deva down her fatal channel pour'd,
> Purpling Pionia's course, had reach'd and stain'd
> The wider stream of Sella.'

See SOUTHEY's *Roderick*, vol. ii. pp. 24, 133, 161. The Pionia of Dr. Southey is, we suspect, the Pilona of Laborde. The Sella, after washing the town of Cangas de Onis, receives the Curado,

semblance to many parts of England. "The same is the aspect of the country as to verdure, enclosures, live hedges, hedge-rows, and woods; the same mixture of woodland, arable, and rich pasture; the same kinds of trees, and crops, and fruit, and cattle. Both suffer by humidity in winter, yet, from the same source, find an ample recompense in summer; and both enjoy a temperate climate, with this difference, that, as to humidity and heat, the scale preponderates on the side of the Asturias. In sheltered spots, and not far distant from the sea, they have olives, vines, and oranges. The cider is not so good as ours; but I am not able to determine how far the fault is in the making. Such is the humidity of the atmosphere, that the misletoe grows not only on the oak, but on apples, pears, and thorns...The north-east wind indeed is dry, attended with a bright sky and a bracing air; but with every other wind the sun is obscured with clouds. The north wind always produces the most dreadful tempests, and the north-west is little better. Both bring rain in summer; and the west wind comes loaded at all times with moisture from the Atlantic Ocean. In May, June, and July, they seldom see the sun; but then, to balance this, in August and September they as seldom see a cloud. The coast is temperate, and comparatively free from rain; but such is the moisture of the hills, that no care is sufficient to preserve their fruits, their grain, their iron instruments, from mould, rot, or rust. Both the acetous and the putrid fermentation here make a

and falls into the Bay of Biscay a little below the village of Junco. The Deva, according to Laborde, takes its rise to the east of the Sella, and in the same mountains, and entering the Asturia of Santillana, passes by Puertas, Mettera, and Potes, the chief place of the little country of the Liebana, or five valleys.

rapid progress. Besides the relaxing humidity of the climate, the common food of the inhabitants contributes much to the prevalence of most of the diseases that infest this principality. They eat little flesh; they drink little wine. Their usual diet is Indian corn, with beans, peas, chestnuts, apples, pears, melons, and cucumbers; and even their bread, made of Indian corn, has neither barm nor leaven, but is in the state of dough. Their drink is water." The list which this Traveller gives of the diseases endemical in the Asturias, is truly formidable,—intermittents, dropsies, hysteria, hypochondriasis, scrofula, scurvy, scabies, leprosy, palsy, epilepsy, apoplexy, pleurisy, phthisis, madness! For the leprosy alone, there are in this province twenty *lazaros*. The *mal de rosa*, a sort of erysipelatous eruption, is a disease peculiar to the Asturias: if neglected, its effects are fatal. Yet, though subject to such a variety of diseases, few countries can produce more numerous examples of longevity.* Moreover, that arch enemy, humidity, must not be made responsible for the whole catalogue of ailments. Hypochondriasis and the nephritic complaints to which the cloistered tribe are subject, Mr. Townsend reasonably ascribes to their inactive, sluggish life, without hope or object. Palsies are brought on by want of exercise, and dropsies by the constant recurrence to the universal prescription, *Fiat venesectio*. As in Murcia, the Sangrado system is here the panacea for every bodily ill.

Coal every where abounds in the Asturias, but has never been turned to account, owing to its intolerable smell, derived from the sulphur with which it is impregnated. It is enclosed in calcareous rock: should

* This remark applies equally to Galicia.

it be found in schist, it would probably cease to be offensive. The whole province abounds with marl, chalk, gypsum, calcareous freestone, limestone enclosing fossil shells, and marble. There are also considerable mines of jet and amber; and Laborde speaks of lead, copper, iron, magnesia, and arsenic, as found in these mountains.

The only towns of any importance besides Oviedo, are Gijon, Aviles, Luanco, Navia, Cangas, and Santillana. Gijon, the *Jixa* of the Romans, is a considerable port, to which the English resort for filberts and chestnuts. Mill-stones and cider are also exported here. The harbour, made and maintained at a vast expense, "is not reckoned safe; but there is no other in the vicinity which can stand in competition with it." The town contained, in 1786, about 800 families;—Laborde estimates the population at 3000 souls. There is, however, strange to say, only one parish-church, one chapel, and one convent of nuns. A castle defends the town. Aviles (Avila) stands at the same distance N.N.W. of Oviedo, that Gijon does to the N.N.E., on the left bank of the river of the same name, about a league from the sea, in the bay of Las Peñas. With the same population, it contains two parish-churches, two monasteries, and a nunnery, a hospital for pilgrims, and another for old women: it trades in fish and cloths. Luanco is a small sea-port, containing 370 houses, and carries on a little coasting trade. Mr. Townsend spent some days at each of these places. Nothing can exceed, he says, their simplicity of manners in this distant province. This simplicity, however, from his account, appears to differ little from rudeness, and is accompanied with a familiarity and plainness of speech which would elsewhere be deemed gross and indecent. The probity of the

Asturians is proverbial, and so is their dulness; yet, Asturias has produced some enlightened men. The useful arts are here in their infancy. The ploughs about Oviedo are the worst, Mr. Townsend says, he ever saw; the harrows have no iron, and are used only for maize; the cart-wheels are without spokes, the axis being received by a plank, eight or ten inches wide, fastened to the felloe. The rough music made by the wooden pins of the axis, resembling the sound of a postboy's horn, is heard from morning to night in every part of the principality, and, to the ear of a native peasant, is most delightful. The houses are furnished in the most primitive manner, with oak tables and benches, beds without curtains, floors unplaned, the walls whitewashed, and the rooms without ceilings.

Cangas de Onis, one of the principal places in Asturias, is situated at the confluence of the Sella and the Curado, in the route from Oviedo to Santillana. Not quite a league from this town stands "the celebrated abbey of Our Lady of Cobadonga" (Covadonga), which, Laborde says, is of the highest antiquity in the country; but he does not mention whether it marks the site of the famous victory over the Moors. Not so far off, he adds, is "the curious monastery of San Pedro Villanosa," which is supposed to occupy the site of a palace of Alfonso I. Santillana (*Santæ Julianæ Fanum*) is on the confines of the principality to the north-east, near the sea, and twenty-two leagues from Oviedo. It contains a collegiate church, a monastery, and about 400 families.

To the east of Asturia de Santillana lies a little canton, called *Las Montañas de Santander*, or *de Burgos*, which, Laborde says, has been improperly considered as part either of Asturias or of Biscay. The

only place of importance, however, which it contains, is the episcopal city and port of Santander, situated twenty leagues west of Bilbao, and thirty-five north-west of Burgos. It has a commodious harbour, defended by two forts, and carries on a considerable trade, chiefly in wool and flour; * there are also some manufactories: the population is estimated at 10,000. The town is the residence of several foreign consuls, and the seat of a consular tribunal; whereas it is one of the privileges of Biscay, that no political or commercial agent is to reside at any of its towns or ports. This little canton is under the same laws as the Castiles, and may be considered as in fact an extension of the province of Old Castile. Its bishop is suffragan to the archbishop of Burgos.

Westward of Asturias, the kingdom of Galicia, the most populous province of Spain, extends forty leagues along the coast of the Atlantic, and forty-six north and south, forming the north-west angle of the Peninsula. A prolongation of the great Cantabrian chain of mountains intersects the province from east to west, terminating in Cape Finisterre. This was the country of the ancient Callaici, which included a part of Old Castile. Together with Asturias and Biscay, it maintained its independence alike against the Roman legions and the Moorish invaders. It was erected into a kingdom in 1060, by Ferdinand the Great; but, up to the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, towards the close of the fifteenth century, its inhabitants shewed little respect for the authority of the Castilian monarchs. The province contains an archbishopric, that of San Jago; four episcopal sees, Tuy, Orense,

* In 1803, 156 vessels entered this port, of which 12 were English, 11 American, 62 French, 14 Spanish coasting vessels, and 39 from the Spanish colonies.

Mondeñedo, and Lugo; ninety-eight religious houses:* and a population estimated at about 1,350,000. There are no fewer than forty ports. That of Coruña has acquired too melancholy a celebrity in modern annals; and we shall now conduct the reader from Madrid to that point of the coast, taking in our way some places of high interest which remain to be described in the kingdom of Leon.

FROM MADRID TO CORUÑA.

THE post-road to the Galician frontier, for the first twelve leagues, is the same as the road to San Ildefonso and Valladolid. At the Funda San Rafael, it turns off to the left to Medina del Campo and Benavente. The route by which Mr. Townsend returned from Leon to Madrid, was by Salamanca and Avila. The latter city, about sixteen leagues from Madrid, occupies an imposing situation on a granitic rock at the head of a narrow valley, running east and west nearly ten leagues, and never much more than a mile in breadth, watered by the Adaja. Enclosed by a wall with eighty-eight projecting towers, it has every where the appearance of high antiquity; but this character attaches more especially to the cathedral, the cloister of which is distinguished by its exquisite neatness and elegant simplicity. The treasures of this church were formerly immense. The town itself, however, was reduced, in 1786, to a thousand houses, *one-sixth* part of its former population; yet, the convents were undiminished in number, there being nine monasteries and seven nunneries. Besides the

* The monks are rated at only 2,394, the nuns at 600, the other ecclesiastical persons at 10,425, the nobles at 13,800. In Leon, which does not contain half the population, the convents are twice as many, the secular priests half the number, the nobles as 2½ to 1.

cathedral, there are eight parish-churches, a university, and five hospitals. "No wonder," says Mr. Townsend, "that the streets should swarm with sturdy beggars." In 1789, some English merchants established a calico-manufactory here, which, in 1792, maintained 700 persons. This has probably been long since abandoned; and the canons, priests, monks, and mendicants left in undisturbed possession of the birth-place of Saint Theresa, except on her saintship's festival; the Carmelite nunnery in which she took the veil, and the Carmelite monastery built on the spot where she was born, are then much resorted to by the faithful, and Avila receives a temporary accession of inhabitants. In crossing the high granite mountains which separate the rich valley of Avila from the plains of New Castile, Mr. Townsend travelled nearly five leagues without seeing a human face or habitation, and there was scarcely a beaten track. As he ascended them, the ilex gave way to the *roble* oak, but near the summit he saw only pines, the *daphne mezereum*, the genista, the cistus tribes, and thyme.

Mr. Townsend had made this detour by way of Avila, for the sake of visiting Piedrahita, a village of 150 houses, with three convents and a *beaterio*, belonging to the house of Alba, where the duke had built a country-seat in imitation of the English style. Contrary to the Spanish custom, every room is ceiled, and the walls are papered. It stands in a valley, the waters of which run into the Adaja. From this place, the road lies over a broken country to Alba de Tormes, which gives its name to the dukedom; a city containing 300 houses and seven convents, together with a castle in which is deposited the armour of all the dukes of that house. At the end of four short leagues from Alba, crossing some high land covered

with a forest of ilex, the traveller again descends into the valley of the Tormes, and arrives at the far-famed city of Salamanca, the second in rank in the kingdom of Leon; distant, by the direct road, thirty-seven leagues from Madrid, and thirty-three from the city of Leon.

SALAMANCA.

On approaching this city from Palencia, its position, in an amphitheatrical form on the banks of the Tormes, is highly picturesque. Were the country less naked, M. Bourgoing says, it would resemble the environs of Tours. The fine stone bridge of twenty-seven arches is said to be the work of the Romans. "On entering Salamanca," says the French Traveller, "dirty, narrow, and ill-peopled streets would bespeak it to be one of the most gloomy cities of Europe, and it will easily be believed that its population, formerly numerous, is reduced to 2,800 houses; but we are greatly surprised upon arriving at its modern square, equally remarkable for the neatness and regularity of its architecture. It is adorned with three rows of balconies, which follow each other without interruption. Ninety arcades form its foot pavement. In the intervals between the arches are placed medallions of the most illustrious persons Spain has to boast of. On one side are to be seen all the kings of Castile, up to the reign of Charles III.; on the other, those of the best-known Spanish heroes, as Bernardo del Carpio, Gonsalvo de Cordova, and Ferdinand Cortez. The niches on the eastern side are still empty.

"The cathedral of Salamanca, although contemporary with the age of Leo X., is in bad taste; the boldness of its nave, however, and the finish of its

Gothic ornaments, make it one of the most remarkable edifices in Spain.* When we know that Salamanca, besides this cathedral, has 27 parish-churches, 25 monasteries, and as many nunneries, we need not be astonished at its poverty or depopulation.

"Until the reign of Philip III., the reputation of the university attracted students not only from all parts of Spain and Portugal, but also from France, Italy, England, and Spanish America. This celebrity has a little declined, although, according to the last form which was given to it by the Council of Castile, the university of Salamanca has still sixty-one professorships, as well as a college for the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin languages, and has to boast of some eminent professors, who are occupied in pursuing into its most mystical labyrinths the pretended philosophy of Aristotle.†

"Another establishment, more modern than the university of Salamanca, and more celebrated in our days, is that of the *Colegios Mayores* (Great Colleges). There are in Spain, seven houses of education which bear this name, and Salamanca alone contains four of them. These edifices are, at least, astonishing for their dimensions. The most ancient, that of San Bartolome, has been recently rebuilt; its façade and principal court deserve the attention of a connoisseur. It contains a rich library of manuscripts. Several

* It was founded in 1513, but not finished till 1734. It is 378 feet long by 181, 130 high in the nave, and 80 in the aisles. Mr. Townsend says, "the whole is beautiful; but the most striking part is the sculpture."

† There is a college allotted to the Irish, in which threescore students are received at a time, and when these are sent home, the same number are admitted: the course of education occupies eight years, four of which are given to philosophy, and four to divinity. Aristotle and Thomas Aquinas here hold divided sway.

eminent scholars have issued from it, as Alfonso Tostado, whose erudition and fertility of genius still serve as a proverb among the modern Spaniards.

" In the midst of the crowd of sacred edifices which Salamanca contains, I was recommended to visit the church of the Dominicans, the façade of the Augustins, and the church of San Marcos. In the first, I remarked a Gothic façade, wrought with much care, a vast nave, and chapels richly decorated; but I sought in vain for the beautiful pictures which had been so highly extolled. The roof of the choir is painted in fresco by Palomino, who, in writing the lives of the Spanish painters, has given lectures on the fine arts. It appears that, at Salamanca at least, he has not added example to precept. Instead of *chef-d'œuvres* in painting, I was shewn an immense number of relics. I shall not enumerate all the sacred treasures which were passed in review before me; I cannot, however, omit mentioning the Bible of the famous anti-pope Benedict XIII., who was born in Spain, and deposed by the Council of Constance. 'I beseech you,' said our conductor, 'do not confound him with a pope of the same name who belonged to the order of the Dominicans, and who was the true pope.' I saw nothing remarkable in the gate of the Augustins, but the ornaments with which it is loaded. It faces a castle or palace of the duke of Alva. The third church, of which so much has been said, is the old college of the Jesuits, now given to a fraternity of regular canons, under the name of the church of San Marcos. It has nothing remarkable, excepting a magnificent portico of the Corinthian order."

It has already been mentioned, that the university was first established at Palencia. In the year 1030, there was not a single convent at Salamanca; and in

1480, there were only six monasteries and three nunneries. In 1518, they counted 11,000 virgins; and the students were at one time reckoned at about 16,000. In 1785, the number matriculated was 1,909, and the persons under vows were happily reduced to 1,519. The secular and parochial clergy still amounted to 580, although the twenty-seven parishes did not contain three thousand houses, and the families are stated by Laborde at only 3,400. Since that time, however, Salamanca has been the theatre of sanguinary conflict, and has given its name to one of the most memorable engagements in the Peninsular war, in which the French under Marmont, were defeated by the British under Wellington. The military officer whose "Recollections of the Peninsula" have been already referred to, passed through the city in 1813, about a year after the victory, and he thus describes the appearance it then presented.

"There is scarcely a place in all Spain, the name of which is so familiar to our ears as Salamanca. Le Sage, in his admirable Gil Blas, has immortalised it, and we all feel acquainted with the students of Salamanca; but we looked for them in vain, as we walked under the handsome stone piazzas of the most noble-looking square in Spain. These were, indeed, filled with a motley crowd of people, but we could discern no youthful scholars in their academical habits. A few, with some of the old professors, still lingered in the deserted colleges, or might be seen pacing the spacious aisles of the elegant cathedral; but numbers of the students, at an early period of the war, obeyed the sacred call of their country, and left their peaceful colleges for the tumultuous camp. In the year 1812, two convents in Salamanca were fortified and garrisoned by the French, besieged and

taken by the British: thus, an open and quiet city became a scene of contest, confusion, and bloodshed. Monks yielded up their cells to soldiers; all the houses for a certain space round the convents were razed, while the more distant were injured or beat down by the heavy fire of the French batteries; and many of the streets and lanes were enfiladed by their cannon. Heaps of ruins every where presented themselves."

Were we able to follow in the same manner the track of the contending armies, we should have many a similar tale to tell of ruined and depopulated towns and villages. The town of Baños, between ten and eleven leagues from Salamanca on the road to Placencia, was still in ruins when this officer passed through it in 1813, it having been plundered and half destroyed by a corps of the French army in 1809. The baths from which its takes its name, are hot and sulphureous, and have been held in high esteem from remote antiquity. The *Puerto de Baños* separates Old Castile from Estremadura.

For seventeen leagues S.S.W. of Salamanca, the road lies through a dreary and neglected country, to Ciudad Rodrigo, from which the duke of Wellington takes his Spanish ducal title. It stands on the Agueda, only eight miles from the frontier of Portugal, and was built by Ferdinand II., in the thirteenth century, on the site of the ancient Mirobriga, as a garrison town. It has a castle, and is fortified by walls and a deep fosse; but the ramparts are weak. It is an episcopal city, and contains, besides the cathedral, a collegiate and six parish-churches, five monasteries, and four nunneries. The cathedral is "a tasteless Gothic pile," and the city contains nothing remarkable. The population is estimated by Laborde at 10,000. The Portuguese took the city in 1700, but the Spaniards

recovered it the following year. It surrendered to the French in June 1810, and continued in their possession till January 1812, when it was taken by Lord Wellington. The adjacent plains extend five leagues to the north, where they are terminated by mountains which are connected with those of Bejar, Peña de Francia, and the lofty Sierra de Gata.

All the way from Salamanca to Leon, a distance of thirty-three leagues, the country is so flat and open, that the Moorish cavalry must have met with nothing to impede their progress till they arrived at the foot of the Asturian mountains. The route lies through Zamora, which has already been referred to,—a city of considerable antiquity, situated in a fertile country, near the conflux of the Ezla with the Duero, and consequently on the confines of Portugal.* The extent of its fortifications, twenty-three parish-churches, and sixteen convents within the walls, serve to shew what it was; but it is now reduced very low. On the road from Salamanca to Zamora, between Caldaza de Valdeunciel and Corales, there is a forest five leagues in length, in which Mr. Townsend's guide pointed out a number of eminences, all distinguished by one generic term, *confessionarios*,—"implying that, on these, the traveller would stand in need of a confessor to prepare him for his fate;" so notorious was

* It is said to have been called Sentica by the Romans. Having been destroyed in the civil wars, it was rebuilt, towards the latter end of the ninth century, by Alonzo III., who changed its name to Zamora, Mariana says, on account of the number of blueish stones found there, which bore that appellation in the Moorish language. In 1066, Don Fernando, king of Leon, at his death, left his territories among his children, and Zamora fell to Doña Uraca, his daughter. Over one of the gates is a female figure in stone, with the inscription: DONA VRACA··AFIÇERA AFIERA RODRIGO ELSOR. —See DALRYMPLE'S *Travels*, p. 78.

this forest for robbers. From Zamora, the road to Leon lies almost for the whole way near the Ezla. At Benavente, it falls into the royal road from Madrid to Coruña.

Benavente, says Mr. Townsend, is at present remarkable only for the palace of the dutchess, a vast and shapeless pile, possessing the marks of high antiquity, and commanding a most extensive property. This city seems to be going to decay, yet includes six convents. It is divided into nine parishes, and reckons 2,234 souls. There is a mud wall round the town. Some of the churches, Dr. Southey says, are "fine specimens of early Saxon architecture;" and he gives an interesting description of the castle. "We entered by a gradual ascent, which led to a cloister or colonnade of four sides, looking into a court where once had been a fountain. We were hence conducted through a Moorish gateway of three semicircular arches, to a large room decorated with bearings, &c. This opened into a gallery of about fifty paces long and twelve wide, ornamented in the most elegant Moorish taste. The front is supported by jasper pillars; the pavement consists of tiles coloured and painted with the escalop or scallop-shell of San Jago. In the recesses of the wall are Arabic decorations and inscriptions. From hence is an extensive prospect over the fertile valleys of Leon, watered by the Marez and the Ezla. From the wall of the staircase an arm in armour supports a lamp. The roof of the chapel represents stalactites. In the armoury are old muskets, where the trigger is brought round the match to the pan." *

* Southey's Letters from Spain, &c. vol. i. p. 139. In the learned Author's History of the Peninsular War, this castle is represented to have been one of the finest monuments of the age of chivalry.

From Benavente,* it is a distance of six leagues and a half to Bañesa, crossing the Orbigo at the *Puente de la Bisana.* On each side of the plain are towns thickly scattered, which have once been fortified. Lapwings, storks, and wild ducks are found here in great abundance. The broad nests of the storks are seen on the churches of Bañesa,—"an old and ugly town, with a fine alameda." It is four leagues more over the plain to Astorga.

This ancient capital of the *Astures*, styled by Pliny a magnificent city, and ennobled by Augustus with

"We have nothing in England," he says, "which approaches to its grandeur. Berkeley, Raby, even Warwick and Windsor, are poor fabrics in comparison. With Gothic grandeur, it has the richness of Moorish decoration; open galleries, where Saracenic arches are supported by pillars of porphyry and granite, cloisters with fountains playing in their courts, jasper columns and tesselated floors, niches, alcoves, and seats in the walls, over-arched in various forms, and enriched with every grotesque adornment of gold and silver, and colours hardly less gorgeous. It belonged to the duke of Ossuna; and the splendour of old times was still continued there. The extent of this magnificent edifice may be estimated from the circumstance, that two regiments, besides artillery, were quartered within its walls. They proved the most destructive enemies that had ever entered them. Their indignant feelings broke out in acts of wanton mischief, and the officers who felt and admired the beauties of this venerable pile, attempted in vain to save it from devastation. Every thing combustible was seized, fires were lighted against the fine walls, and pictures of unknown value were heaped together as fuel. The archives of the family fortunately escaped." (Vol. i. p. 781.) One would hope that there is rather too warm a colouring thrown over this picture. Dalrymple, in 1774, speaks of this matchless edifice as "the *remains* of an old castle;" Mr. Townsend calls it a shapeless pile; and the account in Dr. Southey's early Letters by no means conveys so high an idea of its grandeur. As to the paintings of the great masters in this castle, they seem to have been overlooked by all our travellers.

* From Benavente, another route may be taken, leading through Sitrama and Vega de Tera, to Orense and Santiago (98 leagues from Madrid), and thence to Coruña (10 leagues).

the title of Augusta, is now an inconsiderable place, surrounded with ruinous walls, though it retains the dignity of an episcopal city. The streets are paved in ridges. The castle and the cathedral, Dr. Southey says, are well worthy the traveller's attention; the one for its antiquity, the other for its beauty. Over the castle gateway are the figures of a warrior and lion fighting, and escutcheons, supported each by a man and woman in the dress of the times. They were building a new convent by the ruins of the castle in 1795, while whole families were actually living in holes dug in the castle wall. "The halls of hospitality are desolate," observes the learned Traveller, "but the haunts of superstition are multiplying."

On leaving Astorga, the traveller enters on the country of the *Maragatos* * (or *Mauregatos*), of whom Dalrymple gives the following account. "In the morning I observed a number of women in a peculiar kind of dress; on inquiry, I found that they were called Mauregatas. Their habit is very particular: they wear large ear-rings, and a kind of white hat, which, at a little distance, both as to size and shape, resembles what is worn, in like manner, by the Moorish women. Their hair is divided in the front, and falls on each side of the face; they have a number of little pictures of saints set in silver, and other trinkets pendant to large beads of coral, tied round the neck and spreading all over the bosom; their shift is stitched at the breast, and buttoned at the collar; they wear a brown woollen cloth boddice and petticoat, the sleeves of the boddice very large and open behind. The Mauregatos (the men) wear very

* *Maragato* is a Spanish word for a particular sort of ornament on women's tuckers; but it is probably derived from the dress of the Maragatas.

large drawers which tie at the knee, and the loose part hangs over the tie as far as the calf of the leg: the rest of their dress is a short kind of coat, with a belt round the waist.* I inquired of every decent-looking person I met, to endeavour to obtain some account of these people; but I was not very successful. All I could learn was, that there are a great many villages inhabited by them about this town; that they have bound themselves by compact to certain regulations, from which they never deviate; that they intermarry among each other; and if any of them should change their dress, or violate their established customs, they are driven from the society. As their garb is different from that of the inhabitants of every other part of the kingdom, so are their customs, manners, &c. When a young woman is affianced, she is not allowed to speak to any man but him who is intended to be her husband, till the marriage is celebrated, on the penalty of paying a certain fine, which is a quantity of wine: the young fellows follow and torment her on this occasion, to induce her to speak. After marriage, the women never comb their hair. They work in the fields at all the labours of agriculture, while the men are employed as carriers from this country across the mountains into Galicia, keeping many hundreds of horses for that purpose; for here, the carriage road from Madrid terminates. These people are in affluent circumstances, being very industrious, yet they think it necessary to live in indigence. They are supposed to be the Yanguesian carriers mentioned in Don Quixote. Flores, in his '*España Sagrada*,' writing of the country about Astorga, says, 'that it is what is called the territory of the Mauregatos, a people

* Southey describes it as a leathern jacket, in form not unlike the ancient cuirass.

given to commerce, in which they are noted for their integrity; that the women retain a dress so ancient that its origin is not known, being the most uncommon in all Spain; and that the particular genius, customs, manners, &c. of these people would require a volume, at least, to describe them.'"*

This Traveller conjectures, that the inhabitants of this district may be the descendants of those who followed the fortune of the usurper Mauregato, who, by the aid of the Moors, succeeded in seating himself on the throne of Leon about A.D. 775, and who, during his short reign, encouraged Moorish settlers. The dress of the women, and many of their customs and manners, he says, are very like the Moorish. Laborde says, the *patois* of the district contains a mixture of corrupt Arabic.

A highly interesting tract extends westward of Astorga, of which Dr. Southey gives the following description. "To the west of Astorga, the Asturian mountains send off two great branches, trending from north to south; those in the eastern range are the Puerto del Rabanal, the Cruz de Ferro, and Foncebadon; those in the western, Puerto del Cebrero, Puerto del Courel, and Puerto del Aguiar; on the south, they meet with the Sierra de Sanabria, the Sierra de Cabrera, and the Montes Aquilianos, or Aguianas, as they are now called. The tract which is thus surrounded with mountains is called the Bierzo, a word corrupted from the *Bergidum Flavium* of

* Dalrymple's Travels, p. 86. "These people never intermarry with the other Spaniards, but form a separate race. They cut the hair close to the head, and sometimes leave it in tufts like flowers. Their countenances express honesty, and their character corresponds to their physiognomy; for a Maragato was never known to defraud, or ever to lose any thing committed to his care."—SOUTHEY'S *Letters*, vol. i. p. 17.

Ptolemy. The city which bore that name was at Castro de la Ventosa: it is a tradition in the country, that there was a city there formerly; traces of the walls may still be discovered there, and the situation agrees with the Itinerary of Antoninus. It is precisely the spot which would be chosen to command the Bierzo, and for this reason, Fernando II., and after him his son, Alfonso IX., would have re-peopled it, but the domain belonged to the royal monastery of Caracejo, and they desisted in consequence of a representation from that quarter.

"This Bierzo is the Thebais of Spain. 'The multitude of its sanctuaries, the holiness of its hermitages, the number of its anchorites and of its monks who distinguished themselves by their victories over the world, he only can relate who can count the stars of heaven;'—so Florez expresses himself, betrayed by zeal out of his usual sobriety of language. I would go far to see any place which devotion has sanctified, especially if it had been so sanctified because of its natural tendency to excite devotional feelings.

"This amphitheatre is from north to south (computing from summit to summit) about sixteen leagues, and about fourteen from east to west. All its waters, collected into the river Sil, pass into the Val de Orras in Galicia, through a narrow gorge: if that opening were closed, the whole Bierzo would be formed into a prodigious lake. The centre is a plain of about four square leagues, comprised between the rivers Sil, Cua, and Burbia, and fertile and lovely valleys wind up into the heights beyond. Wine, corn, pulse, flax, pasture and fruits are produced here in abundance, though the inhabitants of this delightful region live in a state of contented and idle poverty. The hazel, the chestnut, the pear, the apple, the cherry, the mulberry, and

even the olive grow wild upon the hills. The streams supply plenty of fish; and gold, silver, lead, and iron are to be found in the mountains.

"It is said, that these wilds were inhabited by anchorites in the earliest ages of Christianity; but Christianity was not so soon polluted by the philosophy and folly of the East. The certain history of the Bierzo begins with Fructuoso, a saint of royal extraction, who was born about the year 600. His father is called in some breviaries, duke of the Bierzo. S. Valerio, the contemporary biographer of his son, says that he was *dux exercitus Hispaniæ;* and this, as he had extensive pastures in that part of the country, explains the title. Fructuoso, in his childhood, sometimes accompanied his father here when he came to inspect his flocks and herds; the beauty and the sublimity of these vales and mountains deeply impressed him, and in the silence of his heart he devoted himself to a religious life. This resolution he executed as soon as the death of his parents left him master of himself. He then founded the monastery of Compludo, as it is now called, by the source of the Molina, which rises in the Puerto del Rabanal, and falls into the Sil a little above Ponferrada. His sister's husband applied to the king to prevent him from thus disposing of his property. Fructuoso, upon this, stript the altars, covered them with sackcloth, and betook himself to prayer and fasting: and the speedy death of his brother-in-law was imputed to these means. After this he founded another monastery, now called S. Pedro de Montes, near the source of the Oza, which rises in the Montes Aguianas, and falls into the Sil below Ponferrada. His next foundation was S. Felix de Visonia, on the river of that name, which rises in the Montes de Aguiar, and falls into the Sil below Friera; but this

was afterwards deserted, and its lands are now a grange belonging to the royal monastery of Carracedo.

"Meantime his delight was to wander about the mountains, bare-footed and in a dress of goat-skin. A hunter one day saw him prostrate upon a crag, bent his bow at him, and was on the point of loosing the string, when luckily the saint held up his hands in the act of prayer. The fame of his piety soon spread abroad, and those who were in need of spiritual consolation flocked to him; but he, having founded his monasteries, established his monks, and disposed of his property, retired into the wilds. Here, however, he could not be concealed. There were tame daws in one of the convents, which he had probably amused himself by feeding, and these birds used to hover about him, and their clamours indicated where he was to be found. A doe fled to him for shelter from the hunters; in reverence to him, they called the dogs off and spared her, and from that time she never forsook her protector, but lay at his feet, and if at any time he left her, tracked his footsteps, and moaned till she had found him. A wicked boy killed this poor animal, and when Fructuoso heard it, he was so affected, that he threw himself upon the ground, and sought for comfort in prayer. The offender was seized with a fever, very possibly the effect of fear; and Fructuoso has the credit, and probably the merit, of having healed him body and soul.

"The system which he established in his monasteries was not thoroughly understood, till Yepes, in the course of his researches for his great work, found at S. Pedro de Arlanza, the Institutions or Rule of the Saint, in a great manuscript entitled *Regulæ Patrum*, written by Hereneo, a priest, in the reign of king Don Ordoño. The date was obliterated, but the

only three Ordoños reigned within little more than a century of each other, from the year 850 to 955; it can therefore be little less than nine centuries old. Fructuoso's Rule is, in the main, an abstract of St. Benedict's, as might be supposed; but he has made some additions to it under thirteen heads; and these are exceedingly curious. They shew that the societies which he organised, in some respects resemble those which were afterwards instituted by S. Romualdo as a separate order, and they throw great light upon the monastic history of Spain.

"Followers have never been, and never will be wanting for any new system of religious discipline, however rigorous. It is said, that the Bierzo could not hold the disciples who flocked to Fructuoso, and that he was obliged to establish convents and reclusions, as they were called, in other parts. Such was the effect which he produced on his preaching expeditions, that the governors of Andalusia called upon the king to interfere, or he would soon have no men for his armies, and the whole business of the province would be at a stand. His zeal would inflame the enthusiastic; the free quarters which he offered would tempt the idle; and his authority might be sufficient to keep this motley society in order. But S. Valerio has luckily written some account of himself as well as of his master, and this account shews what a set of wretches were collected there. Valerio represents them as hypocrites, drunkards, intriguers, thieves, and assassins: he himself was a rogue of a higher class,—and, though not cunning enough to pass his life comfortably in such company while he was among them, contrived to become abbot of S. Pedro de Montes, and to be made a saint. Fructuoso is a clearer character: he was a man of enthusiastic piety, who devoted his pro-

perty and himself to what he believed the best method of benefiting mankind; and that Europe has been in the highest degree benefited by the Benedictines, it would be absurd and ungrateful to deny.

"How long his institutions subsisted, cannot now be ascertained. Situated in this part of the country, they were more likely to be dissolved by internal misconduct, than by the Moorish conquest. At the close of the ninth century, S. Genadio retired to the solitudes which Fructuoso and Valerio had sanctified. Every thing had long been deserted: he found S. Pedro de Montes overgrown with thorns, and hidden beneath old trees. He had brought a colony of good monks with him; and they cleared the woods, restored the building, and planted vineyards and orchards. By the instigation of the devil, as Genadio believed, he was called away from his retirement to be made bishop of Astorga; but after some time, he resigned his bishopric and returned to the Bierzo. His works and those of Fortis, his successor in the diocese, still remain. One of them, the monastery of Santiago de Peñalva, which Fortis built over the grave of Genadio, is one of those places in the Bierzo which would as richly repay the picturesque traveller, and probably the antiquary, as it would the pilgrim.

"Peñalva is, as its name denotes, a white cliff, so lofty as to give its appellation to that part of the sierra: in winter it is still whiter, being covered with snow. A little river, called the River of Silence, wells out at its foot. On its banks stands the monastery, upon a shelf of the mountain, made, says Florez, like a table, by the hand of God. Opposite, in a high rock, are the *Cuevas del Silencio*, the caves of silence, —five natural caverns; they front the east, and all the light they receive is through the entrance, which

in each of them is not higher than half the stature of a man; but they are spacious within, sufficiently lofty, and have seats in the rock all round. Hither the devouter and elder monks, veterans in their Catholic warfare, retire at Advent and at Lent. The way to them is but a goat's path,—hands and knees must be exerted in climbing it, and it is perilous to look back upon the giddy descent: it is as tremendous to look up, for immediately above them is a cliff thirty *estados* high. The natives of these mountains, says Sandoval, believe that great treasures are hidden in these caves; but there is no other treasure than the holiness which so many saints have imparted by their acts of penitence. The monastery is an edifice of great magnificence, with marble columns and a profusion of mosaic work.

"Many extraordinary objects occur upon the Sil. This river passes by Mount Medulio, the place where the remains of a great native force destroyed themselves in sight of a Roman army, rather than submit to bondage;—a noble spirit, of which more instances are to be found in the ancient history of Spain than in that of any other country, and which is not yet extinct in that noble nation. Upon one part of this mountain there are round and lofty fragments of red earth, standing up like huge towers, twenty-nine in number. *Las Medulas*, they are called;—old writings spell the word *Metalas*, and thus explain the wonder. The Romans had mines here, and the earth has fallen in in those parts only which were excavated. Gold is still found in the sands of this river, which Florez will have to be the *Minius* of classical geography, because here, and not upon the Minho, *minium* is found.

"Still more remarkable is the *Montefurado*, or perforated mountain, where the Sil passes for 300

paces through an arch in the rock; and this passage is so broad and lofty, that fishing-boats pass through. Marks of the chisel, it is said, may be traced at both entrances. Florez thinks, that if it be a work of art, it was designed for a mine; but it is far more probable, that the arch is natural, and that man has done nothing more than perhaps in some places heighten or widen it, or remove a projection of the rock, for the easier passage of boats. A Roman road of prodigious labour is cut, in the rock in the opposite mountain, for a league in length, and in some places ten *estados* in depth. From the frequent bends and angles which it makes, it is called *los Codos de Ladoco*, the elbows of Ladoco. There is an inscription upon the rock, 'JOVI LADICO,' and hence the name of the mountain. Another inscription to *Jupiter Ladicus* was found in Galicia. The *Mons Sacer* of Justin is supposed to be the *Puerto del Rabanal*, near Ponferrada, and upon this river Sil. It was forbidden to violate this mountain by digging in it; but if a thunderbolt struck it, and exposed any of the gold which it contained, that might be collected as a gift of the gods.

"There are lakes also in this country. The *Lago de Carracedo*, which belongs to a famous monastery of that name, is a league in circumference, and of exceeding depth. Many streams fall into it, but it has no outlet, except in the rainy season, when it discharges its waters into the Sil, the receiver-general of all in the district. But probably the finest scenery is to be found upon the Tera, which flows into the district of Sanabria, on the borders of the Bierzo. This river rises near the Portillo de Puertas, upon the mountains which divide Sanabria and the kingdom of Leon from Galicia. Its course is to the south. Two

leagues from its source, it waters the Vega de Tera, a rich track of pasture upon the mountain, where the merino sheep are driven; and from thence it falls precipitately into a delightful vale, called *la Cueba*, the cave. This vale, says Florez, is a little garden, a little paradise, walled round on all sides with lofty precipices. The river winds slowly through, and then makes a second fall, and forms the lake of Sanabria, which is a league in length, about half as wide, and of unfathomable depth,—that is, of depth which has not yet been fathomed. The Conde de Benavente had a fine house upon a rock in the midst of it, which probably may still exist. The storms to which this lake is exposed, are sometimes dangerous. It belongs to the neighbouring monastery of S. Martin de Castañeda, which has two other lakes in its domain.

"The traveller who has leisure and curiosity will do well to halt at Villafranca and at Ponferrada, and from thence explore this interesting country."

In December 1808, this lovely tract of country was the scene of one of the deepest tragedies which occurred during the Peninsular war,—the retreat to Coruña of the British under Sir John Moore, in which the life of that noble general and those of the thousands who perished in the retreat, or fell more honourably in the subsequent action, were clearly sacrificed through deplorable ignorance of the nature of the country.* The main road, that of Manzanal,

* Among other instances of this, Dr. Southey mentions, that Sir John Moore was deterred from halting at Villa Franca, lest the enemy should get in his rear and intercept him at Lugo; an apprehension that could not have been entertained, had he been acquainted with the country; and the transports which should have been ordered to Coruña were through similar want of information, directed to be sent to Vigo, where they were detained by contrary winds.

Dr. Southey says, is one of the finest in Europe; that of Foncebadon also leads into the Bierzo; there is no third ingress; and from Villa Franca towards Coruña, the only way is that of Puerto del Cebrero. Both the former passes lead along defiles where a thousand men might stop the march of twenty times their number; and beyond Villa Franca, there is no lateral road. From Astorga to Villa Franca is, according to Dr. Southey, about 60 English miles; but, in Bourgoing's Itinerary, the distance given is only 12½ posting leagues, equal to 50 miles English. "The road for the first four leagues is up the mountain, but through an open country. Having reached the summit of Foncebadon, you enter into some of the strongest passes in Europe. It would scarcely be possible for an invading army to force their way here against a body of determined men. These passes continue between two and three leagues, nearly to the village of Torre. From thence, through Benvibre and Ponferrada, nothing can be finer than the country and the circle of mountains which binds it in. But never, in the most melancholy ages of Spanish history, had a more miserable scene been represented, than was now to be witnessed here. The horses of the retreating army began to fail, and this, in great measure, for want of shoes and shoe-nails. As soon as these noble animals foundered, they were shot, lest the enemy should profit by them. The rain continued pouring; the baggage was to be dragged, and the soldiers were to wade through half-melted snow. The feet of the men also began to fail; more waggons were left behind; and when the troops reached Villa Franca, they were in such a state, that several experienced officers predicted, if this march against time were persevered in, a fourth of the army would be

left in the ditches before it was accomplished.....From Villa Franca to Castro is one continued ascent up *Monte del Cebrero* for about fifteen miles, through one of the wildest, most delightful, and most defensible countries in the world. The road is a royal one, cut with great labour and expense in the side of the mountain, and following all its windings. For some part of the way, it overhangs the river Valcarce, a rapid mountain stream, which falls into the Burbia near the town, and afterwards joins the Sil, to pass through the single outlet in the gorge of the Bierzo. Oaks, alders, poplars, hazels, and chestnuts grow in the bottom and far up the side of the hills; the apple, pear, cherry, and mulberry are wild in this country; the wild olive is also found here; and here are the first vineyards which the traveller sees on his way from Coruña into the heart of Spain. The mountains are cultivated in some parts even to their summits, and trenches are cut along their sides for the purpose of irrigating them. Even those writers whose journals were written during the horrors of such a flight, noticed this scenery with admiration. It was now covered with snow. There was neither provision to sustain nature, nor shelter from the rain and snow, nor fuel for fire to keep the vital heat from total extinction, nor place where the weary and foot-sore could rest for a single hour in safety. All that had hitherto been suffered was but the prelude to this consummate scene of horrors. 'I looked round,' says an officer, 'when we had hardly gained the highest point of those slippery precipices, and saw the rear of the army winding along the narrow road. I saw their way marked by the wretched people who lay on all sides expiring from fatigue and the severity of the cold.' That no horror might be wanting, women and

children accompanied this wretched army: some were frozen to death in the baggage-waggons which were broken down, or left upon the road for want of cattle; some died of fatigue and cold.....From the summit of this mountain to Lugo is nearly twelve leagues. There are several bridges upon the way, over glens and gills, which might have impeded the pursuit, had they been destroyed. One, in particular, between Nogales and Marillas, is the most remarkable work of art between Coruña and Madrid. This bridge, which is called *Puenta del Corzul*, crosses a deep ravine. From its exceeding height, the narrowness of its lofty arches, and its form, which, as usual with the Spanish bridges, is straight, it might, at a little distance, be mistaken for an aqueduct. Several of those officers who knew the road, relied much upon the strength of this ravine and the impossibility that the French could bring their guns over if the bridge were destroyed. Grievous as it was to think of destroying so grand a work, its destruction was attempted, but, as in most other instances, to no purpose;—whether the pioneers performed their work too hastily, or because their implements had been abandoned on the way.....The different divisions had been ordered to halt and collect at Lugo. Here the retreating army might have rested, had the destruction of the bridges been effected; but this attempt had been so imperfectly executed, that the French came in sight on the day following." On the 6th and 7th of January, some affairs of outposts took place, in which the French were repelled with a steadiness which excited the wonder of the British themselves. Sir John wished to bring the enemy to action; but failing in this, he ordered large fires to be lighted along the

line for the purpose of deceiving the French, and during the night continued the retreat to Coruña, which they reaches on the 11th, without further molestation. What followed is well known. The battle of Coruña took place on the 16th. Never was a victory achieved under heavier disadvantages. The French force exceeded 20,000; the British were not 15,000; their superiority in artillery was equally great; the moral and physical state of the retreating army was a still greater disadvantage. From 6 to 7000 men had sunk under the fatigues of the retreat; the loss of the British in the battle did not amount to 800, while that of the French is believed to have exceeded 2,000. Sir John Moore lived to hear that the battle was won. At midnight, the body was removed to the citadel of Coruña, and buried on the ramparts. Nearly the whole army was embarked during the night, and soon after daylight the rear-guard got into the boats, the French light troops witnessing the embarkation from the heights of San Lucia, but not attempting to interrupt them. The victory was dearly purchased, but it redeemed the honour of England.*

* Southey's Peninsular War, vol. i. pp. 786—806. It does not fall within the design of this work to enter into military details. A very interesting and affecting account of the retreat and the battle of Coruña will be found in the "Personal Narrative of a Private Soldier in the 42d Highlanders." 12mo, 1821. The burial of Sir John Moore has been described in "verse that cannot die," by a collateral descendant of General Wolfe.

"Not a drum was heard, not a funeral note,
As his corse to the rampart we hurried;
Not a soldier discharged his farewell shot
O'er the grave where our hero we buried.

"We buried him darkly at dead of night,
The sods with our bayonets turning,

Coruña (improperly written Corunna, and by the French Corogna) is situated on a peninsula at the entrance of the bay on the north-west coast, which runs into the land as far as Betanzos. It is divided into the upper and lower towns. The former is situated on a declivity, surrounded with walls, and defended by a citadel. Its streets are narrow and ill-paved. The old or lower town, called *Pexaria*, stands upon a small tongue of land, and here the streets are broader. Nothing is carried on in the lower town but foreign trade. Dr. Southey says: "The town is admirably paved, but its filth is astonishing. Other places attract the eye of a traveller, but Coruña takes his attention by the nose. The market-place is very good, and its fountain is ornamented with a squab-faced figure of Fame. Some of the houses in one of the back streets have little gardens, which is very unusual in Spain. The churches exhibit some curious specimens of Moorish architecture." There are four parish-churches, six chapels, four convents, and a population, according to Laborde, of 4000 persons, exclusive of the garrison and occasional inhabitants. The numbers must, in fact, be perpetually fluctuating. Formerly, a packet used to sail every month from this port for the

By the struggling moonbeam's misty light,
And the lantern dimly burning."

When the Marquis Romana arrived at Coruña in the following June, after Soult had been compelled to evacuate Galicia, he erected a monument there with this inscription:

A LA GLORIA
DEL GENERAL INGLES MOORE
Y SUS VALIENTES COMPATRIOTAS
LA ESPANA AGRADECIDA.

"Grateful Spain to the glory of the English General and his valiant countrymen."

Havannah, and once every two months for South America. Intercourse between England and Spain is kept up chiefly by packets between this port and Falmouth. The opening of the trade to America produced a great increase in that of Coruña.

The light-house, situated on a high point, about three miles from the harbour, is discerned at sea for sixty miles round. This ancient structure is called the Tower of Hercules; and the tradition is, that Hercules built it, and placed in it a mirror so constructed by his art magical, that all vessels in that sea, at whatever distance, might be beheld in it. A Roman inscription near the tower, however, dedicatory to Mars, affords pretty strong proof that the work is Roman, and, it is supposed, of the era of Trajan. In after ages, it was used as a fortress, and thus the winding ascent on the outside, which was wide enough for a carriage, was destroyed. In this ruinous state it remained till the close of the seventeenth century, when the English and Dutch consuls resident at Coruña, presented a memorial to the duke of Uceda, then captain-general of Galicia, representing the benefit that would accrue to the port if this tower were converted into a light-house, and proposing to raise a fund for defraying the expenses by a duty on all their ships entering the harbour. In consequence of this, a wooden staircase was erected within the building, and two turrets for the fires were added to the summit. A more complete repair was begun in the reign of Charles III., and completed in that of his successor. The tower is ninety-two feet high, the walls four feet and a half thick; and Humboldt says, that its construction clearly proves it to be Roman, though he is willing to suppose that it may have been

built on the ruins of a Greek or Phenician edifice.* It is also known by the appellation of the Iron Tower; and from it, the town itself is supposed to derive its modern name. It was the *Brigantium* of the Romans; and is first called *Villa da Cruna* by Fernando II., about the close of the twelfth century. *Cruna* in the Galician, and Coruña in the Castilian dialect are, according to Flores, corruptions of *Columna*; and though there seems to be some difference between a column and a tower, we must accept this etymology for want of a better.†

Between nine and ten leagues (by land) from Coruña, in the same bay, is the important harbour of Ferrol, one of the best, in point of depth, capacity, and safety, in Europe. Prior to the year 1752, it was only a fishing hamlet, frequented by coasting vessels; but the advantages of its situation having been ascertained by the Government, it has since been made the chief naval station of Spain. Dock-yards and arsenals have been established here, and a town built, the resident population of which has been estimated at 10,000, and in time of war is much greater. Its position renders it extremely strong; for, to approach it from the sea, vessels must advance one by one in a narrow, tortuous channel, commanded by forts, and

* Pers. Nar. vol. i. p. 25. Strabo affirms that the country of the *Callaici* (Galicia) had been peopled by Greek colonies; and a very ancient tradition states, that the companions of Hercules had settled in these countries. Both the Phenicians and the Greeks visited this coast to trade for tin, which they drew from this country as well as from the Cassiterides. In the granitic ridges which stretch as far as Cape Ortegal, the common tin ore is discovered, which is worked by the inhabitants of Galicia.

† Southey's Letters, vol. i. p. 23. One author, however, derives it from the Celtic *corym* or *corun*, a tongue of land. If there be such a word in Celtic, with this meaning, it would leave no doubt on the subject.

which might even be shut by a *stoccado*;* while, on the land side, it is protected as well by its distance from any point of landing, as by the strength of its fortifications. The basin in which the ships are laid up is of great extent, and every ship has its own warehouse. The *presidiario* is composed of 600 galley-slaves, who are employed in the most laborious works of the harbour. As the port is intended only for the royal navy, general commerce and all foreign merchant-ships are excluded. All the establishments are naval. The marine barracks are a vast and handsome building, affording accommodation for 6000 men; there is also an academy for the *guardas marinas*, a mathematical, and a nautical school. As the ports of Ferrol and Coruña communicate with the same bay, a vessel driven by bad weather on this coast, may anchor in either, according to the wind. This advantage is invaluable, where the sea is almost always tempestuous, as it is between Capes Ortegal and Finisterre, the promontories *Trileucum* and *Artabrum* of ancient geography.† Ferrol is reckoned ten leagues from the former; and the observatory of the admiralty there, is, according to Humboldt, 0° 10′ 20″ E. of the Tower of Hercules at Coruña, and 0° 42′ 21″ W. of Paris.

The route we have been pursuing is, as far as Lugo, one of the high roads to Compostella. Both Villa Franca, which is the frontier town of Galicia, and Ponferrada, situated at the confluence of the Sil and

* Humboldt supposes, that this singular channel has been opened either by the irruption of the waves, or by the reiterated shocks of violent earthquakes. The *Laguna del Obispo* (bishop's lake), on the coast of Cumana, is formed exactly like the port of Ferrol.

† *Cabo Finisterra* is obviously *Finis Terræ*, Land's End. *Cabo Ortegal* is said to be a corruption of *Nort-de-Galicia*.

the Bueza, owe their origin to the great resort of pilgrims to Santiago, especially from France, insomuch that this road was called *El Camino Frances*, the French road. Osmundo, bishop of Astorga from A.D. 1082 to 1096, built a bridge over the Sil for their accommodation, which was called at first *Puente de Quintanilla*, and afterwards *Ponsferrata*. Thence grew up the town, which belonged to the Templars, who fortified it. The castle is a fine object, "great and grotesque." There are three parish-churches, two monasteries, and a nunnery. Villa Franca (*Villa Francorum*) has grown up round the church and convent of some monks of Cluni, who settled here in the reign of Alfonso VI., to administer the sacrament to a few French settlers and to travellers of that nation. It is now inhabited by some good families, gives title to a marquis, and contains three nunneries and a Franciscan monastery: it had formerly a college of Jesuits. On approaching the town, it has a beautiful appearance, but the interior is mean and dirty. There is an old palace of the duke of Alba, "as mean and melancholy as a parish workhouse in England." Lugo (16½ leagues from Villa Franca, and 13 from Compostella) is a very ancient town, the *Lucus Augusti* of the Romans, and an episcopal see. It is situated on an eminence near the banks of the Miño, thirteen leagues from its source, and is supposed to contain between 5 and 6000 inhabitants. Its appearance in 1796 is thus described by Dr. Southey.

"Lugo is surrounded by a wall, with circular towers projecting at equal distances. There is a walk on the top, without any fence on either side, in width ten feet, and, where the towers project, twenty. Time has destroyed the cement. The ruins are in many parts covered with ivy, and the periwinkle is in blos-

som round the wall. I saw doors leading from the city *into* the walls, and many wretched hovels are built under them without, mere shells of habitations, made with stones from the ruins, and to which the wall itself serves as the back. One of the round towers projects into the passage of our posada, which winds round it. These walls were the work of the Romans, and, like all their works, seem to have been built for eternity. They form an irregular circle. The towers and turrets were eighty-six in number; one has disappeared, it is not known when or where, having probably been taken down to make room and supply materials for a dwelling-house; one fell down last winter (1794), and others will probably soon come to the ground in like manner, unless speedy care be taken to repair them. They are at unequal distances, in some places only half a cross-bow shot apart; and what is remarkable, they are built on the wall, not in it, so that the strength of the wall is every where the same. Each tower was raised two stories, that is, had three habitable rooms, one on a level with the wall, two above it; the marks of the chimneys may still be seen; the windows are arched, and fragments of the thick white glass with which they were glazed, are often discovered. Some have conjectured that the city was called *Lucus* either from the dazzling reflection of the sun upon these windows, or from the illumination which all these towers presented at night, when they were inhabited; but this is a groundless etymology, for the name existed long before the glass windows. All the towers are round except a few which are of later date; some of these were built in the reign of Alonso XI. by the Infante Don Felipe, and are inferior to the Roman ones. The height of the walls is not in all places alike; in some places it

is more than five-and-thirty feet. The moat is choked up. Notwithstanding the want of a parapet, this is the favourite walk of the inhabitants; the circuit is half an hour's walk at a good pace. They are proud of it, and say that two carriages a-breast may drive round: two of the Galician carts might, perhaps; but even if there were a coach road to the top, I think few charioteers would be adventurous enough to use it.

"Many curious antiquities have been destroyed here, especially by the masons. A statue is remembered of an armed nymph, holding the shield on one arm, and in the other hand a few spikes of corn, the manner in which Spain is represented on a coin of Galba. One remarkable inscription is still preserved:

CAELESTI
AVG
PATERNI
QVIET
CONSTANTII
VV. SS.

"The goddess Cœlestis was worshipped in the African provinces, and especially at Carthage, where, according to Herodian, her image is said to have been brought by Dido. Ulpian enumerates her among the deities to whom property might lawfully be bequeathed.

"The baths which the Romans made here are used at this day as medicinal, and the works which they formed to protect them against the Minho in its floods, may still be traced. The water is strongly impregnated with sulphur. Morales noticed a singular circumstance here. There is a spring of very cold and clear water near these baths, at which other birds

drink and wash themselves, but the pigeons all go to the warm sulphureous stream.

"Lugo is the first place out of Asturias which was recovered by the Spaniards. Alonso el Católico reconquered it, and restored its bishopric within twenty years after the Moorish conquest. At present, it is what we should call a wretched place. Its massy walls, whose ruinous state is not visible at a little distance, and the towers of the cathedral, led me, as I approached, to expect something more correspondent to the English idea of a city. The streets are narrow, dirty, and dark; the houses high and gloomy: they lessen the little light which the narrowness of the streets allows, by the old wooden lattices of the balconies. The prison is a very singular building.

"The cathedral presents little that is remarkable. The two towers in the front seem to have been intended to be carried higher; but they are now roofed with slates in an execrable taste which seems to be common here, and which I have seen exhibited upon old pigeon-houses in England. The chapel of the Virgin displays much elegance. Some of the pillars are Saxon. The front has been modernised in a bad and inappropriate taste.

"This church enjoys a remarkable privilege, and, in the opinion of Catholics, a highly important one. The wafer is always exposed, that is, the doors of the *Sagrario* in which it is kept are glazed, so that the pix is seen. Many reasons have been assigned for this: among others, that it was granted because the doctrine of the real presence was established in a council which was held here, in opposition to a heresy then prevalent in Galicia. The same privilege exists in the royal convent of San Isidro at Leon, but

no traces of its origin are to be found among the archives of either church."

Of the far-famed archiepiscopal city of San Jago de Compostella, the capital of Galicia, from which the knights of San Jago (Santiago) take their title, we have nothing better to offer than the meagre account furnished by Laborde, who tells us, that it is situated on a peninsula formed by the rivers Tambra and Ulla; that it is built on a hill, at the foot of which runs the little river Saria; that the climate is humid,—it rains there nearly two-thirds of the year; that there are, besides the cathedral, four parish-churches within the city, eight in the suburbs, six convents, a university founded in 1522, four colleges, four hospitals, and a population of nearly 12,000 inhabitants. The cathedral, which boasts of containing the body of the apostle James, the tutelar saint of the Peninsula, is a heavy building of Gothic architecture. The treasury was, and probably still is, very rich: sovereigns and pontiffs have contributed to augment it. There are twenty-three chapels. In that of St. James, is a statue of the saint, two feet high, of massive gold. About 2000 wax tapers are lighted in this chapel every night. Massive silver, diamonds, and precious stones adorn the shrines in which the sacred relics are deposited, in dazzling profusion. But this sacred raree-show has had its day; and whether Saint James has lost any of his popularity or not in Spain, the road to Compostella is no longer thronged with pilgrims as in days of yore.

Between fourteen and fifteen leagues S.E. of Santiago, is the episcopal city of Orense (Auria), the *Aquæ Calidæ* of the Romans, so named from the hot springs for which it was resorted to in those ancient times. It is situated at the foot of a mountain on the left bank of the Miño, below the confluence of the

Sil. The city is small, containing only one parish-church besides the cathedral, two monasteries, and two chapels. The population is estimated at 2,300 persons. The hot springs are said to affect by their vapours the temperature of that part of the town which is next the plain. Galicia abounds with mineral springs of different temperature. In the *Comarca de Lemos*, there is a spring on the mountain of Cebret, near the source of the river Loriz or Lours, and twenty leagues from the sea, which is said to ebb and flow, and to become warm or cold alternately, the temperature increasing as it becomes more copious. The bridge of Orense is a remarkable one: "it is of one arch, and that is so high, that a ship can pass under it." Several roads proceed from the maritime towns on the western coast, which all meet at Orense, where they join the royal road to Madrid, which crosses the kingdom of Leon. The road from Orense to Tuy, thirteen leagues, follows the course of the Miño, which here forms the boundary of Portugal, passing through Ribadavia, a little town situated at the confluence of the Avia and the Miño. Not far from the mouth of the latter river, and opposite the Portuguese town of Valencia, is situated the frontier town of Tuy, the ancient *Castellum*. It is an episcopal city, and has a garrison, but the only trade is contraband, and the population is estimated at less than 4000 persons. Some coarse linens are made here. The Spanish and the Portuguese towns occupy opposite heights within cannon-shot of each other. The governor of the province of Tuy resides at Vigo, distant three leagues across the mountains, but which can be travelled only by horses. The town is built on a rock, in one of the largest and safest bays in the Peninsula: the harbour is said to be excellent, but is little frequented, the only

commerce being a coasting-trade, which is in the hands of the Catalans. The population is about 2,500, of which, as there are three parish-churches and two convents, the clergy must form a large proportion; but there are some small manufactories of hats, soap, and leather. The town is almost surrounded with lagoons, which do not add to the salubrity of the air.

The distinguishing character of the Galicians has already been noticed. They are considered as a quiet, hospitable, simple, and industrious people, generally robust, large, and able to support fatigue, grave and sober, and proverbially trusty. It is calculated that, at certain seasons of the year, 60,000 *Gallegos* leave their native province to seek for work as reapers and labourers in different parts of Spain, especially in the two Castiles; and about 30,000 go for the same purpose to Portugal. "In this respect," says Laborde, "the Galicians and the Asturians may be compared to the Auvergnats and Limousins, who go to Paris to earn money as labourers and porters, which they accumulate by their savings to take home to their families." At Madrid and other considerable towns, a great number of the servants are Galicians and Asturians, who are preferred for their fidelity and obedience. The porters and water-carriers in Andalusia, at Madrid, and even at Lisbon, are Galicians. Hence the haughty Castilian's contemptuous proverb: *he sido tratado como si fuera un Gallego*—I am treated as if I were a Galician. So much slower and less active are both the Castilian and the Portuguese peasants, that when the husbandmen are disappointed of the assistance of the Galician labourers, it is said that the harvests and the vintages become worth comparatively

little, owing to the bad manner in which they are got in.

To complete our survey of the western provinces of Spain, it only remains to notice that of Estremadura, which is traversed by the route

FROM MADRID TO LISBON.

ESTREMADURA, with an extent of surface equal to Aragon, and nearly equal to Galicia, did not contain, in 1787, much above two-thirds of the population of the former, and not one-third of that of the latter province.* It is one of the most neglected and depopulated parts of Spain. Under the Moors, it is said to have been a garden. The climate, Dr. Southey says, is most delightful.† The numerous rivers by which it is watered afford every facility for cultivation, and the soil is said to be generally good. It is now for the most part reduced to the lamentable state of rank pasturage. Scarcely any gardens or orchards are to be met with, and the wheat and rye grown are only sufficient for the scanty population. Immense

* It is stated in the census of 1787—8 at nearly 417,000 souls. But the depopulation must have gone on prodigiously since then, if the estimate of the Abbé Ponz, on which both Dr. Southey and M. Bourgoing seem to rely, be an approximation to the truth. He makes it amount to only 100,000 inhabitants.

† The British Officer tells us, however, that the autumnal season in Estremadura is proverbially unhealthy, and that numbers of the inhabitants annually fall victims to the alarming fever which prevails in the dreaded month of September. "The unwholesome vapours which rise from the beds of the many stagnant pools scattered over the surface of the plains, and always dried up by the summer heats, are said to produce this evil. Towards the end of September (1809), this insidious enemy found its way into the British quarters, crowded our hospitals with sick, and filled the chapel-vaults with victims."—*Recollections of the Peninsula*, p. 71.

tracts may be traversed without seeing a settlement, a human habitation, an atom of cultivated land, or even a tree.* The pestilence of 1348 is assigned as one cause, and the original one, of this frightful depopulation. The expulsion of the Moors, in 1614, left a great many villages without inhabitants. Distant wars, during two centuries, drew off a considerable number from this province as soldiers. The emigration consequent on the discovery of America is said to have been greater, too, from Estremadura, than any other part of Spain. But, unquestionably, the depopulation of the province is attributable chiefly to the ruinous privileges of the *Mesta*, of which Bourgoing gives the following account.

"The Mesta is a society of large proprietors of flocks, composed of the heads of rich monasteries, grandees of Spain, and opulent individuals, who find their advantage in feeding their sheep at the public expense at all seasons of the year, and who have sanctioned, by short-sighted regulations, a practice at first introduced by necessity. In distant times, the mountains of Soria and of Segovia, condemned by their precipices and the nature of their soil to eternal sterility, were, during the summer, the asylum of some of the neighbouring flocks: before the approach of winter, their temperature was no longer supportable by these delicate animals. They went in search of a milder climate in the neighbouring plains. Their

* "We travel leagues without seeing a village; and when we find one, it consists of such sties as are fit only for the pig part of the family. As for the towns, it is not possible to give an Englishman ideas of their extreme poverty and wretchedness. You may conceive of the state of the kingdom by this circumstance: we have now travelled 600 miles" (from Coruña to Madrid and from Madrid to Truxillo) "without ever seeing one new house or one single one."—SOUTHEY's *Letters*, vol. ii. p. 6.

possessors soon converted this convenience into a right, and formed a community, which, after some time, was increased by all those who, upon acquiring flocks, became desirous of enjoying the same prerogatives. The theatre extended as the actors became more numerous, and the excursions of the flocks gradually stretched towards the plains of Estremadura, where they found a temperate climate and abundant pasture. The abuse at length became intolerable, but it was too deeply rooted to be easily overthrown, and all that was powerful in the kingdom was interested in its continuance. For more than a century, a constant struggle took place between the associates of the Mesta on the one hand, and the *Estremeños*, or inhabitants of Estremadura, on the other, the latter having on their side all those who felt an interest in the public good.

"How, indeed, could they repress their indignation on seeing, in the month of October in each year, millions of sheep descending from the mountains of Old Castile upon the plains of Estremadura and Andalusia, where they continued until the following May, feeding, both on their coming and returning, upon the fields of the inhabitants? The ordonnances of the Mesta fix a breadth of forty toises as a road through which they are to pass, while the pasturages kept on purpose for them are let at a very low rent, which the proprietors seek in vain to increase. Thus, the unfortunate province of Estremadura, which is about fifty leagues in length by forty in breadth, and which could provide subsistence for two millions of men, scarcely contains a hundred thousand inhabitants. Nor can it be doubted, that this depopulation must be ascribed to the scourge of the Mesta, since the provinces which are not visited by these baneful privi-

leges, such as Galicia, the Asturias, Biscay, and the mountainous parts of Burgos, are very populous.

"As to the practice of making the sheep travel from place to place, besides being rendered sacred by the laws and by long custom, it is excusable from the necessity of existing circumstances. Either they must diminish the number of sheep, or they must travel a little. Those which feed in the fine season upon the mountains of Soria, Cuenca, Segovia, and Buytrago, would die with hunger there in winter; and where would they find a better asylum than Estremadura, a province thinly inhabited, poor in other respects, its pastures being its only resource? I know well that this argument may be considered as begging the question, but Government has always held it to be conclusive.

"In the mountains near Segovia, a great part of the wandering flocks pasture during the summer season. They are seen descending in the course of October, along with the flocks from the mountains of the ancient Numantia (*Soria*), quitting those which separate the two Castiles, and, after passing through New Castile, dispersing themselves in the plains of Estremadura and Andalusia. Those which are nearer the Sierra Morena, pass the winter there. The length of their journeys is proportioned to the kind of pasture they obtain. They travel in flocks of 1000 or 1,200, under the guidance of two shepherds; the chief shepherd is called the *Mayoral*, the other the *Zagal*. When arrived at their destinations, they are distributed among the various pasturages assigned to them. They proceed on their route again in May; and whether from custom or from instinct, they travel onward to the climate best adapted for them at that season: the

uneasiness they seem to feel, indicates to their guides any necessity for a change of situation.

"Each flock belongs to one master, called a *Cavaña*, and the whole produce from the wool of these flocks is called *pila*. The Cavañas bear the names of their proprietors. The most numerous are those of Bejar and Negretti, each of which consists of 60,000 sheep. That of the Escurial, the most famous, has 50,000. Prejudice or custom makes the wool of certain Cavañas more sought after than the others. At Guadalaxara, for instance, they employ no wool but that of Negretti, the Escurial, and the Carthusians of Paular.

"Upon the return of the wandering sheep, towards the month of May, the shearing is commenced, — an operation of great magnitude in Spain, because performed upon a large scale, in vast buildings called *esquileos*, arranged so as to receive whole flocks of 40, 50, and even 60,000 sheep. The harvest and vintage have nothing so solemn in their celebration. It is a time of festivity for the proprietors as well as for the workmen; the latter are divided into certain classes, and to each, a different branch of the operation is allotted: 125 persons are found requisite to shear 1000 sheep. Every animal yields wool of three kinds, finer or coarser, according to the part of the body from which it is taken. When the shearing is finished, the produce is collected in bales, and carried either to the sea-port towns for exportation, without any other operation, or to certain places denominated washing-stations, in the environs of Segovia and throughout the rest of Castile."

There are, however, both in Estremadura and in Old Castile, stationary flocks which never travel; and their wool is affirmed to be fully equal to that of the

tras-humantes, or wandering flocks. The numbers of these are continually varying. In the sixteenth century, they exceeded seven millions. In the reign of Philip III. (A.D. 1627), they were reduced to two millions and a half. Ustariz, who lived at the beginning of the eighteenth century, computed them at four millions. Mr. Townsend and M. Bourgoing state, that they were believed not to exceed five millions towards the close of the last century. Some proprietors had only two or three thousand; others, ten times that number; the Duke del Infantado had 40,000; the Duke of Bejar, Marquis Perales, Countess Negretti, and the convents of Guadalupe, Paular, and Escurial, each 30,000. "If," says M. Bourgoing, "we add to this number, eight millions who are always stationary, we shall have an aggregate of thirteen millions of sheep conspiring against the prosperity of Spain for the advantage of a few individuals; for the proprietors of the stationary flocks have privileges nearly similar to those of the members of the Mesta." The royal exchequer, however, not less than the great proprietors, is interested in the support of the system which encourages pasturage at the expense of agriculture, the taxes levied on wool forming an important branch of the revenue. In every point of view, the effects of the present system are baleful and pernicious. The pastoral life is compatible only with the earliest state or the lowest stage of civilisation. The shepherd is but one degree above the hunter and back-woodsman. But, among the nomadic tribes who travel in families, the social instincts are often peculiarly strong, and there is abundant scope for all the charities and relative virtues. In Spain, the number of men employed in tending the wandering flocks is computed at 40,000,

who never marry, and must of necessity be condemned to the lowest moral condition.*

Estremadura has always formed part of the kingdom of Leon, having been recovered from the Moors at the same time, and united with it to Castile on the union of the two crowns. It extends from Leon to Andalusia; having New Castile on the east, and on the west, the Portuguese provinces of Beira, Estremadura, and Alentejo. Badajoz is the capital; besides which it contains two other episcopal cities, Plasencia and Coria, and the cities of Merida, Truxillo, and Alcantara.

In travelling from Madrid to Lisbon, no object of any interest occurs in the nineteen Spanish leagues over which the road lies to Talavera de la Reyna, the name of which is associated to an Englishman's ear with the proud recollection of the victory of July

* For further remarks on the Mesta system, the merino sheep, the wool and manufactures of Spain, see Bourgoing, vol. i. chap. 3; Dillon's Travels, letters v. and vi.; and Townsend, vol. ii. pp. 61 and 235. "Independently of the merino flock," says the latter, "many of the great landlords have suffered villages to go to ruin, and have let their estates to graziers." It is not a little singular, that the merino flocks of Spain should have originated in the introduction of a few *English sheep* into the mountains of Segovia, in the reign of the last Alfonso: they are said to have been a present from one of our kings, towards the middle of the fourteenth century. Soon afterwards occurred the dreadful pestilence, which, in 1348, is said to have swept off two-thirds of the inhabitants of Spain; and to this calamitous time is attributed the origin of the *Mesta*. This word had originally no other signification than a mixture of grain and seed; and the reason of its first application to the merino flocks is unknown. Padre Sarmiento contends that the sheep were originally called *marinas* (not *merinas*), as being imported. The word merino has now come to signify a royal superintendent of the sheep-walks; and the *merino mayor* is always a person of rank appointed by the king. There is a supreme council at Madrid, called *Consejo de Mesta*. Merino is a word applied also to thick, curled hair, but whether this be the primary or a secondary meaning, seems doubtful.

28, 1809. This was once a flourishing town, famous for its manufactures of silk and porcelain. It is finely situated on the Tagus, in the midst of a beautiful plain, rich with verdure, and adorned with trees and gardens.* Laborde devotes nearly thirty pages to the description of this ancient place, (supposed to be the *Talabrica* of the Romans,) the substance of which we shall give in as few words as possible, since little is left to distinguish it in the eyes of travellers. Taken and retaken repeatedly by the Moors, Talavera has, from its situation, been particularly exposed to the horrors of civil war, and has, in its history, generally shared the fate of Toledo. Vestiges of ancient ramparts are discoverable on the right bank of the Tagus, and other ruins, supposed to be Moorish. There is one arch so high that a house that is built in it reaches only three parts up. The Moorish town covered but a small part of the present enclosure. The modern town is very irregularly built, with low houses, and narrow and ill-paved streets; it contains eight parish churches, eight monasteries, and five nunneries, which appear to have nothing about them remarkable. There are two handsome *alamedas*, which are but little frequented, the inhabitants being generally sunk in apathy and sloth, as in the days of their townsman Mariana.

Not a single village occurs for six leagues after leaving Talavera. The little town of Torralva then occurs, surrounded with olive-plantations. About two hours further, leaving on the left the town and castle of Oropesa, the traveller arrives at La Calzada

* A wide and excellent road from Talavera leads to Cevolla, four leagues towards Toledo, which borders on the Tagus the whole way.

de Oropesa, the last village in New Castile, and soon after enters Estremadura. Naval Moral, a wretched village, is the next place; a distance of four leagues,—the first part over a barren heath, the latter part through a country well wooded with evergreen oaks, and, near the village, well watered and picturesque. Another small village is all that occurs in the next two leagues to Almaraz,—"a singular little town, where the houses seem built for pigmies and the churches for Patagonians," with the ruins of a castle on the left, small but picturesque. Three-quarters of a league further, the Tagus is crossed by a noble bridge of two arches, 580 feet long, and about 25 feet wide, built in 1552, which, in beauty and solidity, may be compared with the works of the Romans. One arch is 69 feet high and 150 wide; the other 66 feet high, and 119 wide: it is called *Puente de Almaraz.** In 1808, the Spaniards, to prevent the enemy from gaining this passage, attempted to destroy the bridge; but so firmly had this noble pile been built, that when the mine was fired, the explosion only injured it, without rendering it impassable. The road now lies over the mountain of Miravete; it is a winding ascent of six miles to the summit, and was formerly one of the most difficult passes in the Peninsula. At four leagues from the Puente de Almaraz, the traveller passes through the ancient and decayed town of Xaraiceyo, and crosses the Alamonte by a bridge of nine arches. A circuitous and rugged track through woods notorious for robbers, brings the traveller, at the end of five leagues more, to Truxillo, the birth-

* There are four bridges between Talavera and the confluence of the Tietar with the Tagus; the *Puente del Arzobispo* (the archbishop's bridge), the *Puente del Conde* (the count's), the *Puente de Almaraz*, and the *Puente del Cardinal*.

place of Francisco Pizarro, the conqueror of Peru. This is an ancient town, and must once have been a place of considerable strength. Julius Cæsar is said to have built the castle; and the name of the town is probably a corruption of *Turris Julia*: it is supposed to be the *Castra Julia* of Pliny. It is now in a state of great decay, and contains not above 4000 persons. Like most of the ancient towns, it is ill-built, and the streets are crooked, narrow, and filthy, but it has a handsome *plaza*. Five churches, four monasteries, and four nunneries make up its complement of ecclesiastical establishments. The British Officer, who marched through Truxillo in 1812, describes it as still looking nobly in the distance; "and ere you reach the walls, you imagine you are about to enter a magnificent city. On a hill above it stand the solid remains of the castle, said by the priests to have been built by Julius Cæsar. The tottering walls of some later works adjoining it, shew that it has, since those days, been a station of the Moors. The decay of trade gave the first blow to the prosperity of this once rich and flourishing commercial city; and the French, in a three months' residence, completed its destruction. Of seventeen palaces, only two remain inhabited; and five hundred houses, empty, deserted, and fast falling to decay, only remind you of what it once was. In the square stands a large, noble-looking mansion, once the residence of the family of Pizarro, and built, probably, out of the rich spoils of injured Peru. The sculpture and relief which adorn the front of this building, tell with fidelity the tale of the founder, but in a manner very revolting to the feelings of an Englishman. Peruvians, kneeling and prostrate, in all the attitudes of terror and supplication, their wrists and ancles bound by manacles and fetters, the

chains of which appear to weigh them down, are every where represented in stone work. The origin of this enterprising and intrepid soldier, but merciless conqueror, is yet more extraordinary than that of Cortes. In a wood under the walls of this very city, of which he was afterwards the most wealthy and distinguished noble, he, when a boy, tended swine, and followed for years that mean and humble occupation." The road now ascends the mountains for three leagues to the *Puerto de Santa Cruz*,* and then descending towards the basin of the Guadiana, leads, at the end of thirteen leagues from Truxillo. to

MERIDA.

To the classical antiquary, this is one of the most interesting cities in Spain. Merida, the ancient *Emerita Augusta*, was once the capital of Lusitania, and a metropolitan city. It was built by Augustus, as a colony for the soldiers who had served in the war against the Cantabrians; and is said to have been the largest Roman city in the Peninsula, its circumference being not less than eight miles: some old writers say, six leagues. It was besieged and taken, in 713, by the Moors, to whom is attributed the destruction of many of the ancient monuments. It remained in their possession till 1230, when Alfonso IX. retook it, after a decisive victory over a superior Moorish force; since which period it has always been attached to the kingdom of Castile and Leon. Under the Gothic kings, it was the see of an archbishop, which was removed to Compostella in the reign of Alfonso VII., while the city was in possession of the

* At Miajadas, a village three leagues beyond the *puerto*, are ruins of a castle and of a noble church; and Dr. Southey says, "the king has a palace there." Laborde does not mention it.

Moors. On being recovered by Alfonso IX. it was given to the military order of Santiago, to whom it still belongs. The population, at the beginning of the present century, did not amount to 5000 souls. We find the best description of this interesting spot in the "Recollections of the Peninsula."

"On entering Merida" (from the Perales side), "you pass the Guadiana by a handsome stone bridge* of Roman architecture, and in the highest state of preservation; above it, on ground the most elevated in the city, stands a Roman castle,† the venerable walls of which, though rough and discoloured, or rather, coloured by the touch of time, appear secure and undecayed. These antiquities of themselves would have well rewarded our visit, for the design of them had probably been given by some celebrated Roman architect eighteen centuries before; and conquered Spaniards, from whose hands the shield and the sword, so long but so vainly opposed to their invaders, had been reluctantly dropped, were employed, perhaps, in raising these monuments of the greatness, the power, and the genius of their victors. Such was the policy of the Romans: they always thus, by the erection of public works of magnificence and utility, while they recorded their own triumphs, gilt over the very chains they imposed, and made their provincial subjects feel proud even of dependency. Merida had its amphitheatre, its naumachia, its baths, its triumphal arches, its temples, and votive altars.

* "This bridge has sixty-four arches, and is 1000 yards in length. The antiquary will learn with sorrow, that two arches of this old bridge were, in the spring of 1812, blown up by the British in the course of their military operations in the province of Estremadura."

† "This castle was of great extent, the central area being two hundred yards square."

In a plain near the city are very grand and striking remains of the amphitheatre.* Its form, except in height, is still preserved; the seats appear quite perfect; the vaulted dens where the beasts were confined, and which open on the arena, are uninjured, and their arched roofs are strong as ever; the whole building is of stone, and the Roman cement used in its construction, is as hard, and seems to have been as durable, as the stone itself. Not very distant, you distinctly trace the naumachia;† and the low stone channel or conductor, by which the hollow space or basin was filled with water, may still be seen. Crowded on the seats of this amphitheatre, or pressing round the sides of the naumachia, you may still fancy the haughty legionaries and the wondering Spaniards, gazing on the magnificent exhibitions of those splendid ages. As you pass from this scene towards the town, you are struck with the lofty and picturesque ruins of two aqueducts,‡ one erected by the Romans, the other built by the Moors. I defy any man of common education and feeling to look upon such memorials of other days unmoved.

"In one of the streets of Merida may be seen a large and lofty arch,§ said to be a triumphal one, erected in honour of Trajan. It bears, however, no inscription, nor is it in any way adorned with sculp-

* "This amphitheatre has two tiers of seats, seven rows in the lower, five in the upper. Its diameter is fifty paces; and it is capable of holding with ease more than 2000 spectators."

† "The basin of this naumachia is one hundred paces by sixty, its form oval, its depth twenty feet in the centre, and the banks for the spectators rise about twenty feet above its sides."

‡ "The Roman aqueduct has three tiers of arches, the Moorish only two."

§ "This arch is fifty feet in height, and the base and sides of it are exceedingly thick."

ture or relief; it has, nevertheless, the true Roman character; it is handsome in its proportions, and solid in its construction: very large massive stones, arranged with the most just and admirable skill, and put together without cement, compose this still perfect work. In another part of the city, three votive altars have been raised one above the other, and form a sort of pillar, on the top of which some good and devout fathers have very provokingly placed the clumsy image of a saint. Strange revolution! that altars sculptured and adorned by the hands of heathens and idolaters, should now form a column to elevate a statue for Christian adoration! Near this place, two small chapels have been built out of the materials, and upon the sites of Roman temples: one of these, now dedicated to the Virgin, has the following inscription, in large Roman characters, immediately above the entrance—'*Marti Sacrum.*'

"The baths are surprisingly perfect, but not large, though they have evidently been very handsome. You descend to them by a long flight of stone steps. The subterraneous chambers are gloomy and not spacious, but extremely cool; the basins still contain water, supplied by some spring, but they are foul from neglect and disuse. These bathing-rooms are lighted from the top of the building, which just above the water is open. A cornice runs round these rooms, most curiously and delicately finished, and the vine-leaves and bunches of grapes thus represented, appear as perfect as if they had not been executed many years. There are, doubtless, more vestiges of Roman sculpture and masonry scattered and lost in the materials with which several of the private houses in and about Merida have been erected; and the foundation of many an old building, and the bed of many a garden,

would well reward the search and labour of an antiquary. The remains which I have noticed, are all that the eager traveller can now discover; they are, however, sufficient in number, and interesting enough in character, to throw a sacred and indescribable charm around this small but venerable city." *

Two roads lead from Merida to Badajoz; the one along the right bank of the Guadiana, through Puebla de la Calzada, so named from a Roman bridge and causeway over which this road passes. In the church of this village are said to be some fine paintings by Morales. The other road crosses the Guadiana by a very long bridge, and for three leagues lies over the fertile plain; then, crossing a rocky hill, on which stands the ruined village of Lobon, it descends to Talavera le Real, commonly called Talaveruela, "a large and miserable place;" and in three leagues more, over an unpleasant country abandoned to pasturage,† leads to

BADAJOZ.

THIS is the frontier town of Spain on this side, as Elvas is that of Portugal, and it is therefore strongly fortified. It stands in the plain on the banks of the Guadiana; but the ancient town was situated on

Mr. Semple says, that the walls of Merida "formerly extended further into the river, as great masses of ruins in its bed sufficiently testify." The Guadiana is continually wearing away its banks, and forming new islands: owing to the nature of the soil, the bed is wide and irregular, with banks of sand and gravel in the middle.

† Between Lobon and Badajoz, the road crosses the Guadaxira, a torrent dangerous in the rainy season, the Lentrin, and the Rivillo.

higher ground, where the castle now stands, on which site are some deserted churches and ruins in both the Roman and Moorish styles. It has been supposed to be the *Pax Augusta* of Strabo, corrupted by the Moors into Baxaugus — Badajoz; but "the incontestible evidence of Roman inscriptions places that city, which is proved to be the same as *Pax Julia*, at Beja." Another supposed etymology derives it from Beledaix (*belled hejaz*), the name said to have been given it by the Moors; but why it should be termed holy land, does not appear. In 1660, Badajoz withstood a siege from the Portuguese; and in 1705, from the combined troops of England and Portugal; but in 1812, Lord Wellington took the city by storm.

"It was not without a feeling of deep and mournful interest," says the Officer to whose recollections the reader is already indebted, "that on the evening I halted at Badajoz, I walked round the walls of that dearly-purchased fortress. The works were rapidly repairing; but the town presented a wretched appearance, most of the loftier buildings, and all those near the breaches, having been destroyed by the fire of our batteries. The murderous assault of the 6th of April must have been dreadful to look upon. At the main breach alone, upwards of 2,000 men are said to have fallen; and at this point, not one soul penetrated into the town. Some of our officers who were wounded and taken on the breach, and carried through it, represented it as provided with defences through which the most intrepid soldiers could never have forced their way. A ditch, cutting it off from the body of the place, a breast-work, and strong *chevaux-de-frize* of sword-blades, were the obstacles opposed to us; and to these must be added a heavy and incessant fire of

musketry. The escalade at the castle was a fine bold effort, and was eminently successful. Some outworks, also, were carried at the bayonet's point in a gallant style: and the division which penetrated into the town by the bastion of San Vicente deserves uncommon credit. I leant long and silently over the parapet at that angle by which it ascended. As I was passing a large church, I heard the sound of hammers and anvils, and, on entering, I found that this handsome building had been converted by the French during the siege into a workshop; by us, it had still been applied to the same purpose, and there blacksmiths, armourers, and carpenters were now busily occupied in their noisy labours."*

Badajoz is 64 leagues (Spanish) from Madrid, 33 leagues from Lisbon, 57 from Salamanca, and 34 from Seville. On leaving the city by the gate of *Las Palmas*, there is a fine bridge of 28 arches, 1,874 feet in length, over the Guadiana, built in 1596.† About a league and a half further, the traveller fords the Caya, a rivulet which falls into the Guadiana, and finds himself in Portugal. It is *the Tweed* of the Peninsula.

The feelings of the traveller on crossing the frontier,

* Recollections of the Peninsula, p. 187. Laborde says: "The cathedral church is the only edifice that is tolerable." There was only one manufactory in the town, and that had been recently established by a Frenchman for hats. He states the population at between 14 and 15,000.

† The Guadiana (*Wady Ana*) is properly the Ana or Anas. "Florez, after Bochart, derives Anas from the Phenician, in which *yanas* is to conceal one's self and re-appear, to dive, *hanasa* is in Arabic. This is probably the origin of the Latin word; but did not the Romans mean to call this river *the Duck*, just as we have our *Mole*?"—SOUTHEY'S *Letters*, vol. ii. p. 22. See page 49.

vary not a little according to the direction he is pursuing. Dr. Southey, in his early Letters, speaks of his glad feeling at having "escaped from Spain." Mr. Semple describes in similar terms the sensations with which his party galloped across the shallow stream, glad to turn their backs on Portugal, and eager to be the first to set foot on the Spanish territory. The British Officer, who also entered Spain from Portugal, says: "It is in the market-place and the streets of Badajoz, that the stranger soon discovers that he is among another people, and, were it not for the dust of Portugal still covering his dress, he might almost judge, in a remote kingdom. A chain of mountains, or a spacious channel, could hardly prepare him for a greater change. Features, carriage, costume, language, and manners, all proclaim a distinct race. The style of building, too, differs; fewer windows front the streets, and most of these are grated. The market-place of Badajoz, which, at the time I saw it, was crowded with strangers, had all the appearance of a picturesque and well-arranged masquerade. The different modes of dress, ancient, and not liable to daily changes, are, no doubt, the same they were four centuries ago.

"The Estremaduran himself has a brown jacket without a collar, and with sleeves which lace at the shoulder, so that they are removed at pleasure. The red sash is universally worn, and a cloak is generally carried on the left arm. A jacket and waistcoat profusely ornamented with silk lace and buttons of silver filigree, the hair clubbed and tied with broad black ribbon, and a neat cap of cloth, or velvet, mark the Andalusian. The ass-driver of Cordova is clothed in a complete dress of the tawny brown leather of his native province. The lemonade-seller of Valencia has a linen

shirt open at the neck, a fancy waistcoat without sleeves, a kilt of white cotton, white stockings rising to the calf, and sandals. Muleteers, with their broad body-belts of buff leather, their capitans, or train-masters, with the ancient cartridge-belts and the old Spanish gun, were mingled in these groupes. Here, too, were many officers and soldiers of the patriot armies, which, raised in haste, were not regularly or uniformly clothed, if I except some of the old standing force. Of these, you might see the royal carabineer, with the cocked hat, blue coat faced with red, and, instead of boots, the ancient greaves, of thick, hard, black leather, laced at the sides; the dragoon, in a uniform of yellow, black belts, and a helmet with a cone of brass; the royal or Walloon guards, in their neat dress of blue and red, with white lace; the common soldier in brown. Mingled with these was the light-horseman, in a hussar jacket of brown, and over-alls caped, lined, and vandyked at the bottom with tan leather; here, again, a peasant with the cap and coat of a soldier; there, a soldier from Navarre or Aragon, with the bare foot and the light hempen sandal of his country."

"The Spaniard," says Mr. Semple, "is more determined than the Portuguese in his gait and manners. His cloak, thrown over his shoulders, gives him something of the air of a man of courage, while the same costume, with the Portuguese manners, gives only the look of an assassin. But if we notice the difference between the men, it is still more apparent in the women of the two countries. The air, the dress, the walk of the Spanish ladies are not only superior to those of their neighbours, but, perhaps, of any European nation. The lower part of their dress is black, with deep fringes; the upper consists simply of a

white muslin veil, falling down on each side of the head, and crossing over the bosom. They walk with freedom; their eyes are dark and expressive; and their whole countenances have that bewitching air which an Englishman likes well enough to see in any woman except his wife, his sister, or the woman he truly loves and respects." *

Elvas, or Yelves, three leagues west of Badajoz, is situated on the summit of a steep hill commanding the plain of the Guadiana. "Portugal," says Mr. Semple, "seems to have exerted all her strength to render the fortifications of Elvas formidable, as if by this outward rind she would conceal the weakness of her interior. Exclusive of the situation and the fortifications, the place itself has nothing worthy of notice except a Moorish aqueduct, in some parts of several rows of arches, which still conveys water to the town: it is in general not so well built as Estremoz. The out-fort of *La Lippe*, which is deemed impregnable, is regarded as a *chef-d'œuvre* in the art of fortification: it lies on a high hill to the north of the town. Elvas is an episcopal see, and contains a population of about 16,000 souls. The country now becomes beautifully varied, and, in the course of the next six leagues to Estremoz, the different character of the country discovers itself: single farm-houses and *quintas*, or country-seats, may be seen, with gardens attached to them in the English style. Villa Viçosa, the royal

* This Traveller remarks, that the contrast extends to the very roads. Those in Portugal are in a most neglected state; "while no sooner have we passed the frontier, than we see them excellent from Badajoz to Madrid. The Portuguese do not scruple to avow their reason for thus not merely abandoning their roads towards Spain, but absolutely leading them over the most difficult and rocky ground. 'We do not wish,' say they, 'to make a road to Lisbon for the Spaniards.'"

seat of Braganza, lies to the left. Estremoz has been a considerable place, and is reckoned one of the strongest towns in Portugal. King Denis had a palace here, and here his wife, queen St. Isabel, died. But since Elvas has been made impregnable, the fortifications of Estremoz have been neglected, and the whole town bears marks of decay. It is partly situated on a high hill overlooking the Tarra, and partly in the valley. Fine marbles are found in the neighbourhood, and the pottery is in great repute. The population is estimated at 6,500. The town is said to derive its name from a species of pulse called *Tremoços*, which grew in great abundance when the first settlers established themselves. The *termo* (district) is very fertile, and is stated to contain no fewer than 800 springs of good water. The country all round affords many views of deep valleys, and glens, and mountains crowned with forests, which afford a shelter to banditti. Not a village or hamlet occurs in the three leagues from Estremoz to the *Venda du Duque*, nor in the three leagues beyond it, leading to Arroyolos. This is a small village pleasantly situated on a height, and has a ruined castle: what is better, it has a tolerable post-house. The Portuguese *estalagems* are in general better than the Spanish *posadas*. Three leagues (fourteen miles) further is Montemor Novo, seated on the declivity of a tolerably high hill, crowned with the remains of an old Moorish castle. This town is decently built and paved. The little river Canha, which abounds with fish, flows below. This place is famous for its manufactory of water-jars, made of a clay which emits a grateful odour. The adjacent country is beautiful, with all variety of hill, and dale, and water. The laurustinus grows in the hedges, and blossoms luxuriantly. The route lies for

some way through a wilderness of evergreen shrubs and aromatic herbs, among which the gum-cistus and the myrtle are found in abundance. The roads, however, are rugged and steep. It is reckoned four leagues from Montemor to Vendas Novas, where there is a royal hunting-seat in bad repair. Joam V. had occasion to sleep at this place one night, and ordered this palace to be built for his reception. Accordingly, built it was, half by torch-light, the men working at it day and night. A barn, in the midst of a collection of poor huts, is the post-house. A flat and sandy country, covered with pine-woods, extends for three leagues to Venda de Pegoens (or los Pregones), "a place abounding with mosquitoes, and nothing to eat." Five leagues further of sandy road lead to Aldea Gallega; "a considerable town," Dr. Southey says,—a miserable village of fifty or sixty huts, says Mr. Semple: both, perhaps, speak comparatively. It is placed at the head of a small creek on the south-east side of the Tagus, and is the first post from Lisbon, distant about ten miles. It has sprung up round a *venda* originally kept here by a *Gallega*, or Galician woman, named *Alda*, after whom it is named, and had at one time nine *estalagems*, "the largest, cleanest, and best supplied in Portugal." It was the very Hounslow or Barnet of Lisbon. Its inhabitants have the singular privilege of passing free in the ferry-boats to the capital. It is a passage of an hour and a half, or two hours, across the Tagus. "I rejoiced," says the learned Traveller whose route we have pursued, "at finding myself upon *terra firma*, and next morning I was awakened by an earthquake!"

But we have strayed out of Spain, thinking it best to conduct our reader along the whole route between

the two capitals. We must now transport him back to Badajoz.

Four leagues to the south-east of Badajoz, in the route to Seville, is the ruined village of Albuera, the scene of one of the most sanguinary conflicts that took place during the Peninsular war. It is situated on a stream from which it takes its name, over which are two bridges; one about 200 yards to the right of the village, large, handsome, and of hewn stone; the other close to the left of it, small, narrow, and incommodious. This brook is not above knee-deep. Its banks, to the left of the small bridge, are abrupt and uneven; and on that side, either artillery or cavalry would find it next to impossible to pass; but to the right of the main bridge, it is accessible to any description of force. About three quarters of a mile distant is an extensive wood, which was occupied by the French both before and after the battle. The space between the wood and the brook is a level plain, without a tree or a ravine to interrupt the movements of cavalry. Here, on the 16th of April, 1811, above 4000 British and 9000 French fell in the murderous conflict. In 1812, the scene was revisited by the Author of Recollections of the Peninsula, who had himself taken part in the engagement. All was rural, and sunny, and silent: not a vestige of the battle remained. * Five leagues further south, on the high road from Merida to Xeres de Badajoz and Seville, is

* See, for a minute description of this dearly-bought victory, Recollections of the Peninsula, pages 153—165. On revisiting the chapel which had, the year before, been converted into a hospital for the French prisoners, a rude inscription was found scratched with charcoal on the wall: *La guerre en Espagne est la fortune des généraux, l'ennui des officiers, et le tombeau des soldats.*

Zafra, a fine town, at the foot of a steep hill, near which are the remains of a large and handsome convent destroyed by the French. Nineteen miles south of Merida is the ancient town of Medellin, situated on the Guadiana, near which the Spanish under Cuesta were defeated with great loss by Marshal Victor in the spring of 1809. The victims of that disastrous and rashly-courted battle were never buried, and in 1812, human bones lay every where bleached by the sun and wind, the relics of the wolf's and eagle's feast. A large citadel, which once protected the town, is now a heap of ruins. This town was the birth-place of Hernan Cortez, the adventurous conqueror of Mexico; and they still pretend to shew the house in which he was born, and from which, 300 years ago, he was expelled by his father in displeasure at his idle, dissipated, and unruly conduct.

We must now retrace our steps to Almaraz, for the purpose of noticing some places of particular interest in the northern parts of Estremadura. Three leagues from that town, out of any main road, is Talavera la Vieja (Old Talavera), delightfully situated on the left bank of the Tagus. It is now a mere village; but the vestiges of Roman buildings shew it to have been a place of considerable importance.* There is hardly a house, Laborde says, in which are not to be found columns, pilasters, bases, or capitals, and stones with inscriptions built into the walls. The remains of two temples are the most important objects: of these a description has appeared in the Memoirs of the Academy of History of Madrid.

A road leads from Almaraz in a north-west direc-

* Supposed to be the Roman Ebura. It is 34 miles W.S.W. of Talavera de la Reyna.

tion to the two episcopal cities of Plasencia and Coria. At four leagues, passing through the solitary village of Toril at half way, it crosses the river Tietar, flowing in a south-west direction into the Tagus. In this part there are some woods of oak and cork-tree; but the country beyond, for between three and four leagues, is desert and uncultivated, covered only with heath, till the traveller approaches the narrow valley of the Xerte. The city of Plasencia (supposed to be the ancient Ambracia) is partly surrounded by that river, being built on a sort of peninsula, environed with mountains. It contains seven parish-churches, three monasteries, four nunneries, and several oratories, but nothing remarkable, except a fine old aqueduct of 80 arches, which still conveys water to the town, and a private collection of antiquities. The population is under 5000. The valley of Plasencia has been celebrated by the Spaniards as perfectly elysian. It was selected by the emperor Charles the Fifth as his last retreat on divesting himself of the pomp and cares of royalty. The description which Don Guillermo Bowles gives of this part of the country, by no means corresponds, however, to the romantic stories of the Spanish writers. The convent of Juste stands in what is called the *Vera* of Plasencia. On quitting that city and crossing the Xerte, the road lies over the hill of Calcones, and, leaving Arroyo Molinos on the left, proceeds five leagues to La Magdalena, where the Jesuits had an establishment. A league further over a woody country, watered by several little trout-streams, leads to the convent, which is built on the brow of a steep hill connected with the chain called the Puerto de Tornavacas. Neither the convent nor the church has any thing to distinguish it beyond the historical fact, recorded in an in-

scription which is to be seen in a corner of the garden, surmounted with the imperial arms,—"*En esta Santa Casa de San Hieronimo de Juste se retiro a acabar su vida, El que toda la gasto en defensa de la fé y conservacion de la justicia, Carlos V. Emperador Rey de las Españas Christianissimo, invictissimo. Muria a* 21 *de Setiembre, de* 1558." * Over the great altar in the church is a copy of the famous picture called the glory of Titian, which formerly stood here, and

* "In this holy house of St. Jerome of Juste ended his days, he who spent the whole of them in defence of the faith and in support of justice, Charles V. emperor, king of Spain, most Christian, invincible. He died on the 21st of September, 1558."—Robertson states, on the authority of the Spanish historians, that Charles, in passing through this place many years before, had been struck with the delightful situation of the monastery, and then observed to his attendants, that this was a spot to which Diocletian might have retired with pleasure. "From the nature of the soil and the temperature of the climate," he adds, "it was esteemed the most healthful and delicious situation in Spain. Some months before his abdication, he had sent an architect thither, to add a new apartment to the monastery for his accommodation; but he gave strict orders that the style of the building should be such as suited his present station, rather than his former dignity. It consisted only of six rooms, four of them in the form of friars' cells, with naked walls: the other two, each twenty feet square, were hung with brown cloth, and furnished in the most simple manner. They were all on a level with the ground, with a door on one side into a garden, of which Charles himself had given the plan, and had filled it with various plants which he intended to cultivate with his own hands. On the other side, they communicated with the chapel of the monastery. Into this humble retreat, hardly sufficient for the comfortable accommodation of a private gentleman, did Charles enter, with twelve domestics only." He arrived here, February 24, 1557. The victim of superstition and remorse, he endeavoured to conform to all the rigour of monastic austerities; and the whip of cords with which he performed secret penance, is said to have been found, after his death, tinged with blood. His celebration of his own obsequies was the consummation of the devout exercises by which this sanguinary persecutor sought to propitiate Heaven. On the day following, he was seized with the fever which proved fatal; he expired in the 59th year of his age.

which was removed to the Escurial by express command of the emperor, who ordered that the original should be fixed in the same church that held his remains. "The ruined decorations of the garden and grounds seem," we are told, "to intimate their pristine state in happier days; and the several plantations in the Vera, watered by numberless brooks, might once have exhibited a more pleasing appearance." Such are the only traces left here of that accomplished despot, whose mad ambition agitated all Europe with desolating wars, and from whose reign may be dated the decline of the glory, power, and prosperity of the Spanish monarchy. "The Vera now" (1775) "affords the most melancholy aspect imaginable. Among the various experiments to destroy the worms that ruin the chestnut-trees, fire was the last expedient, insomuch that the trees, scorched and half burned, now resemble the oaks struck by the thunder of Jove; and their whole agriculture is reduced to the sowing of a few peas, with some miserable scraps of a vineyard. The village of Cuacos, near St. Juste, is distinguished by the savage disposition and ferocity of its inhabitants." In the *Valle* of Plasencia (a level tract, nine leagues in length), which is separated from the Vera by a range of hills running from the city to the *Puerto*, every branch of cultivation is in the lowest state, and the mountains and passes are filled with assassins and robbers.*

Twelve leagues to the N.W. of Plasencia, fourteen S.W. of Salamanca, and about eight E. of Ciudad Rodrigo, is a district, which, in addition to its naturally wild and savage character, was long invested with fabulous horrors. In Dr. Southey's Letters, the

* Dillon's Travels, 4to. London, 1782.

following description is given of this singular place, on the authority of a friend who had visited it. "A few leagues above Plasencia, near the highest part of that immense chain of mountains which runs through Portugal, and precisely where they send off the branch which divides the two Castiles, there is a valley three or four miles in length, tremendously deep, and so narrow, that it is not wider, a very few parts of it excepted, than the stream which runs through it, and gives it the name of *Batuecas*. The sun scarcely visits it in winter; and the only place by which it is accessible is where the stream has worked its way out: in every other part, it is closed in by rocks. Where the rains and winter torrents have worn their course from the sides to the bottom of this glen or valley, frequent chasms are seen, not unlike those which are said to be so fatal to the chamois-hunters in Switzerland. Caves and caverns are in every part formed, either by the detached fragments of the mountain, or by the rains washing away the earth from beneath, and leaving the rocks in their original position; and these are found placed in such a variety, and frequently in such regularity of forms, that they appear at a distance the works of art. They are in general rectangular, as perpendicular as the walls of a house, and sometimes so abruptly broken on the summit as to resemble buildings in ruins. One, in particular, has its towers, its turrets, its buttresses, its arches, its portal, and every circumstance that can impose on you the idea of a castle, which, from its inaccessible situation, you must conclude to have been erected there by enchantment. It bears the name of the Sepulchre of Don Sebastian. Immediately below this castle in the air, and opposite to it, is situated a convent of Carmelite friars, the sole

inhabitants of the place. When this convent was founded, the valley, or, as it is called, the desert of Batuecas, was said to be possessed by a people who were heathens, magicians, and spoke a language which none but themselves could understand. The fact is, this secluded spot afforded such a secure retreat for birds and beasts of prey, and all kinds of venemous reptiles, and was so infested by them, that the cattle, sheep, and goats of the neighbouring villages were sure to become a prey to some or other of them, whenever, by the carelessness of their keepers, they were suffered to stray near it; these fellows, to screen themselves, invented these stories, which were no sooner made known than generally received and believed.*.....I think," adds the learned author, "I have discovered in this dismal spot, the place where the unfortunate Sebastian was confined and finished his days. The name given to the rock in front of the convent, the stories calculated to deter people from visiting the place, invented in Philip II.'s reign, and not contradicted till a hundred years afterwards, the time of founding the convent (1599), the appearance of Don Sebastian at Venice in 1598, and his consequent imprisonment in Spain, all tend to prove it....Should this conjecture be true, it will not appear a little extraordinary, that two such personages as Charles the Fifth and Don Sebastian should have inhabited places so near to each other, and almost at the same period of time, which few people, either before or since, have ever thought it worth their while to visit." †

* The tales respecting the supposed savages of Batuecas were so fully believed for a long time, that they served as a foundation for novels and dramatic performances repeatedly exhibited on the stage.

† Southey's Letters, vol. i. p. 256.

In Dillon's Travels, a description is given, from Don Guillermo Bowles, of another valley in the same district, called the Jurdes, about four leagues in length and three in breadth, which is said not to yield in wretchedness to the dismal gully overlooked by the convent of *La Peña de Francia*. "During the whole journey from Alberca to Batuecas, nothing is to be seen but a repetition of jagged and ill-shapen rocks, with their rugged peaks like so many turrets and battlements, towering one over the other as far as the eye can reach, forming dreadful gullies where the river forces its way. The waters are clear, abounding with trout, and having grains of gold in the sand, which the peasants know well how to look after, and sell at Plasencia, Ciudad Rodrigo, and Salamanca; which is a great resource to them in this sorrowful vale, where, during winter, the sun's rays can hardly penetrate for above four hours in the day. To increase still further its horror, the hills are perforated with dismal caves, one above the other, and so extensive, that three or four hundred sheep may easily take shelter there. To complete the picture, the country is the resort of numerous birds of prey, and affords shelter to bears, wolves, wild cats, and weasels, which destroy all the hares and rabbits, with the addition of snakes, serpents, and many other noxious reptiles. But why need I enlarge further on so dreary a spot, or describe so barren a country, where even grass is not to be seen? here and there is a solitary cistus, and nothing else but furze, the only resource of goats and some bees: the latter are of service merely on account of their wax, as their honey has all the bitter flavour of their food." *

* Dillon, p. 275.

The district of Batuecas is in the diocese of Coria. In proceeding to that city from Plasencia, the road lies in a south-west direction, crossing some high ground into the territory called *Tra-sierra*, in which stands the village of Villar, an ancient site, as is indicated by Roman inscriptions in the walls of several of the houses. The environs are beautifully wooded; and some streams of excellent water have their rise here, which the Romans conveyed to Caparra by an aqueduct, the remains of which are still to be seen. At Aldea Nueva, a village of 1,500 inhabitants, on the side of a mountain covered with chestnut-woods, the river Ambroz is crossed twice by a bridge at each end of the village, and a third time a little beyond Abadia, a small village, where the Duke of Alba has a seat with superb gardens laid out in the old taste, and the Franciscans a convent. The road continues along this beautiful vale, through woods of evergreen oak, to Caparra, another Roman town, seated on a small eminence on the bank of the same river, which is here crossed by an ancient bridge of four arches. Laborde supposes that this place, not Plasencia, was the ancient Ambracia. Though now reduced to a paltry hamlet, some scattered remains attest its ancient importance. There is a triumphal arch on the Roman military way, with fragments of an inscription. The oak-woods extend beyond this village, and the road passes through several depopulated towns, which shew that this rich district was once flourishing and populous. At length, the traveller reaches the bank of the Xerte,* and crossing it by a bridge of seven arches, ascends for some time to the village of Galistes, which occupies a

* It is not mentioned by Laborde, but the Xerte and the Ambroz probably unite.

very elevated situation. Here the Duke of Arcos has a handsome palace. The road then descends into the valley of the Alagon, and for several leagues continues along a dreary plain, "almost entirely covered with wrecks of Roman grandeur:" fragments of monuments, inscribed marbles, mile-stones, and traces of the military road, are seen all the way to Coria.

This ancient city, the *Cauria* and *Caurium* of Ptolemy, but now reduced to the population of a village, is prettily situated on the right bank of the Alagon. Remains of Roman fortifications, Laborde says, still exist. The walls are built of large stones; they are 20 feet high, and 16 feet thick, flanked by large square towers, with four gates. The citadel is the work of the Moors, and the Author of Recollections in the Peninsula describes it as a fine remain. The cathedral consists of only a nave, and has no pretensions to architectural beauty. There is a fine bridge of seven arches on leaving the town, but the river has forsaken its ancient channel, and, two leagues further, is crossed at a ford. Coria was the head-quarters of General Lord Hill in the winter of 1812-13. It then comprised about 600 houses. The surrounding scenery is very fine, and the winter there was found as mild as an English spring. A road leads northward from Coria, over the lofty Sierra de Gata, to Ciudad Rodrigo, distant seventeen leagues; and southward, through Celavin to Alcantara, seven leagues. The first two leagues of the latter route lie over a barren plain. Three leagues further, Celavin, a town of 3,000 inhabitants, stands in the midst of extensive vineyards. The road then becomes a mere mule-track over a rocky country, and leads by a long descent to the banks of the Tagus. Alcantara de-

rives its name from a magnificent Roman bridge, 576 feet in length, 27½ in breadth, and 212 feet above the bed of the river. It is formed of six unequal arches. The Moors, when besieged in Alcantara, demolished the smallest arch, and it was rebuilt by Carlos I. in the sixteenth century. The Portuguese, on evacuating the town after the Peace of Utrecht, are said to have blown up two arches; and these were rebuilt by Carlos III. In the middle of the bridge is a triumphal arch of granite, 40 feet in height; and at the end is a sepulchral monument, containing the ashes of the architect, which has been converted into a chapel dedicated to San Julian. The town of Alcantara was built by the Moors. Alfonso IX. took it from them in 1218, and gave it to the military order of Calatrava, which afterwards assumed the name of the town. The church is large, but has never been finished: it contains some good pictures. The population is about 3,000 persons. From Alcantara there is a road to Badajoz, distant 17 leagues southwards, leading through the town of Albuquerque, from which the ducal family takes its title. Another road leads to Arroyo del Puerco, a town of about 5,000 inhabitants, in which are some cloth-manufactories and a church with sixteen paintings by Morales; and thence, to Caceres, an ancient Roman colony with the name of *Castra Cæcilia*, containing four parish-churches, seven convents, and about 8,000 persons. The town is ill built, and contains nothing remarkable, except a few ancient inscriptions. A cross-road leads from Caceres, twelve leagues, to Merida.*

* For our information with regard to this interesting part of the country, we have been obliged to content ourselves for the most part with the vague and inaccurate statements of Laborde. Albu-

We must here take leave of this fine province, next to Andalusia the most interesting part of Spain, yet

querque is not even mentioned in his work. Future travellers may avail themselves, however, of this imperfect account as a guide to their inquiries, and the valley of the Ambroz will particularly deserve to be investigated. In Dillon's Travels will be found an account of journeys taken by D. Guillermo Bowles, from Almaden in La Mancha, to Merida, and thence to Guadalcanal, Seville, and Malaga; but of these, our plan and limits restrain us from giving any abstract. Almaden is the last village in La Mancha, being separated only by a brook from the kingdom of Cordova: it stands upon a stratum of cinnabar, and the inhabitants are chiefly supported by the profits of the quicksilver mine, which is believed to have been worked from time immemorial. Theophrastus (300 years B. C.) speaks of the cinnabar of Spain; Vitruvius also mentions it; and Pliny states that the mines were in the province of Bœtica, which would agree with this mine; but no traces are left of any Roman works. The road to Merida lies through Medellin, crossing the chain of hills which separate La Mancha from Estremadura; these are covered with rosemary, growing four or five feet high, privet, thyme, lavender, and all the varieties of cistus. Lead and silver mines, iron, and emery, are found in the *Sierra de Guadalupe*, near Orellana, and at Zalamea in the heart of the Sierra Morena. The country people believe, that the latter town was built by persons sent there by King Solomon in quest of the silver mines. Guadalcanal is the last town to the south in Estremadura, being separated from Andalusia only by the small stream of Benalija. Its silver mine has a long history attached to it, and has ruined more than it has enriched. In the reign of Philip II., two brothers, Mark and Christopher Fugger of Augsburg, obtained a grant of both this mine and the quicksilver mine of Almaden, and, either by mining or by other means, they made so large a fortune, that *ser rico como un Fucar*—to be as rich as a Fugger, had become a proverb in the days of Cervantes. There is a street which bears their name in Madrid. Their descendants were raised to the dignity of counts of the Roman empire, being allied to the greatest houses in Germany. The brothers abandoned both their mines in 1635, after having worked that of Guadalcanal to a great depth. In less than a month after, the mine filled with water to within 30 feet of the surface, and the draining of *Pozo Rico* (the rich shaft) has been a project that has, at intervals, exercised the credulity, and absorbed the property, of various speculators.

the most neglected and depopulated, and, till it was made the seat of devastating war, the least known to foreigners. The mountains, which few but shepherds have explored, would open a rich field of investigation to the scientific traveller; while to the antiquary, it is not improbable that there may remain at Merida and other Roman sites, perhaps beneath the soil, objects of the highest interest. Vettonian Merida was evidently a favourite colony of the Romans, and no city in the peninsula appears to have been distinguished by greater magnificence.

> "Nunc locus Emerita est tumuli,
> Clara colonia Vettoniæ,
> Quam memorabilis omnis Anas
> Præterit, et viridante rapax
> Gurgite mœnia pulchra alluit."—PRUDENTIUS.

From this province, in later times, Cortez and Pizarro went forth to lay the foundation of new kingdoms in the western world, leading the way to those adventurous colonists by whom Meridas and Truxillos, Valencias and Valladolids have been planted on the shores of the two oceans, and in the very heart of the Andes.

Three provinces yet remain to be visited, some account of which will naturally connect itself with a description of the route

FROM MADRID TO BAYONNE.

THERE are three distinct routes from Madrid to Bayonne; one by way of Valladolid and Burgos, which we have already traced as far as the latter city, and which thence proceeds by way of Vittoria: a second leads through Zaragoza; and a third, which has only the recommendation of being the shortest, is

by way of Guadalaxara, Agreda, and Roncevalle. It is the second and third of these that we shall now proceed to trace.

The road, for six leagues eastward of Madrid, lies over a vast extent of bare and level country, watered by the Manzanares, the Xarama, and the Henarez. It is chiefly corn land. The road would be good, were it not for the sandy nature of the soil. At the extremity of the plain, on the right bank of the river from which it takes its name, and backed by a semicircle of mountains, stands the famous city of Alcala de Henarez. This modern representative of the ancient *Complutum* was built in the twelfth century, the old city having suffered so much during the siege which the Moors sustained in it before it was taken, as to require rebuilding. The ruins of an old castle on a hill, on the other side of the river, are said to mark the ancient site. The present town is walled, with square towers at intervals, and covers a very considerable area, sufficient, Laborde says, to contain 30,000 inhabitants, whereas the actual population does not amount to a sixth of that number. The public buildings occupy a large proportion of the city: they consist of one collegiate and three parish churches, nineteen monasteries, eight nunneries, thirteen colleges, and four hospitals. The university was founded by the celebrated Cardinal Ximenes, to whom the Christian world is indebted for the edition of the polyglott Bible, known by the appellation of the Complutensian. In the library of the college of San Ildefonso, founded by Ximenes, are preserved the original manuscript of this Bible, together with the letters of that great man, his ring, his bust, and his portrait. The schools of Alcala were the most celebrated of their age, and the students numbered at one time nearly

4,000; but their prosperity was of short duration: the same century that saw their foundation, witnessed their decline.* This university is now in a state of decay, and there are scarcely 500 students; the printing-houses have disappeared, and the publications which issued from them are almost forgotten. Mr. Townsend styles Alcala one of the prettiest cities in Spain. The buildings are of granite, of limestone, and of brick, and the pavement is of smooth, round stones, the spoils of distant mountains. The Archbishop of Toledo has a palace here, the work of Covarubias and Berruguete; it is an immense building, containing, it is said, 366 rooms, exclusive of the ground-floor. In one front there are 82 pillars; in the other, 52; and there are numerous courts, surrounded with piazzas. The most superb edifice in Alcala is the college of San Ildefonso, the front of which is Gothic. It has three large quadrangles, surrounded with cloisters of beautiful architecture. The first court has three rows of piazzas, one above the other; the columns of the lower two of the Doric, and those of the upper tier of the Ionic order. The columns of the second court are Composite; and the third court is adorned with Ionic columns. The church contains nothing remarkable, except the mausoleum of the founder, of marble, richly sculptured, and surrounded with a bronze grating. The collegiate church, rebuilt by Cardinal Ximenes, is in the Gothic style. Among the other public edifices, the façade of the King's College, and that of the Jesuits, which is of Corinthian architecture, are the only two that seem

* Ximenes was born, in 1437, at Torrelaguna, a small town on the road from Madrid to San Ildefonso. He was appointed confessor to Queen Isabella in 1491; created cardinal in 1507. He founded the college of San Ildefonso in 1499.

to deserve notice. Laborde describes Alcala as a very gloomy town, being peopled only by priests, monks, students, and professors; but its gloominess must arise chiefly from its being unpeopled. From a distance, the number of its turrets and spires gives the town a highly picturesque appearance. Alcala was the birth-place of Cervantes.

Four leagues from Alcala, the road lying over a well-cultivated plain, is the ancient city of Guadalaxara, the chief town of the canton of Alcarria, situated near the eastern bank of the Henarez. It contains ten parishes, six monasteries, seven nunneries, two hospitals, and eight hermitages. The population, in 1786, was estimated at 16,000 souls,* of whom nearly 4,000 were employed in the royal cloth-manufactory, besides about 40,000 spinners in the adjacent villages. This manufactory was first projected, in 1720, by the Baron de Riperda, who brought workmen from Holland; but it had little success. During the war of 1740, the English Government having prohibited the importation of Spanish wool, Mr. Wall, afterwards prime minister of Spain, then in England, succeeded in decoying one Thomas Bevan, a skilful workman, from Melksham in Wiltshire, with many others, and established them at Guadalaxara, where they contributed to raise the credit of an expiring manufacture. Some years after this, Thomas Bevan, having met with ill usage, died of a broken heart, and in him this undertaking suffered an irre-

* This must be understood as exclusive of the ecclesiastics, and probably of children also, since a fourth were employed in the manufactory. Laborde states the population at 12,000, adding, that it was formerly more numerous, and yet rates the persons employed in the manufacture at nearly 5,000.

parable loss.* Laborde represents the manufactory as much contracted in its scale, and as scarcely paying the expenses: the cloths are as dear as foreign ones, and the Spaniards themselves prefer the latter. The Duke of Infantado has a spacious palace at Guadalaxara, and a most superb subterranean pantheon and chapel beneath the church of the Cordeliers, inferior in magnificence only to the royal burying-chapel in the Escurial. The most precious marbles, mosaic pavements, gilded roofs, columns, and other decorations, have been lavished on this posthumous mansion of the noble family. So it was that the ancients always raised their noblest edifices for the dead. The site of Guadalaxara is believed to have been occupied by the Romans under the name of Arriaca or Carraca. The present name is obviously of Moorish origin, and appears to be taken from the river: they are said to have called it Guidalhichara or Guidalarriaca, probably *Wady al Ajara*; or there may be some connexion between the name of the city and that of the canton, which we leave the Spanish etymologists to detect.

The road, soon after leaving Guadalaxara, enters the mountains, and for some distance lies along a causeway, shaded with elms, which follows the wind-

* Townsend, vol. i. p. 240. It is remarkable that Spain should be indebted to the present of an English monarch for her merino flocks, and to an English mechanic for the fame of her Vigonia broad cloth. In the war of the Succession, the Spanish Government prohibited the sale of their wines and fruits to the English and Dutch; "who, in consequence of this," says Mr. Townsend, "formed connexions with the Portuguese, so that now, more especially in England, Port wine supplies the place of *sack*,"—that is *vin sec*, the dry wine of Spain. It is mortifying to think, that forty years after, the English Government should have known no better than to retaliate.

ings of the sierra. This new road was finished in 1790. It then ascends to the ruined town of Torrija, the residence of the intendant of Guadalaxara, formerly a very strong place: part of the high walls which surrounded it, together with some square towers with battlements and embrasures, are still entire. The next league is through the beautiful valley overlooked by this ancient station. At two leagues and a half is Grajanejos, built upon a limestone rock, overlooking perpendicularly a narrow valley, above which it is elevated more than 300 feet: four little streams flow down the ravine, and unite below. The country beyond, as far as Alcolea, a distance of between nine and ten leagues, consists of a succession of arid plains, for the most part desolate and uncultivated, occasionally broken into ravines, and the road is very rugged and fatiguing. The oak, the ilex, the juniper, furze, broom, lavender, thyme, and, in some places, the kermes-oak, are enumerated by Mr. Townsend as the indigenous productions of this wild tract of country.* Alcolea de Pinar is a small village in the midst of corn-lands, near the foot of a lofty mountain, where the people of the district believe that the streams divide on either side towards Madrid and Aragon. Here is a wretched *posada*, this being the point at which the roads separate that lead to Zaragoza, the one by way of Daroca and Used, and the other by way of Calatayud and Sisamon.†

* Laborde, therefore, is quite wrong in affirming, that the eighteen leagues between Alcolea and Torrija afford no wood, foliage, or verdure.

† The shortest route to Bayonne, as given in the Itinerary, appears to turn off near Grajanejos, running thence to Almadrones and Torremacha, crossing a very elevated table-land at Lodares, and the Duero at Alnazar, and passing by Agreda (where passports

Beyond Alcolea, the country is naked and barren, the sandstone formation prevailing as far as Maranchon, a little village situated on a declivity, sheltered from the north by high limestone rocks, but open to the south, and looking down upon a rich valley industriously cultivated. From this place to Anchuela, the country, in its calcareous rock and general aspect, reminded Mr. Townsend of the neighbourhood of Bath.* Anchuela, he says, would be a beautiful situation for a nobleman's seat, and, compared with the uncultivated mountains of Aragon, appéars a paradise. The valley is shut in by swelling hills, and watered by a rivulet clear as crystal; the declivities are shaded with savin, juniper, and furze, and the vicinity abounds with corn, wine, and oil. But "throughout Spain," adds this Traveller, "I do not recollect to have seen a single country residence like those which every where abound in England." Anchuela itself is a wretched village, with a filthy *posada*. Beyond it, extends a most dreary tract of desert mountains and unpeopled valleys. League after league, not an object presents itself to cheer the weary traveller; "no house, no tree, except the savin, the juniper, and an indigenous species of cedar; but, from time to time, a monumental cross to remind him of mortality." After passing through Tortuera, a wretched village "built on a rock of marble such as

are examined), Tafalla, Pampeluna, Roncevaux, and St. Jean Pied de Port, to Bayonne. The distance from Madrid by this route is estimated at 83 Spanish leagues.

* "I felt a peculiar pleasure," says this Traveller, "in picking up on the ploughed land, belemnites, cockles, and cardias, with other bivalves, and fragments of the pisolite, of the same species and of the same colour with those which I had formerly collected at Keinsham, Atford, Wraxall, Melksham, and on the adjacent hills."

would not disgrace a palace," the road descends to an extensive plain, chiefly pasture-land; and at fourteen leagues from Alcolea, leads to Used, the first village in Aragon.

The road to Daroca lies over mountains of schist and sandstone, in which the strata run in every possible direction, and "all nature seems to have suffered the most violent convulsions." "We are here," says Mr. Townsend, "on the highest land in Spain, with the water falling behind us into the Ebro, while immediately before us it runs into the Tagus."* Daroca is built in a ravine, on the western bank of the Xiloca; a situation which would have exposed it to being swept away by torrents, had not the inhabitants made a drift of 600 yards through the heart of the mountain, to open a communication with the river. It appears, from the ruined fortifications, to have been a place of importance. It was taken from the king of Cordova by Alfonso I., in 1123. "The town," Mr. Townsend says, "formerly occupied the hills for safety, but has now crept down into the vale for shelter. Climbing among the rocks, it is beautiful to look down upon the valley which feeds the city, every where shut in by uncultivated mountains, itself well watered, covered with deep verdure, and loaded with the most luxuriant crops. To view such a strip of

* Between Anchuela del Campo and Tortuera, is the village of Concha, "which is said to be almost the highest ground in Spain." (Laborde, vol. iii. p. 68.) This is said of many other places. A little to the south, the village of Molina occupies an elevated situation on mountains which have, on the one side, the Xiloca flowing towards the Ebro, and the Gallo on the other, which joins the Tagus. Near Molina, under the limestone, is found a red gypsum, containing fossil shells similar to those with which the limestone is charged near Anchuela and Concha.

land, excites our wonder how the inhabitants can live. The exquisite beauty of this spot, and the protection which it offered, were powerful attractives to the priests and the religious orders, who, in this city, have no fewer than six convents (one is a nunnery) and seven parish-churches, of which one is collegiate." To these Laborde adds three hospitals and ten hermitages, or chapels, three of which were formerly parochial, and two belonged to the Templars. The population, in 1786, was estimated at 2,863 souls. Hemp is cultivated in the vicinity.

The next five leagues, to Carineña, are over parched and uncultivated hills, where little is seen but here and there the kermes-oak and a few aromatic herbs. Carineña, however, is situated in a fertile plain, covered with vines and olives: the wine is of the finest quality. The town contained, in 1786, 2,036 souls, and two convents. From this place, it is eight leagues (reckoned by Mr. Townsend thirty-six English miles, a day's journey), over a mountainous tract in which gypsum prevails, to the capital of Aragon, the illustrious city of

ZARAGOZA.

THIS ancient town has received its appellation from the Romans, under whom it was a flourishing colony; the modern name being only a corruption of *Cæsarea Augusta*. It stands in the midst of an extensive and fertile plain, on the Ebro; and contained, at the commencement of the present century, seventeen parish-churches, twenty-four monasteries, four houses of regulars, sixteen nunneries and *beaterios*, four chapels or hermitages, and five hospitals; altogether,

seventy-one churches, and a clergy more numerous than that of Barcelona.* We shall take our description of this city from the historian of the Peninsular war.

"Zaragoza is not a fortified town.† The brick wall which surrounded it was from ten to twelve feet high, and three feet thick; and in many places it was interrupted by houses, which formed part of the enclosure. It has no advantages of situation for its defence; and would not have been considered as capable of resistance by any men but those whose courage was sustained by a virtuous principle of duty. It stands in an open plain, which was then covered with olive-grounds, bounded on either hand by high and distant mountains; but it is commanded by some high ground, called the *Torrero*, about a mile to the south-west, upon which there is a convent, with some smaller buildings. The canal of Aragon divides this elevation from another rising ground, where the Spaniards had erected a battery. The Ebro bathes the walls of the city, and separates it from the suburbs. It has two bridges, within musket-shot of each other; one of wood, said to be more beautiful than any other of the like materials in Europe; the other of free-stone, consisting of seven arches, of which the principal is 122 feet in diameter. The river is fordable above the city. Two smaller rivers, the Galego and the Guerva, flow at a little distance from the city, the one on the east, the other on the west, the latter

* The number of students in the university, in 1786, was stated to Mr. Townsend to be 2000, and the resident professors, 121.

† "'*Elle est sans défense*,' said Colmenar, writing a century ago, '*fermée d'une simple muraille. Mais ce défaut est reparé par la bravoure des habitans.*' After the proofs which the inhabitants have given of their patriotism, this praise appears like prophecy."

being separated from the walls only by the breadth of the common road: both are received into the Ebro. Unlike most other towns in the Peninsula, Zaragoza has neither aqueduct nor fountains, but derives its water wholly from the river. The people of Tortosa (and probably of the other towns upon its course) drink also of the Ebro, preferring it to the finest spring. The water is of a dirty red colour; but having stood a few hours, it becomes perfectly clear, and has a softness and pleasantness of taste, which soon induces strangers to agree with the natives in preferring it. The population was stated, in the census of 1787, at 42,600: later accounts compute its inhabitants at 60,000; and it is certainly one of the largest cities in the Peninsula. It has twelve gates; four of them in the old wall of Augustus, by whom the older town of *Salduba*, upon the same site, was enlarged, beautified, and called *Cæsarea Augusta*, or *Cæsar-Augusta*, a word easily corrupted into its present name.

"The whole city, even its convents and churches, is built of bad brick. The houses are not so high as they usually are in old Spanish towns, their general height being only three stories. The streets are, as usual, very narrow and crooked. There are, however, open market-places, and one very wide, long, and regularly-built street, formerly called the *Calle-Santa*, having been the scene of many martyrdoms, but now more commonly known by the name of the *Coso*. The people, like the rest of the Aragonese, and their neighbours, the Catalans, have been always honourably distinguished in Spanish history for their love of liberty; and the many unavailing struggles which they have made during the last four centuries, had not abated their attachment to the good principles of their forefathers."

Mr. Townsend speaks of the two cathedrals as amply repaying the fatigues of the journey from Barcelona. "That which is called *El Aseu* is vast, gloomy, and magnificent; it inspires awe, and inclines the worshipper to fall prostrate. The other, called *El Pilar*, spacious, lofty, light, elegant, and cheerful, inspires hope, confidence, complacency." It is 500 feet in length, and consists of a nave with two aisles. In the centre, under the great cupola, is a chapel of Our Lady of the Pillar, who is believed to have appeared upon this very pillar to St. James, and afterwards to have given him the image which is worshipped at the altar. It is a model of the *Santa Casa* at Loretto.* The wealth of this cathedral is represented by Mr. Townsend as inestimable, consisting of silver, gold, precious stones, and rich embroidery, sent by all the Catholic sovereigns of Europe, to deck its priests and adorn its altars. "Whatever wealth could command, or human art could execute, has been collected to excite the admiration of all who view the treasures of this church." Among the other public edifices, the *Torre Nueva* in the great square, built by the Moors, and the *Torre del Aseu*, formerly a mosque, are mentioned as claiming attention. But the most remarkable of all, in the estimation of devotees, was the church of Santa Engracia, attached to a Geronimite monastery, which vied in sanctity and in the value of its relics with the cathedral of Our Lady of the Pillar herself. "Both the church and convent were splendidly adorned, but the most remarkable part of the whole edifice was a subterranean church, formed in the place where the relics were discovered, and having the pit, or well, as

* An exact counterpart, on the same model, may be seen in the church of the nunnery of *Santa Clara*, at Catania, in Sicily.

it was called, in the middle. It was divided by a beautiful iron grating, which excluded laymen from the interior of the sanctuary. There were three descents; the widest flight of steps was that which was for public use; the two others were for the religioners, and met in one behind the three chief altars, within the grating. Over the midst of these altars were two tombs, placed one upon the other, in a niche; the under one containing the relics of Engracia's companions and fellows in martyrdom; the upper, those of the saint herself, her head excepted, which was kept in a silver shrine, having a collar of precious stones, and enclosed in crystal. The altars on either side had their respective relics; and several others, equally rich in such treasures, were ranged along the walls, without the grating. The roof was of an azure colour, studded with stars, to represent the sky. The breadth of the vault considerably exceeded its length; it was sixty feet wide, and only forty long. Thirty little columns, of different marbles, supported the roof. On the stone brink of the well, the history of the Zaragozan martyrs was represented in bas-relief; and an iron grating, reaching to the roof, secured it from being profaned by idle curiosity, and from the pious larcenies which it might otherwise have tempted. Within this cage-work, a silver lamp was suspended. Thirty such lamps were burning there day and night; and though the roof was little more than twelve feet high, it was never in the slightest degree sullied with smoke. The fact is certain; but the useful and important secret by which oil was made to burn without producing smoke, was carefully concealed; and the Geronimites continued till this time to exhibit a miracle which puzzled all who did not believe it to be miraculous."

The history of the siege of this city, in the first year of the Peninsular war, under the brave Palafox, presents one of the most romantic displays of patriotism in the annals of history. The spirit of the ancient Numantians seemed to animate the citizens of Zaragoza. The French, despising alike the strength of the place and the character of the people, who, under the appearance of gravity and apathy, concealed a latent spirit of unconquerable enthusiasm, thought to take the city by storm. A party of the enemy entered the city on the 15th of June, 1808, who were all slain, and Lefebvre was compelled to draw off his troops beyond the reach of their guns. On the 27th, having been reinforced, they renewed the assault, and were again repulsed; but the *Torrero* was taken; and from this spot the French showered down shells and grenades into the city, where there was not one building bomb-proof, while they continued to invest it more closely. During the night of the 28th, the powder-magazine in the very heart of the city blew up, it is supposed through treachery, destroying fourteen houses, and about 200 persons; and at this signal, a fresh attack was made on the city, which was directed chiefly against the Portillo gate. Here, the battery which had been formed of sand-bags piled up before the gate, was repeatedly destroyed, and as often re-constructed under the fire of the enemy. The carnage throughout the day was dreadful. On this occasion it was, that Augustina Zaragoza, a handsome young woman of the lower class, arriving at this battery with refreshments *

* During the siege, women of all ranks assisted, forming themselves into companies, some to relieve the wounded, some to carry water, wine, and provisions to those who defended the gates. "The Countess Burita instituted a corps for this service; she was young, delicate, and beautiful. In the midst of the most tre-

at a moment when not a man was left alive to serve the guns, snatched a match from the hand of a dead artillery-man, and fired off a six-and-twenty-pounder, vowing never to quit the gun alive. The Zaragozans, at this sight, rushed forward to the battery, and renewed their fire with greater vigour than ever, and the French were repulsed at all points with great slaughter." By the end of July, the city was completely invested, and various assaults were made in the interim. On the 4th of August, batteries had been opened within pistol-shot of the church of Santa Engracia, and after a dreadful carnage, the French forced their way into the Cozo, in the very heart of the city. Lefebvre, imagining that he had effected his purpose, now addressed a note to Palafox, containing the words: "Head-quarters, Sta. Engracia. Capitulation." The answer returned was: "Head-quarters, Zaragoza. War at the knife's-point (*Guerra al cuchillo*)." "The contest which was now carried on is unexampled in history. One side of the Cozo, a

mendous fire of shot and shells, she was seen coolly attending to those occupations which had now become her duty; nor, throughout the whole of a two months' siege, did the imminent danger to which she incessantly exposed herself, produce the slightest apparent effect upon her, or in the slightest degree bend her from her heroic purpose. Some of the monks bore arms; others exercised their spiritual offices to the dying; others, with the nuns, were busied in making cartridges, which the children distributed." When the enemy had gained the command of the surrounding country, "corn-mills worked by horses were erected in various parts of the city. The monks were employed in manufacturing gunpowder, materials for which were obtained by collecting all the sulphur in the place, by washing the soil of the streets to extract its nitre, and making charcoal from the stalks of hemp, which in that part of Spain grow to an extraordinary magnitude. On this simple foundation, a regular manufactory was formed after the siege, which produced 325 lbs. (of 12 oz.) per day."—SOUTHEY, vol. i. pp. 407, 410.

street about as wide as Pall-Mall, was possessed by the French; and, in the centre of it, their general, Verdier, gave his orders from the Franciscan convent. The opposite side was maintained by the Aragonese, who threw up batteries at the openings of the cross streets, within a few paces of those which the French erected against them. The intervening space was presently heaped with dead, either slain upon the spot, or thrown from the windows. Just before the day closed, Don Francisco Palafox, the general's brother, entered the city most unexpectedly with a convoy of arms and ammunition, and a reinforcement of 3000 men. The war was now continued from street to street, from house to house, and from room to room; pride and indignation having wrought up the French to a pitch of obstinate fury little inferior to the devoted courage of the patriots. This most obstinate and murderous contest was continued for eleven successive days and nights, more indeed by night than by day. Under cover of the darkness, the combatants frequently dashed across the streets to attack each others' batteries; and the battles which began there, were often carried on into the houses beyond." A pestilence at length began to be dreaded from the enormous accumulation of putrifying bodies, and this in the month of August. No truce was asked, or would have been granted, on either side. The only remedy, therefore, for this horrible embarrassment, was, to tie ropes to the French prisoners, and push them forward to bring away the bodies for interment. "In every conflict, however, the citizens now gained ground upon the French, winning it inch by inch, till the space occupied by the enemy, which, on the day of their entrance, was nearly half the city, was gradually contracted to about an eighth part. During

the night of the 13th, their fire was particularly fierce and destructive. After their batteries had ceased, flames burst out in many parts of the buildings which they had won. Their last act was to blow up the church of Sta. Engracia; the powder was placed in the subterranean church, and this monument of fraud and credulity was laid in ruins. In the morning, the French columns, to the great surprise of the Spaniards, were seen at a distance retreating over the plain, on the road to Pamplona."

Such was the result of the first siege of Zaragoza. But the sufferings and achievements of its heroic defenders were not to terminate here. In the month of Dec. 1809, Marshal Moncey, Duke of Castiglione, having fixed his head-quarters at the Torrero, summoned Palafox to surrender the town, to prevent its total destruction. That true Spaniard returned a haughty and patriotic refusal. Moncey, falling ill, was superseded by Junot, and Marshals Lasnes, Mortier, Suchet, and St. Cyr, subsequently joined the besieging army. A breach was soon made in the mud walls, and the system now pursued was, to destroy the city by sapping and mining, street by street, while an incessant bombardment was kept up from without, which continued two-and-forty days, during which 17,000 bombs were thrown at the town. Famine and pestilence now came to the aid of the French, and by the 19th of February, only 2,822 of the Spanish troops remained fit for service. Two-thirds of the city had been destroyed, 30,000 of the inhabitants had perished, and from 3 to 400 were dying daily of the pestilence, when the *junta* capitulated.*

* Augustina Zaragoza, who had equally distinguished herself during the second siege, was among the prisoners, but escaped. Palafox was sent to France, where he died.

Zaragoza is fifty-two Spanish leagues (about four miles and a half each) from Madrid, and fifty from Barcelona. The route from the latter city, we have already traced as far as the Catalonian frontier.* The intermediate country between Zaragoza and Alcaraz, a distance of twenty-two leagues, is dreary and barren beyond description. For twenty miles, the road lies over a plain of gypsum, destitute of either human habitation, tree or bush, beast or bird. The only town is Fraga, on the river Cinca, three miles from Alcaraz, which may be considered as a Catalonian town, since, though nominally within the kingdom of Aragon, it is in the diocese of Lerida, and the language and manners of the inhabitants are those of the Catalans. This place (the *Galica Flavia* of Ptolemy) was formerly a fortified town, and sustained several sieges under the Moors. It was at length taken by Raymond Berenger in 1147. The ruins of the citadel crown the summit of a mountain which commands the town. The streets are narrow and crooked; the houses are mere huts, and half in ruins, being very ancient, and many of them are decorated with armorial bearings. The population is about 3000 souls.

Aragon is one of the largest provinces of Spain; it is at the same time one of the least populous, and the least susceptible of improvement. In the preamble to one of the ancient laws of Aragon, it is declared, that "such was the barrenness of their country and the poverty of the inhabitants, that, were it not on account of the liberties by which they were distinguished from other nations, the people would abandon it, and go in quest of a settlement to some more fertile

* See vol. 1 p. 113.

region."* It was one of the provinces last recovered from the Moors, the whole of Aragon not being conquered till early in the thirteenth century. It continued to have its separate states still they were suppressed by Philip V. in 1707. Besides Zaragoza, which is the see of the primate, it contains the episcopal sees of Jaca, Barbastro, Huesca, Tarazona, Albarrazin, and Teruel: Daroca and Calatayud are, next to these, the most important towns. The latter town, situated twelve leagues and a half (Spanish) south-west of Zaragoza, was founded by Ajub' (Job), a Moorish general, in the eighth century, and is said to have been partly built with the ruins of the ancient Bibilis, the birth-place of the poet Martial, seated on a mountain half a league distant, which still retains the name of Baubola. Calatayud stands on the right bank of the Jalon, near its confluence with the Xiloca, in the centre of a charming and fertile vale. The town contains seven parish-churches, six monasteries, five nunneries, two colleges, and about 9,000 inhabitants. It was formerly famous for its cutlery. The vales of Almunia and Techa, the great plain of which Albarrazin is the chief place, and those of Alcañez, Caspe, Albalate, Maella, and Calaceite are also mentioned by Laborde as highly rich and fertile. Three-fourths of the land, indeed, he says, is adapted to the olive, which is but little cultivated.† The wines of Aragon also are said to be excellent, as well as the flax, hemp, saffron, and silk. In fact, it is evident, that the barrenness of the soil cannot be the cause of the depopu-

* Robertson's Hist. of Charles V., Introd. § 3.

† This remark is confirmed by a fact mentioned by Mr. Townsend. In the midst of the bare, gypseous plain near Candasnos, he noticed in one spot, to his great astonishment, the olive flourishing in apparently the same kind of soil.

lation, if it be true. as Laborde reports, that there are 149 deserted villages, and 385 which have but a very few houses. The whole population of the province, in 1787, 8, did not exceed 623,308 inhabitants, including 8,552 ecclesiastics, secular and regular, and 1454 nuns. The new canal of Aragon promises, when completed, to benefit this province very materially, by affording a vent for its productions and manufactured commodities; and to this circumstance, probably, may be ascribed the increase which is stated to have taken place in the population more particularly of Aragon since the year 1788. Laborde states, that agriculture had taken a new appearance in the districts watered by the canal.

The canal of Aragon (first projected in 1529, and, after being long abandoned, re-commenced in 1775,) begins at Tudela in Navarre, up to which point the Ebro is navigable, and passing near Zaragoza, joins the Ebro again ten leagues below. Not far from Zaragoza, it passes the mountain of Torrero by an open cast of forty feet the mean depth, for about a mile in length. The whole extent traversed by this branch of the canal, from Tudela to its junction with the Ebro, will be, Laborde says, nearly 80,000 fathoms, or twenty-six leagues and a half. The plan is, to open another canal that shall cross Navarre and Biscay, and so form a communication between the two seas at Santander and Tortosa; a distance of considerably more than a hundred Spanish leagues. Mr. Townsend, however, represents a land-portage as absolutely necessary. "To make the communication through the whole extent by water, is hardly possible; or, if possible, is by no means desirable; because, in passing the mountains of Biscay, only from Reinosa, at the head of the Ebro, to the Suanzes, which flows into

the bay near Santander, in the space of three leagues, the fall is 3000 Spanish feet. It is remarkable," he adds, " that between Fontibre (*Fons Ebri*) and Reinosa, there is a salt lake." The *Bocol*, or spot where the canal commences, is very near the confines of the two provinces. The village of Fontellas in Aragon is situated on an eminence adjoining the canal. " We cross it there," says M. Bourgoing, " to go to Tudela, which is only two leagues distant. On leaving Fontellas, we find a specimen of the excellent roads with which it has been provided before any other part of Spain by the care of its viceroy, the Count de Gages. These roads traverse Navarre from one extremity to the other. Setting out on horseback or on mules from St. Jean Pied-de-Port, a small town situated at the very foot of the very rugged Pyrenean mountain called *Altovizar*, we are two or three hours ascending it before we reach Roncevaux, placed at the foot of the Pyrenees on the other side. Roncevaux, the name of which is so famous in romance and fabulous history, is at present nothing but a village, where there are some tolerable inns and a monastery. From this place to Pamplona, the distance is only six leagues of good road, through deep valleys and among high mountains, partly covered with wood. In this stage, we have upon the right, the valley of Bastan, which has constantly been the theatre of the quarrels of the respective frontier powers. It is five or six leagues in diameter. The Bidassoa has here its source. It has not much corn, but it abounds in fruits, maize, and meadows covered with flocks. The six leagues between Pamplona and Tafalla pass through a rich and populous country. Of the eleven leagues between Tafalla and Tudela, the last six also pass through a highly cultivated country, if we except the

Bardena del Rey, a wild district, but abounding in pasture."

Tudela ranks as the second city in Navarre. It is situated at the confluence of the Queilas with the Ebro, sixteen leagues south of Pamplona, the capital, in a fertile district: the population is stated at upwards of 7000 inhabitants. Navarre was divided into five *merindades*, or districts, by Louis, king of Aquitaine, of which that of Tudela is one: the others are, the districts of Pamplona, Estella, Sanguesa, and Olita. Pamplona, through which lies the route from St. Jean Pied-de-Port to Madrid, is a fortified city on the banks of the Arga, and contains a cathedral, three parishes, nine monasteries, two nunneries, and about 2,800 families. It is said to have been built by Pompey after the defeat of Sertorius, whence it derived the name of Pompeiopolis. This has long been considered as one of the principal strong holds in the north of the Peninsula. Navarre was for 500 years an independent monarchy, till, in 1509, Ferdinand the Catholic, under pretences not less frivolous than unjust, as well as by artifices the most treacherous, expelled John d'Albert, the lawful sovereign, and extended the limits of the Spanish monarchy from the frontiers of Portugal to the Pyrenees.* It is throughout mountainous, intersected with fertile valleys; the very country for the *guerrilla* warfare, by which the heroic Espoz y Mina† succeeded in annoying and keep-

* Robertson's Charles V. b. i.

† This extraordinary man was born at Idozin, a village of Navarre, on the 17th of June, 1781. He served at first as a private soldier in the *guerrilla* commanded by his nephew, Xavier Mina, who perished in Mexico. On his capture by the French, in 1810, Espoz was chosen chief, and was afterwards named by the junta of Aragon commander-in-chief of the guerrillas of Navarre. For two-and-twenty months he kept up unintermittingly the blockade of Pamplona, at the

ing in check the French armies in the Peninsular war. The whole population of the viceroyalty is little more than 200,000 persons. The Castilian is spoken, though mixed with the dialects of the adjoining provinces. The river Bidazoa separates it from France. Among the other rivers, all of which are small except the Ebro, is one named the Aragon, which might be supposed to have given its appellation to that kingdom, were it not so distant from its frontier. The tract of country on the left side of the Ebro, still distinguished as High Aragon, may, however, have extended at one time as far as this stream. These mountainous regions are little known to modern travellers. Laborde represents the mountains of Aragon more especially, as rich in all kinds of mineral treasures.* The highest is Mount Cayo, situated between Navarre, Aragon, and Old Castile, and commanding almost the whole of Aragon. It is almost a continued ascent from Valtierra to Agreda, built on its summit, a distance of nine leagues.

Our last route will lead us through part of the province of Biscay, in proceeding

expense of many battles, till, reduced to the last extremity, it surrendered to General España, in Nov. 1813. A price was set upon his head by Bonaparte, from the end of 1811 to the conclusion of the Peninsular war. This man, almost worthy of being styled the Spanish Kosciuzko, has been compelled to seek in England a refuge from the perjured Ferdinand.

* Laborde mentions a hill called Cueva Rubia to the north of the village Concud, a league from Teruel, which seems to present a phenomenon similar to the hyena cave in this country, which has employed the speculations of geologists. The interstices of the rocks, he says, are full of bones of oxen, the teeth of asses and horses, the bones of smaller domestic animals, and human shin and thigh bones; none of them in a fossil state. The best account of the face of the country between Bayonne and the frontier of Castile, will be found in Dillon's Travels.

FROM BURGOS TO BAYONNE.

It is a distance of nearly twelve leagues from Burgos to the town of Miranda on the Ebro. For the first nine, the road lies over a succession of bare hills and fertile valleys,* till the lofty Sierra d'Oca seems to block up all further progress. At length, at the village of Pancorvo, the traveller enters a defile that winds through the sierra beneath immense piles of impending rocks,—"some rough, like grotto-work, some slanting and fluted; some shaped like hideous monsters crouched near each other, their heads scowling down on the road as if they were placed there to defend it. Some of gigantic dimensions stand erect like sentinels on each side of the pass; some project over it, whose weight, should they fall, would crush the traveller to dust. Some appear like pillars of Cyclopean gates; others like ruined arches. There is one groupe of four or five hundred smaller rocks, which occupies the whole side of one of these mountains; and it requires scarcely an effort of imagination to assign to them the shapes of human beings enveloped in hoods and mantles. Men and mules moving through these strange scenes, appear reduced to diminutive forms; and the works of men standing among them, looked like the playthings of an infant." The road is very good. Miranda is well situated, and protected by a fortress on a high rock; but the buildings are poor, and the gates and streets so narrow as scarcely to admit a carriage. The plain is of great extent, bounded to the west by the blue mountains

* The six leagues between Bribiesca and Burgos, Bourgoing says, are the most parched and naked district in Europe.

of Asturias, in which the Ebro has its source.* The soil is a rich loam, formed by the frequent inundations of the river, which is here crossed by a very fine bridge. The road ascends from the plain to a gravelly country planted with vines; and at Puebla de Trivino, enters Alava, a district of Biscay. "Every thing round us," says Mr. Swinburne (in 1776), "now assumed a different appearance. Instead of the bare, depopulated hills, the melancholy, despondent countenances, the dirty inns and abominable roads that our eyes had been accustomed to for so many months, we were here revived by the sight of a rich culture, a clean-looking, smiling people, good furniture, neat houses, fine woods, good roads, and safe bridges." At about five leagues and a half from Miranda, the traveller arrives at the city of Vittoria, situated in the midst of a well-cultivated plain, abounding with villages. Swinburne says, that being "placed on a hill, it makes a figure from all the environs; but the streets are narrow and gloomy, the houses being built of a very dark-coloured stone." M. Bourgoing describes it as, for the most part, ill-built and ill-paved. In the Recollections of the Peninsula, it is styled "a very clean town, with a very handsome square, excellent houses, good shops, and a well supplied market." Mr. Quin passed through this "large and handsome city" in 1823. It was then crowded with soldiers, and its entrances were defended with new, rough, temporary walls, with port-holes. There are some fine streets, he says, in most of which a considerable degree of industrious activity appeared to prevail. He looked into three or four of the principal

* This river formed the southern boundary of the conquests of Charlemagne.

churches: they are "gloomy without being solemn, richly gilt, and decorated with paltry wooden images." A small but handsome theatre had recently been finished. Laborde enables us to reconcile these accounts by stating, that Vittoria is divided into the old and new towns, to which a different appearance attaches. It contains, he says, four parishes, three monasteries, three nunneries, five chapels, and 1000 houses, besides about 2000 in the suburbs, containing altogether about 6,500 inhabitants. "Yet, it is pretended," he adds, "that in the reign of Juan II., at the commencement of the fourteenth century, the population had decreased, though it then amounted to 18,000 persons." It was founded by Don Sancho, king of Navarre. Why it received the name of Victory, does not appear; but, to an Englishman, it has become a most appropriate and significant designation of the place.* Mr. Quin describes the heights south of Vittoria as poorly cultivated, wild, and steep; but, he adds, "they are the heights of La Puebla; amid which that battle was fought by the Duke of Wellington, which was soon followed by the expulsion of the French troops from the Peninsula. I looked round for a column, or a memorial of some sort; but there is not even a grey stone set up to mark the cold depositories of so many English hearts and arms. These mountains are their only monuments."

Having traversed the rich plains of Vittoria, the

* In the plain of Vittoria, a general engagement took place between the British, under Wellington, and the French, under Marshal Jourdain, on the 21st of June, 1813, in which the latter were defeated with the loss of their whole baggage and artillery, which they abandoned in their retreat to Pamplona. The right of the French, before the battle, was stationed near the city, their centre commanded the valley of the Zadorra, and their left rested on the lofty heights which rise above Puebla.

traveller ascends the hills, which are wooded with oak, beech, and chestnut; and at Salinas, a village inhabited by the workmen of some iron-forges, he has entered the very heart of the mountains. They would be impassable, from the steep ascents and rapid slopes, had they not lessened the difficulties by proper windings of the road, and by great attention to the keeping of it in perfect repair. The tops of all the mountains are crowned with forests or covered with pastures; the acclivities are cultivated as far as their nature will allow; and the deep valleys are thronged with hamlets, iron-works, orchards, and gardens. The timber of the mountains and the iron smelted in the forges, employ a great number of hands, and give life and spirit to the whole province. It is a distance of five long leagues from Vittoria to Mondragon, and two leagues further to Vergara, a small town, where the traveller leaves the canton of Alava, and enters Guipuscoa. A little beyond this place, a road leads off to the left to Durango, in the direction of Bilbao. Beyond Durango, the road is impassable for carriages; and to pass from Bayonne to Bilbao with convenience, the traveller must go by way of Vittoria. There is, however, a very tolerable road direct from Madrid to Bilbao, by way of Orduña.

A very high and steep mountain is crossed between the village of Ansuela and Villa Real. The road then passes through Villa Franca and the small town of Alegria; and at three leagues from Vergara, descending into a charming valley, leads to Tolosa. The landscape here on every side approaches the nearest, in Mr. Swinburne's opinion, to the environs of La Cava in the kingdom of Naples, or those of Tivoli in the Roman states, of any which he had met with in the course of his travels. Tolosa (*Iturissa*) is situated

on the rivers Oria and Araxes. It is a handsome town, containing one parish-church, one monastery, one nunnery, and above 4000 inhabitants. The streets are well paved and lighted, and there is a large market every Saturday. The next five leagues and a half, to Hernani, lie over beautiful hills, rich with foliage and cultivation, and studded with white cottages. From time to time, the little stream of the Oria is seen coursing among the rocks, or escaping from them in cascades in its way to the plain. On gaining the summit of a wooded hill, a magnificent prospect is gained of the Bay of Biscay, Fontarabia, Andaye, the course of the Bidazoa, and a prodigious range of the Pyrenees. Half a league beyond Hernani, is Irun, a small town consisting of one street, on a rugged declivity, hemmed in by mountains on one side, and the sea on the other. At the end of a mile and a half further, the traveller arrives at the Bidazoa, "a broad, clear stream, that issues with great majesty out of a valley among the mountains, and flows through the marshes into the sea." On crossing at the ferry, he lands in France.*

A very fine road, made not many years ago, leads off from Hernani to St. Sebastian, a distance of seven

* "It is universally known, that there are three high roads leading from France into Spain; one from St. Jean de Luz to Irun; another from St. Jean Pied-de-Port to Roncevalles; the third from Boulon to Jonquiere. But it is far from being so generally known, that, from the pass of Bagnouls, which is the nearest to the Mediterranean, to the valley of the Aran, near the sources of the Garonne, there are no fewer than seventy-five passes over the Pyrenees, twenty-five of which are practicable for cavalry, and seven for carriages and artillery. One of these is the *Col des Orts*, in a parallel line with that of Perthus on the other side of Bellegarde, by which route the Spaniards, in 1792, entered St. Laurent de Cerda, and thence invaded two of the French provinces."—BOURGOING, VOL. I. p. 1.

leagues. It runs through a country in many places of an ungrateful soil, and at length, over a cluster of mountains, from the summit of which there is a bird's-eye view of St. Sebastian. The town of Fontarabia lies out of the road on the right. This town (by the Spaniards called Fuenta Rabia — *Fons Rapidus*) is a fortified town, and is deemed one of the keys of Spain; but its walls were levelled to the ground by the British troops previously to their entering France in 1813. It is situated on a small peninsula on the coast, on the left bank of the Bidazoa, and has what would be a harbour, were it not left dry by the tide. On the land side, it is protected by the *sierra* of Jasquevel. The ancient name of the city was Ocaso. The road to St. Sebastian lies through Renteria, a small town in the valley of Oyarzo, and thence over a sandy heavy soil. This little city, the capital of Guipuscoa, is connected with the continent by a low and narrow neck of land. Its port, "if that name can be with propriety applied to an artificial shelter afforded by a mole for fifteen or twenty merchant-vessels, is commanded by an eminence, on which is an ancient castle in ruins. From various points of a sloping and spiral walk which conducts to this castle, the smallness of the port is particularly striking." The town is neatly and regularly built, and exhibits a scene of extraordinary activity. It contains three parishes, two monasteries, and three nunneries, and between 12 and 13,000 inhabitants. It was taken by the French in 1808, and remained for five years in their possession; but, after the battle of Vittoria, was taken by the British on the 31st of August, 1821, after a severe bombardment and sanguinary conflict, in which the greater part of it was laid in ashes.

A short league to the E.N.E. of St. Sebastian is

the port of Passage, formerly the *depôt* of the Guipuscoa (or Caracas) company. The road lies along the shore at the foot of mountains encircling a capacious bay, which has the aspect, on the first view, of a vast lake, rather than a gulf of the ocean. This is the harbour of Passage, which must be crossed in order to reach the town of that name. "At the moment of embarkation," says M. Bourgoing, "it is interesting to observe a number of young Biscayans disputing, in their singular language, which the majority of Spaniards themselves do not understand, who shall obtain the honour of presiding at the helm during this momentous voyage of half a league.* The town is built on a very confined spot between the mountains and the bay, and is commanded by a castle, which, from one side, furnishes a view of this immense basin, and, on the other, a prospect of the open sea. This port of Passage, one of the largest, and perhaps the most secure in Europe, is of infinite importance to the prosperity of Biscay." Laborde, however, states, that, except a narrow channel which crosses it, this bay is always dry during the low tide.

The city of the greatest consequence in all Biscay is Bilbao (Belvao, good ford), the ancient *Flaviobriga*, and the capital of Biscay Proper. Bourgoing represents it as having lost much of its ancient opulence and industry, its tanneries having fallen into decay, but its commerce is immense. The greater part of the wool exported by Spain, is shipped at this port, besides

* M. Laborde informs us, that "pretty Biscayan women, whose complexions are rather tanned, are the pilots and mariners in the passage-boats." The bay is so enclosed, that nothing is to be feared from wind or storm. Dillon says: "The Biscayan women work as much as the strongest men; unload the ships, carry burthens, and do all the business of porters."

a considerable quantity of iron and chestnuts, the chief produce of this canton. Foreigners are not permitted to rent houses in Bilbao, owing to "an austere and jealous spirit of liberty, which exercises in this place a species of tyranny;" but the prohibition is evaded by hiring a house in the name of a native; and among the 200 commercial houses which Bilbao is reckoned to contain, are several Irish, some German, and a few French. The population, prior to the war, was computed at 14,000. There are four parishes, three nunneries, a chapel, and two asylums. The houses are solidly built, and many of them are lofty and handsome. The streets are well paved and clean. Though damp, and built chiefly on piles, the town is remarkably healthy. It stands at the mouth of the river Ansa, which is of sufficient depth for the reception of merchantmen, about forty-eight miles from St. Sebastian. About 600 vessels used to enter this harbour annually.

From Bilbao to Orduña, an extent of six leagues, the country seems one continued village. Nothing can be more delightful than the continued succession of detached houses and gardens, which are very neat and well kept up. Orduña, the only city in Biscay Proper, is a small place in a pleasant valley environed with steep and high mountains. It contains two parishes, one monastery, and one nunnery.

The three districts of Alava, Guipuscoa, and Biscay Proper, now comprehended in the province of Biscay, were all included under the ancient name of Cantabria. The former two were subdued by Augustus Cæsar; but the mountaineers of Biscay appear to have maintained the struggle for independence till the Romans, in their turn, gave way before the hordes of the North. The Moors were never able to penetrate the mountain-

barrier. On the formation of the little kingdom of Oviedo, Biscay Proper and part of Alava and Guipuscoa were united as a dependency on that crown, under the high-sounding title of the dukedom of Cantabria. But, in the beginning of the tenth century, Biscay Proper revolted against Orduño II., and elected for its own chief Suria, or Zuria, said to have sprung from the blood-royal of Scotland, who transmitted the sovereignty to his descendants. Biscay continued to be an independent seigniory till about the middle of the fourteenth century, when Pedro the Cruel, having put to death the rightful lord, seized on his states; and since then, the kings of Spain have assumed the title of lords of Biscay.*

The inhabitants of the lordship, jealous of their independence, still boast of their pure descent from the ancient Cantabrians. "Their little canton has gradually lost many of the privileges which established its independence; it preserves, however, a shadow of them, which it cherishes and defends with the utmost jealousy. It still forms a separate state, governing itself by its national assemblies; and having retained its ancient laws, tribunals, and customs, is, in these respects, totally distinct from the rest of Spain. It pays taxes in the form of a free gift; and, except

* Laborde gives the following statistical view of the province. There are in the three districts, 725 parishes; viz. 165 in the lordship, 125 in Guipuzcoa, and 435 in Alava. Of 101 convents, 42 are in the lordship, 41 in Guipuzcoa, 18 in Alava. The lordship is 13 leagues from east to west, and six from north to south in the widest part, and contains about 116,000 inhabitants, more than half of whom are dispersed in detached hamlets, little known to travellers. Guipuzcoa, which may almost be considered as one continued mountain, is 18 leagues from east to west, and 12 from north to south, and contains upwards of 120,000 inhabitants. Alava varies from 6 to 14 leagues in length, and is 10 from north to south. The population is little more than 71,000.

some quit-rents which are imposed upon it, it reserves the right of appointing the taxes, and assessing the towns and communities within its limits. Whenever the crown demands an extraordinary contribution, it is formed by gifts entirely voluntary. Stamped paper is not received into this province; and every one is at liberty to sell tobacco and other articles, the exclusive sale of which the king reserves to himself in other places. It has no intendant; and foreign merchandise is subject only to a duty called anchorage, intended merely for the consulate. There are besides, some municipal rights established upon grants. In paying itself what is due to the crown, the province avoids seizures, distraining, and every kind of vexation. There are no revenue-officers here, but those of the port; for those of the custom-house of Valmaseda and Orduña collect duties only on those articles that are introduced into Castile. Biscay is neither subject to a militia nor to an impress for sailors, nor can the king's troops be quartered in this province; which obliges it to maintain its own police in peace, and provide for its own defence in time of war.* The Biscayans are originally all noble, and are considered as noble throughout Spain. Out of their own province, they are amenable to no tribunal either in civil or criminal cases, except the grand judge of Biscay, who holds his sittings at Valladolid. This is one of the privileges of which Biscay, Alava, and Guipuscoa are most jealous. Guipuscoa enjoys the same privileges as the lordship of Biscay, except that, as the frontier of the kingdom, it receives garrisons, and is defended by fortified towns; but its commandant has nothing

* What is more remarkable, "they admit of no bishops" in Biscay.—DILLON, p. 169.

to do with the civil administration. The canton of Alava having, in 1332, acknowledged the sovereignty of king Alfonso, that monarch confirmed to the inhabitants their privileges, particularly that of not having any new taxes imposed upon them without their own consent, and that of being governed according to the code of laws of Calahorra, which they had adopted." *

"The country people wear brogues, not unlike those of the Highlands of Scotland, tied up with great neatness, being the most useful for a slippery and mountainous country. When they are not busy in the fields, they walk with a staff taller than themselves, which serves them to vault over gulleys, and is an excellent weapon in case of assault, with which they will baffle the most dexterous swordsman. They wear cloaks in the winter. The pipe is constantly in the mouth, as well for pleasure as from a notion that tobacco preserves them against the dampness of the air. All this, joined to their natural sprightliness and vigour, gives them an appearance seeming to border on ferocity, were it not the reverse of their manners, which are gentle and easy, when no motive is given to choler, which the least spark kindles into violence.

"It has been observed, that the inhabitants of mountains are strongly attached to their country, which probably arises from the division of lands, in which, generally speaking, all have an interest. In this, the Biscayans exceed all other nations, looking with fondness on their hills as the most delightful scenes in the world, and their people as the most respectable, descended from the *aborigines* of Spain. This prepossession excites them to the most extraordinary

* Laborde, vol. ii. pp. 339—41.

labours, and to execute things far beyond what could be expected in so small and rugged a country, where they have few branches of commerce. I cannot give a greater proof of their industry, than those fine roads they have now made from Bilbao to Castile, as well as in Guipuscoa and Alaba. When one sees the passage over the tremendous mountain of Orduña, one cannot behold it without the utmost surprise and admiration.

" The manners of the Biscayans and of the ancient Irish are so similar on many occasions, as to favour the notion of the Irish being descended from them. Both men and women are extremely fond of pilgrimages, repairing from great distances to the churches of their patrons or tutelary saints, singing and dancing till they almost drop down from fatigue. The Irish do the same at their *patrons*. The Guizones of Biscay, and the *Boulam-keighs* of Ireland are nearly alike: at all these assemblies, they knock out one another's brains on the most trivial provocation, without malice or rancour, and without using a knife or a dagger. In both countries the common people are passionate, easily provoked if their family is slighted, or their descent called in question. The *Chacoli* of Biscay, or the *Shebeen* of Ireland, makes them equally frantic. The poor of Ireland eat out of one dish with their fingers, and sit in their smoky chimneys as well as the Biscayans. The brogue is also the shoe of Biscay. The women tie a kerchief round their heads, wear red petticoats, go barefooted, in all which they resemble the Biscayans, and with them have an equally good opinion of their ancient descent. The poor Biscayans, though haughty, are laborious and active, an example worthy to be imitated by the Irish. So many concurring circumstances support the idea of their having

been originally one people. It cannot be denied that the old Irish, whether from similitude of customs, religion, and traditional notions, or whatever else may have been the cause, have always been attached to the Spaniards, who, on their side, perhaps from political views, have treated them with reciprocal affection, granting them many privileges, and styling them even *Oriundos* in their laws, as a colony descended from Spain. Yet, with all these advantages, if we except those gallant soldiers who have distinguished themselves in the field wherever they have served, few Irish have made a conspicuous figure in Spain, or have left great wealth to their families."

The Cantabrian, or Biscayan language, is believed to be connected with the Celtic dialects, and, like the Celtic, has many words in common with the Latin; it is, however, an original and very peculiar dialect. Its construction is extremely intricate, the verbs having eleven moods.* It is said to have furnished the Castilian with more than a hundred original words. A proof of its high antiquity is supplied by the fact, that the etymology of most of the towns, countries, and rivers of the Peninsula may, it is said, be found in it. Thus, the Ebro is derived from *ibai*, river, and *ero*, violent. *Turiaco*, the ancient name of Tarrassona, means, in Biscayan, many springs. *Bria*, *briga*, *berria*, are also Biscayan words, signifying land or country, bridge, dwelling: hence, Cantabria, Conimbriga (Coimbra), Segobriga (Segovia), &c. From *lurre*, earth, comes Illurco, and probably the word *uri* or *uria*, in composition. The word for father, *atair*, is almost Irish.† The Castilian is spoken by

* Larramendi's Biscayan Grammar, published at Salamanca in 1729, is entitled *El Imposible vencido*.

† See vol. i. p. 45; and Laborde, vol. ii. p. 386.

the upper class, but by the peasantry, in general, it is not understood. So different are they altogether, says Bourgoing, from the inhabitants of Castile, that they appear to live under another government. Every Biscayan, who can prove his birth, is entitled to claim a public certificate of his being an *hidalgo de sangue;* and the most lofty Castilian has rivals for antiquity of descent in the mountaineers of Biscay and Asturias.* This inbred idea of their nobility is represented to have a striking influence on their character. A dignified mien is observable in the poorest of the race. They bear the reputation of being humane, hospitable, brave, and true to their word, less abstemious than the Castilians, but they never drink to intoxication.

Having now conducted the reader back to the north-eastern frontier of the Peninsula, from which we started, we must here terminate our survey of the Spanish provinces. We shall be thought to have left ourselves but little room for the description of what a Portuguese deems the finest part of the finest country in the world.

* Hence, in Don Quixote, Doña Rodriguez says of her husband: "*Y sobre todo hidalgo como el rey, porque era montanes*—He was as well-born as the king, because he came from the mountains." When Sancho Panza, as governor of Barrataria, asks who is his secretary, he is answered by one of his attendants: "I, sir, am the person; for I can read and write, and am, moreover, a Biscayner." "With that addition," replies Sancho, "you are fit to be secretary even to an emperor.'

END OF SPAIN.

PORTUGAL.

PORTUGAL.

[A kingdom occupying the western part of the Spanish Peninsula; extending from lat. 36° 56′ to 42° 7′ N., and from long. 7° 34′ to 9° 30′ W.; bounded by the Minho and Galicia on the N.; Leon, Estremadura, and the Guadiana on the E.; and the Atlantic Ocean on the S. and W.]

THE kingdom of Portugal is a mere offset of the Spanish monarchy, and is not more distinct in its manners, language, and history, than the principality of Catalonia or the lordship of Biscay. The ancient Lusitania* was a province of Roman Spain, comprising the greater part of Portugal, a part of Leon and Old Castile, and a considerable portion of the Spanish Estremadura, and having Emerita Augusta (Merida), on the Guadiana, for its capital. Northward, however, it did not extend beyond the Douro; so that

* The Portuguese antiquaries, who are not less profound and imaginative than the Spanish, derive this name from Lysas, the son of Bacchus, who is believed to have planted a colony in this country. Others contend, that it has received its name from a king Lucius, who reigned over the tract of country lying between the Guadiana and the Douro, some fifteen hundred years before the Christian era. Bochart derives the ancient name of Portugal from *Luz*, which signifies in Phenician, as in Hebrew, an almond-tree. Col. Vallancey's etymology seems the most probable. "Lusitania," he says, "was so called from its plenty of herbage, whereby so many cattle and mares were fed and multiplied. (see *Justin.* l. xliv. c. 3.) *Luis* or *lus*, in Irish, is herbage, and *tan* is region or country; *Luis-tan*, therefore, signifies the country abounding with herbage; a name extremely applicable to the soil of Portugal."—VALLANCEY'S *Anc. Hist. of Ireland*, vol. iv. p. 95

the territory which Portugal has gained from Galicia and Andalusia, is supposed to be nearly equal to what it has lost of ancient Lusitania. In the fifth century, it shared the fate of Spain in being overrun by tribes of Alani, Suevi, and Visigoths; and in the eighth century, the greater part was conquered by the Moors. The name of Portugal (*Porto Cale*) is supposed to have been originally the appellation of the chief town of the Christians, the present Oporto, when their conquests were confined to the northern part of the Peninsula. About the middle of the eleventh century, it appears to have been extended to the whole country so far as recovered from the Moorish yoke. In 1093, Henry of Burgundy, having rendered important services to Alfonso VI. of Castile, obtained, with the hand of his natural daughter, the government and possession of all the lands in Portugal whence he had expelled the Moors, and which were erected into an hereditary earldom. Alfonso Henriquez, who succeeded his father in 1112, having obtained a miraculous victory over five Moorish kings in the plains of Ourique,* was proclaimed, by the unanimous voice of his troops, king of Portugal. Alfonso III., in the thirteenth century, wholly expelled the Moors from the south of the kingdom, and added to his royal title that of king of Algarve. The male line of count Henry terminated in 1383, in the person of Fernando, the great-grandson of the accomplished and patriotic Denis or Dyniz I., the son of Alfonso III. Fernando was succeeded by Joam I., the husband of Philippa of England, daughter of the

* The five escutcheons azure, each charged with five bezants argent, in the royal arms of Portugal, are said to be in commemoration of the five Moorish kings who were slain, and the five wounds Alfonso received, on this memorable day.

great duke of Lancaster. He is said to have named his son and successor Edward (*Duarte*) in honour of our Edward III., and he sedulously cultivated the friendship of the English. The reign of Emanuel, the most fortunate and renowned of all the Portuguese sovereigns, is esteemed the golden age of Portugal. In three years after his coronation, Vasco de Gama first displayed his banners in India. He is described as a prince of the greatest temperance and humanity; but he purchased the hand of Isabella of Castile with the blood of his Jewish subjects, which her priests had instigated her to demand as part of her dowry. On the death of the cardinal-king Henry, in 1580, the male line of the royal family being extinct, Philip II. started, among other competitors, for the crown of Portugal, to which he laid claim in virtue of his mother, the empress Isabella, daughter of Emanuel I.; and his troops in three weeks reduced the country to submission. Portugal remained in this humiliated state, a mere province of Spain, oppressed and misgoverned at home, and exposed in her foreign possessions in both Indies to the attacks of the Dutch, till, in the year 1640, a simultaneous insurrection, which had been prepared with singular circumspection, broke forth in every town of the kingdom: in the space of a few hours, the yoke of Spain was cast off, and the duke of Bragança, a lineal descendant of king Emanuel, was proclaimed king, under the title of John IV.

It is not surprising that a deep-rooted, national antipathy should be cherished against the Spaniards, arising from the remembrance of their grievances under the Philips. The Catalonians and the Castilians scarcely love each other better. There is this difference, however, between the feelings with which the

inhabitants of the two kingdoms respectively regard each other. "The Spaniards," says Dr. Southey, "despise the Portuguese: the Portuguese hate the Spaniards." The Spaniards, in their national songs, threaten the Portuguese with invasion: the Portuguese content themselves with defying the Spaniards.* "Strip a Spaniard of all his virtues, and you make a good Portuguese of him," says the Spanish proverb. "I have heard it more truly said," says Dr. Southey, "add hypocrisy to a Spaniard's vices, and you have the Portuguese character." "Almost every man in Spain smokes: the Portuguese never smoke, but most of them take snuff.† None of the Spaniards will use a wheelbarrow; none of the Portuguese will carry a burthen: the one says, it is only fit for beasts to draw carriages; the other, that it is fit only for beasts to carry burthens. All the porters

* This proves, not that the Portuguese fear more than they are feared, but that the Spaniards are the greater boasters. The French, in like manner, talk of invading England; and John Bull, secure behind his wooden walls, used to content himself with defying his neighbour. The days of Agincourt and Cressy had passed away, and those of Toulouse and Waterloo had not arrived.

† It is not a little singular, that the English and the Irish should at one time have been distinguished in like manner as smokers and snuff-takers. The taking of snuff appears, however, to have been originally a Spanish custom, and was still in vogue when Mr. Howel visited Spain, in 1620, soon after the first introduction of snuff into Europe. "The Spaniards and Irish," he says, "take it most in powder, or *smutchin*, and it mightily refreshes the brain; and I believe there is as much taken this way in Ireland, as there is in pipes in England. One shall commonly see the serving-maid upon the washing-block, and the swain upon the ploughshare, when they are tired with labour, take out their boxes of *smutchin*, and draw it into their nostrils with a quill, and it will beget new spirits in them, with a fresh vigour to fall to their work again."—*Epistolæ Hoëlinæ*. London, 1726. The manufacture of snuff in Spain is a royal monopoly.

in Lisbon are *Galegos.*" * Many minor points of contrast, of a similar description, might be pointed out; but they are not more striking than the peculiarities which distinguish from each other the Biscayan, the Galician, the Castilian, the Valencian, the Catalonian, the Murcian, and the Andalusian. Nor are the English, the Welsh, the Irish, and the Scottish Highlanders distinguished by characteristics less broadly marked, or by national antipathies originally less strong and apparently inveterate. Nay, the ecclesiastical differences, which are in general the most deeply rooted and the last to give way, opposed an obstacle to the union of the English and Scottish crowns, which does not exist in the way of a similar union between the kingdoms of the Peninsula.

All the considerable rivers of Portugal, the Minho, the Douro, the Tagus, and the Guadiana, have their origin in Spain. The mountains are but a continuation of the ridges which traverse the Spanish provinces of the Peninsula. In fact, the only natural divisions are those which the Romans adopted, by which the Peninsula was distributed into three provinces, extending from east to west along its whole breadth. The modern kingdom of Portugal is about 350 miles in length, with an average breadth of 120, and a superficial extent of 40,875 square miles. The whole population of the kingdom, in 1802, did not much exceed three millions and a half, nearly one third of which number was comprised in the central province of Beira; but the most populous portion of the country, beyond comparison, lies between the rivers Minho and Douro, as will be seen from the following table:

* Southey's Letters, vol. ii. p 64.

Provinces.	Square miles.	Population.
Entre Minho e Douro	3,490	907,965
Tras os Montes	5,450	318,665
Beira	8,725	1,121,595
Estremadura	9,855	826,680
Alentejo	10,575	380,480
Algarve	2,780	127,615
	40,785	3,683,000

At the same period, the Portuguese colonies comprised a population of nearly three millions, viz.

Brazil and Guiana	2,400,000
The Azores, Madeira, Angola, &c.	460,000
The East Indies	110,000
	2,970,000

Since the loss of the South American colonies, the king of Portugal has, in fact, lost two-fifths of his subjects, in exchange for which he has recently accepted the empty title of emperor of Brazil. From the end of the year 1807 to the beginning of 1821, the seat of government was transferred to Rio Janeiro, and Portugal was reduced to the actual condition of a dependent province of the empire. Deprived as it now is of its most important colonies, the chief source of its wealth, depopulated and impoverished, its commerce in the hands of foreigners, its capital the seat of sedition and distrust, in civilisation the lowest and last of the countries of Christendom, Portugal scarcely merits the rank of an independent kingdom; and it will probably be indebted for its remaining such, to the protection of its most ancient ally, or to the imbecility and degradation of Spain. Under a constitutional monarchy or a federal republic, they would probably ere long be re-united; and though Spain can never be "the head of Europe," Portugal might become "the

crown of Spain."* The sovereign of Toledo ought to be the lord of the Tagus.

The only two cities of which Portugal can boast, the population of which exceeds 20,000 inhabitants, are Oporto and Lisbon, seated at the mouths of the Douro and the Tagus. Elvas, Coimbra, Braga, Setubal, and Evora contain from 12 to 16,000 inhabitants each. Beja has 9000, and Santarem 8000; and no other place has so many as 7000 inhabitants. The manufactures throughout Portugal are in a very backward state. The inland trade is impeded by the badness of the roads, which, for the most part, are in a state of nature, as they were in Spain prior to 1777,† the total want of canals, and the difficulties of the river navigation. The exports, estimated at about two millions and a half sterling, consist almost entirely of raw produce; viz. wine, salt, and wool. Agriculture, and all the useful arts, are in a state of primeval rudeness.‡ Owing to the ruggedness of

* "Europe," says Antonio de Sousa de Macedo, "is the best of the four quarters of the globe; Spain is the best part of Europe; Portugal is the best part of Spain. Europe is the prime part of the world; Spain is the head of Europe; Portugal is the crown of Spain."

† "Before the ministry of Florida Blanca, there was no road in Spain which would admit of post travelling, except on horseback; and, with the exception of the road through Galicia, from Pontevedra to Coruña, of another from Reynosa, in Old Castile, to the sea, and of those of Navarre and Biscay, for which the inhabitants are indebted solely to their own efforts, there was not a regular good road for ten leagues together, passable at every season of the year, throughout the kingdom of Spain."—BOURGOING, vol. i. p. 5.

‡ A recent Traveller (Mrs. Baillie) mentions a satirical work that had appeared in Lisbon, entitled "Adam alive again," which had not a little annoyed the national vanity of the self-important inhabitants of the "city of Ulysses." The father of mankind is represented as returning to earth, and making the tour of the world. In passing rapidly through England, France, Germany, and other

the surface, the horse is but seldom employed, mules and asses being preferred both for travelling and agriculture. The depopulation and decline of the country may be ascribed, in great measure, as in Spain, to the illiberal and short-sighted policy adopted towards both the Jews* and the Moors, together with the aggrandisement of the church at the expense of every other class. There are in Portugal, two archbishops, thirteen bishops, 400 monasteries, and about 150 nunneries; also two universities, that of Coimbra, founded in 1308, and a smaller establishment at Evora, founded in 1533.

We have already conducted our readers from Madrid

countries of Europe, he is every where scandalised at the innovations which have been made under the name of improvements, and the departure from primeval simplicity. In the remote parts of Germany, indeed, he is a little comforted by perceiving some remains of venerable and primitive ignorance. But when he comes to Portugal, he breathes freely. "Here," he exclaims in a rapture, "here will I take up my future abode. Here are no nonsensical refinements, no learning, no science, no literature; agriculture is free from modern presumptuous innovations; and so far from being pestered with what are called the Fine Arts, I can scarcely perceive any appearance of what are denominated by the ridiculous philosophers of the day, useful inventions. The wise, the noble, the magnanimous Portuguese have in no respect altered since I left the world, and they alone are worthy of the honour of my association."

* "Till within the last fifty years, the burning of a Jew formed the highest delight of the Portuguese. Neither sex nor age could save this persecuted race; and Antonio Josef da Silva, the best of their dramatic writers, was burnt alive because he was a Jew." Three hundred thousand Jews, in the reign of Emanuel, submitted to baptism, to escape from the only alternative, slavery. But the law of Moses was still in secret transmitted from father to son; and the vigilance of the Inquisition and the martyrdom of their brethren only rendered them the more circumspect. "The Jews still," adds Dr. Southey, "preserve their faith; and the true Israelite physiognomy is evident in half the people you meet."—*Letters*, vol. ii. p. 112.

to the Portuguese capital, in which route occur two of the chief towns, Elvas and Estremos. We shall now land him at once at

LISBON.

"FEW scenes," says the lively Author of Recollections of the Peninsula, "can compare with that which feasts the eye of a traveller who, from the deck of a vessel in the Tagus, first gazes on Lisbon, rising proudly and beautifully above him. The northern bank of the river, on which this capital is built, makes a handsome and sweeping curve throughout the whole extent of the city, which, including its suburbs, covers several hills, rising more or less abruptly from that quarter where its quays, squares, and some of its most regular streets are conveniently disposed. The number of palaces, convents, and churches which crown this amphitheatre of buildings, the dazzling whiteness of the houses, the light appearance of the windows and balconies, the tasteful arrangement of plants, flowers, and shrubs on their roofs and terraces, the golden orange-groves which adorn the suburbs, and the stately specimens of Indian or American botany which are here and there scattered through the scene, produce a effect which may be felt, and which may be conceived, but which cannot be described. Boats from the shore soon crowded round our vessel, and I leaned over her side to look, for the first time, at natives of Portugal. The dark-brown complexion, bare and muscular throat, expressive eye, and white teeth, together with the general vivacity of their deportment, strike an Englishman, at first, very forcibly; their costume, too, is quite new to him, and, I think, very picturesque. Short

petticoat-trowsers of white linen, a red sash, and their legs and arms free and naked, mark very strongly the difference between the boatmen of the Tagus and of the Thames.....The picturesque dress of the common peasants, the long strings of loaded mules, the cabriolets, the bullock-cars, as rude and ancient in their construction as those in the frontispiece to the Georgics of the oldest Virgils, the water-carriers, the lemonade-sellers, and, above all, the monks and friars in the habits of their orders; the style of the houses, the handsome entrances, the elegant balconies, the rare and beautiful plants arranged in them, all raised around me a scene which, real as it was, seemed almost the deception of a theatre. In the small square of San Paulo we stopped, and breakfasted in a light, cheerful room, which looked out on the quay. Here, while sipping my coffee, I commanded a view of the noble harbour, crowded with vessels; while many pilot and fishing barks, with their large, handsome lateen sails, were coming up or going down the river; and nearer the shore, hundreds of small, neat boats, with white or painted awnings, were transporting passengers from one quay to another, or to the more distant suburbs of Alcantara and Belem. The whole of this picture was lighted up by a sun such as is to be met with only in a southern climate, and so bright, that it appeared to animate every thing on which it shone. Immediately under the window of our café, some Moorish porters, of whom there are many in Lisbon, were occupied in their surprising labours. Their Herculean frames, small turbans, and striking features, and their prodigious exertions in lifting and carrying immense and weighty packages, presented to us a new and uncommon scene. My mind naturally reverted to that era in past ages when

these Moors, now so degraded and, politically considered, so insignificant, swayed the sceptre of this beauteous land, and when, from the very source to the mouth of the golden Tagus, the crescent was triumphantly displayed."

A somewhat fastidious but very amusing modern Traveller gives a far less glowing description of the impression produced by the first view of the capital. He admits it to be magnificent, but thinks that it has been over-rated. "He who has seen London from Greenwich Park," he says, "may survey without any great astonishment the capital of Portugal. The finest feature is the river, compared with which the Thames sinks into insignificance. Each side has its peculiar beauties; and I doubt whether the left bank, with its vineyards and orange-groves, does not attract the eye as much as the right, on which the town stands. The entire absence of smoke is a striking novelty to an English eye, and at first gives an idea that the town must be without inhabitants.

"Though travellers may have exaggerated the beauties of the view, I have seen no description that does justice to the indescribable nastiness of the town. I have spoken of the view from the river as magnificent, but I believe the true epithet would have been, *imposing*, for it is mere deceit and delusion: the *prestige* vanishes at once on landing, and the gay and glittering city proves to be a painted sepulchre. Filth and nuisances assault you at every turn, in their most loathsome and disgusting shapes. In yielding to first impressions, one is generally led to exaggerate; but the abominations of Lisbon are incapable of any exaggeration. To *walk* about the streets is scarcely possible for an invalid. A clumsy sort of carriage on

two wheels, driven by a postilion with a pair of mules, is to be hired for the day or the half day; but not at a cheaper rate than one might hire a coach in London. A good idea of these carriages will be formed from the prints in the old editions of Gil Blas, since whose time no improvement seems to have taken place in vehicular architecture.

"I have already experienced the truth of Mr. Bowdler's remark, that in Lisbon, under a scorching sun, you are constantly exposed to a cold wind. The Portuguese guard against this by a large great coat, worn loose like a mantle, with hanging, *sinecure* sleeves, and which they wrap round them, when, in turning a corner, they encounter the wind. The use of this sweltering surtout, in some shape or other, is universal, even in the hottest weather; but the remedy is perhaps worse than the disease.

"There is something in the appearance of Lisbon that seems to portend an earthquake; and instead of wondering that it was once visited by such a calamity, I am rather disposed to consider its daily preservation as a standing miracle. Repeated shocks have been felt of late years; and to an earthquake it may look as its natural death. From the vestiges which the indolence of the people has allowed to remain, one might fancy that the last convulsion had taken place but a few months. Many ruins are now standing just as the earthquake left them. Gorgeous palaces and solemn temples now totter in crumbling ruins,—an awful monument of the fatal wreck. There are some streets, built since the earthquake, with *trottoirs* on each side, which make a handsome appearance; and with any industry on the part of the people, the whole town might be made one of the most cleanly in

Europe, the undulating surface of the ground being so well calculated to carry away all impurities."*

Mr. Semple, who visited Lisbon twelve years before (1805), gives a description not much more pleasing of the city and its inhabitants. "This city," he says, "can never cease to be a place of consequence whilst trade and commerce flourish in Europe. Had it not been for political events and considerations, it would probably have become the capital of Spain, there being no situation possessed of equal advantages in the whole Peninsula. It is built upon several hills, the number of which it is not easy to ascertain amidst so many buildings, but which, the natives say, amount to seven, like those of ancient Rome. It may rather be said to stand upon an arm of the sea, into which the Tagus falls, than upon the Tagus itself, that river not being navigable even for boats in all its long course, till within twelve or fourteen leagues of Lisbon, and the water before the town being salt, and frequently so rough as to endanger the ships at anchor there. The inhabitants of Lisbon, however, who are jealous of the honour of their river, affirm this to be a frivolous distinction, and say that in the time of the rains, an immense body of fresh water is here brought down, so as often to cause more damage to the shipping than is ever occasioned by the wind and tide from the sea. However that may be, the situation is admirable; and the town, full of churches, palaces, domes, and spires, rising from the edge of the water up the ascents and over the tops of so many hills, presents from the bay one of the noblest views that can be imagined, and superior, perhaps, to that of any city in the world. In whatever situation we view it

* Matthews's Diary of an Invalid, vol. i. pp. 11—14.

during our approach, it is imposing; but when we land, the delusion vanishes. The streets are badly paved and full of filth; the houses, with here and there a latticed window, have a melancholy appearance; and the inhabitants, some in rags, and the remainder in dark-coloured clothes, render the whole still more gloomy. The powerful influence of climate already becomes perceptible. The Portuguese are generally dark-complexioned and thin, with black hair, irascible and revengeful in their tempers, and eager in their gestures on trivial occasions. They are also said to be indolent, deceitful, and cowardly; but they are temperate in diet, and that may be classed at the head of their virtues, if indeed they have many more to add to it. They affect to talk of the Spaniards with great contempt, as being perhaps the next despicable nation to themselves with which they are acquainted. They have no public spirit, and consequently no national character. An Englishman or a Frenchman may be distinguished in foreign countries by an air and manners peculiar to his nation, and which he would attempt in vain to disguise; but any meagre, swarthy man may pass for a Portuguese.

"The part of Lisbon most deserving of attention is that which suffered so severely in the dreadful earthquake of 1755. It is not merely that all the flat at the foot of the amphitheatre of the surrounding hills is rebuilt in a regular manner, and excellently paved; but the ruins of great buildings still remaining on the tops of the heights in the heart of a populous city, have a singular and striking effect. Other nations erect monuments at a great expense, in commemoration of battles, earthquakes, and wide-wasting fires; but nothing can speak so home to the heart as these

awful remains, which stand in perpetual memento to the inhabitants of Lisbon, of what has happened, and may again happen to the city."

The latest traveller that has published a description of the Portuguese capital, is Mrs. Baillie, who resided in the country for about two years and a half, and to whose interesting volumes we are indebted for the most minute and impartial account of the inhabitants. Her description of the horrors of Lisbon, however, quite accords with that given by Mr. Matthews. The distant view of the city from the mouth of the harbour is described as superb in the extreme; but all within the city is revolting. Of a population of 230,000 souls,* a fifth is said to consist of negroes and mulattoes. In filthiness and impurity of every description, Lisbon may vie with Constantinople;† and

* Mrs. Baillie states the population, on report, at 300,000; but this we imagine to be an erroneous estimate.

† "Judge what I must suffer here," says this Traveller, "where, for three miles round Lisbon in every direction, you cannot for a moment get clear of the disgusting effluvia that issues from every house. I seldom go out for this reason; and about nine o'clock at night, the case becomes absolutely too bad to describe. What the noses of the Portuguese are made of, I am really at a loss to conjecture." "Every kind of vermin that exists to punish the nastiness and indolence of man," says Dr. Southey, "multiplies in the heat and dirt of Lisbon."—Yet, things are not by any means so bad in this respect, we are told, as they were a few years ago. "An attempt at cleanliness was first introduced by the French, who ordered all the dogs to be shot, and obliged the natives to exert human labour in cleansing the streets from the worst species of impurity; but, after the departure of these salutary task-masters, the Portuguese once more returned to their dogs and their dirt. The example of the English has since effected some melioration in their habits and customs; so much so, indeed, that even in the city, there are two or three streets which are preserved by the police in a state of comparative purity."—BAILLIE'S *Lisbon*, vol. i. p. 218.

the heat, in summer, is such as "only a native or a salamander can subsist in." The mosquitoes then commence their campaign, and a restless, feverish night succeeds to the sultry day. If you read at night in summer, it is necessary to be armed with boots. The scolopendra is not uncommonly found here, and snakes sometimes intrude into the bed-chambers. To these insect plagues, is to be added, a small species of red ant that swarm over every thing sweet. The Portuguese remedy is, to send for a priest to exorcise them.* But this is not the worst; nor are the shocks of earthquake to which Lisbon is still subject, the most serious drawback on the enjoyments of the inhabitants. The state of the police is horrible. Street-robbery is common, and every thief is an assassin. The pocket-knife, which the French troops are said to have dreaded more than all the bayonets of either the Spanish or the Portuguese, is here the ready weapon of the assassin; † and the Tagus receives many a corpse on which no inquest ever sits,—which is only seen, perhaps, by the solitary fisherman as it floats on to the ocean, there to lie unknown and unregistered till the sea shall give up its dead. The morals, in fact, of all classes in Lisbon appear to be in a dreadful state.

The public buildings of Lisbon present little that is interesting or attractive. The Marquis of Pombal, says Dr. Southey, "ordered all the churches here to be built like houses, that they might not spoil the uniformity of the streets. This villanous taste has necessarily injured the appearance of the city." The decorations of the churches are offensively tawdry, and the profusion of badly-executed carved work, gilt

* Southey, vol. ii. p. 83. † See vol. i. p. 217.

and painted, fatigues the eye. The mosaic pictures in the church of San Roque are, however, pronounced by Dr. Southey more excellent than he could possibly have believed.* The cathedral contains little worthy of notice, but is remarkable for having a little chapel built immediately before its front, on the spot where San Antonio was born,—"the generalissimo" of the Portuguese army of saints. Lisbon, like most of the Spanish cities, has its squares or *praças*. The principal one is the *Praça do Commercio* (formerly called *Terreiro de Paço*), which is very handsome. One front of it is open to the river, and there are flights of stone steps descending to the water. The northern wing is occupied by the custom-house. A lofty piazza runs round two sides of it, which is used by the merchants as an exchange. In the centre is an equestrian statue of Joseph I., in bronze, of enormous proportions; it was modelled by Machado de Castro, a native artist, and has considerable merit. It is remarkable also as being the only one of the kind ever erected in honour of a Portuguese sovereign.† Three well-built, uniform streets communicate between this square and the *Roscio*, in which stands the Inquisition; over the pediment in the centre, Religion is represented trampling on a prostrate heretic. "Let no one imagine, however," says Mrs. Baillie, "that either of these places at all resembles Grosvenor or Portman Square. At this time, the one was filled

* This church formerly belonged to the Jesuits, to whom these mosaics, executed at Rome, were presented by King Joam V., in 1757.

† The famous Marquis de Pombal was the promoter of the work, and his portrait, in bronze, was placed on the side of the pedestal. On his dismissal, it was meanly torn down by his enemies. "I am glad of it," he coolly remarked, on being informed of it; "for it was not like me." The city arms occupy its place.

with loose and blinding sand, equally scorching to the eyes and to the feet, and neither was adorned with a single shrub or blade of grass. Of the streets leading from the Roscio, one (Gold Street) is occupied by the shops of jewellers; another (Silver Street) is chiefly inhabited by silversmiths; and a third, by cloth-merchants and embroiderers. Other trades have also their streets, called in like manner after the branch of trade to which they are appropriated. The houses above the shops, as in Paris, are let in separate floors. Near the Roscio is a small but cool and shady promenade, called the *Salitre*. The only theatres are the Italian opera-house (San Carlos) and the Portuguese theatre. The latter is an ugly and ill-contrived building, but has a fine orchestra."

The finest object in Lisbon is the great aqueduct, the work of Manuel de Maya in 1738,—the noblest structure of the kind which has been erected in Europe since the time of the Romans. "It is, perhaps, the last also," remarks Mr. Semple, "that will be erected for the sole end of carrying water for common purposes; the discovery, that fluids when conveyed in pipes will rise to nearly their level, superseding the use of such stupendous structures. It consists of thirty-five arches, the centre one of immense height; but they are greatly too narrow in proportion, when viewed from a little distance.* The inhabitants of Lisbon boast that they are the highest single arches

* The width of the centre arch, Mr. Matthews says, is 107 French feet, and the height 230. This agrees with Murphy. The Author of Recollections of the Peninsula, without giving his authority, states the breadth at 240 feet, and the height at 340, which must be an error. Fourteen of the arches are pointed, the rest semicircular. No part of it appears to have received the least injury from the earthquakes.

in the world, which may be true; but a double or triple row would have been equally useful, and far more elegant. A noble pathway, bordered by a wall of solid blocks of stone, leads across the summit, nearly on a level with the water, which makes a perpetual running sound in the inside. The sound is echoed along the arched stone roof of the aqueduct, and excites a pleasing sensation in the mind of the passenger, who, turning to the other hand, and looking over the parapet, beholds beneath him, at a great depth, the stony bed of a considerable stream under the centre arch, and which, in winter, must run with all the fury of a mountain torrent. Over this stream a bridge is thrown, and a road leads through the valley, the travellers on which, when viewed from above, seem diminished in size to the circumference of their hats. Upon the whole, this aqueduct is justly a national boast among the Portuguese; and in a country where so few great undertakings, not connected with religion, are carried to perfection, it stands like a giant amidst pigmies and abortions. It is singular, that the same nation has erected in America, the only great, perhaps the only aqueduct which exists in all that continent. It is near the town of Rio Janeiro, and is thrown across a valley wider than that near Lisbon. I only saw this last at some little distance; yet, I cannot help thinking that the two were constructed at no great distance of time from each other, and that whichever was the first, served as a model to the second."

On the banks of the Tagus, about five miles S.W. of Lisbon, is situated the magnificent church and monastery of Belem, founded by king Emanuel in 1499, where are interred many of the royal house. It is a noble Gothic building, with handsome cloisters,

exhibiting some good specimens of arabesque ornaments, and the grand entrance of the church is adorned with curious sculpture. At a little distance is *Bom Successo*, a small convent of Irish nuns. Belem, though considered as a distinct village, is, in fact, one of the suburbs, being connected with the city by buildings extending all the way along the side of the river. This is the case with several other hamlets. At Belem, there is a castle and a battery running out into the water. Here also are the museum and the botanic garden. At the entrance of the garden stand two very ancient statues, dug up at Montalegre in 1785, which have afforded ample scope for the speculations of antiquaries. The one is somewhat larger than the other, but both are in the same attitude, that of a man holding with both hands a small round shield. "They are evidently too rude to be the production of an age far advanced in civilisation, yet are much superior to the efforts of a barbarous one." They have been supposed to be of a date anterior even to the Carthaginian conquest.* The museum is small, but rich in South American birds.

The cemetery belonging to the British Factory,† the only exposed burying-ground in Lisbon, is very picturesquely situated on the north-west side of the city, and is shaded with fine cypresses. Here, without a monument to mark the spot, lie the remains of Henry Fielding. A French consul, about thirty years after the death of Fielding, caused a small monument to be erected, at his own expense, to the memory of

* See page 133 of this volume.

† It was assigned to the English in pursuance of an article in the treaty of alliance between England and Portugal during the protectorate of Oliver Cromwell, about A.D. 1655.

the English Novelist, in the cloister of the Franciscan convent, with an epitaph in French. Neither the monument nor the inscription, however, is in the best taste. A new English chapel, built here at the expense of the Factory, was opened in 1823; "capable," Mrs. Baillie says, "of containing the whole British population of Lisbon, which may amount at present to about 800 persons, a portion of which are Irish Roman Catholics. One part of these grounds was appropriated to those who fell in the Peninsular war. The Dutch also possess a share of the enclosure, as well as the German Protestants, who have a chapel of their own, not far from the convent of the *Necessidades*."

The costume of the lower orders of Lisbon, Mrs. Baillie says, would not be unbecoming, "if they had a more thorough notion of personal cleanliness: when they walk out, it invariably consists (in summer or in winter) of a long, ample cloth cloak, generally of a brown, black, or scarlet colour, with a deep, falling cape, called a 'capote,' which forms a graceful drapery, both to men and women. The latter wear a white muslin handkerchief doubled cornerways, carelessly thrown over their dark braided locks, and fastened beneath the chin. When they go to mass on festivals or Sundays, they carry a fan in the hand, and frequently assume an air of gravity and importance bordering upon the supercilious; this, however, exists chiefly among the *old* women; the younger ones have a gay, cheerful expression of countenance, and quick, glancing eyes, as brilliant and as dark as jet. All wear pink, green, or yellow silk shoes, or even white satin, and worked stockings, (the latter knitted very ingeniously by the peasants,) even in the midst of the most disgusting dirt and mud: the trade of

shoemaker must be a profitable one in this country! The class one step higher in the scale of society, indulge in tawdry, ill-chosen finery, in sorry imitation of the French and English fashions; but at mass, they exchange this gaudy attire for a black silk gown and a deep transparent veil, of the same sombre hue, which latter they throw over their heads without any other covering, even in the coldest day of winter. Their religion induces this chastity of taste in decoration, and I wish it produced an equally beneficial result in other respects! Some few youthful faces which I have seen, appear pretty enough; the great charm being produced by the dark and brilliant eye and depth of eyelash, to which I have already alluded; and although the complexion is generally sallow, and almost without exception brown, I have once or twice remarked a very rich and beautiful glow, like the bloom of a crimson carnation, upon the cheek. The old women appear to me, from the specimens I have hitherto seen, to be invariably hideous. We are given to understand, that the higher the rank of the people in this country, the plainer in feature they generally become, and that, with some few exceptions, it is among the peasantry alone that true beauty exists."*

* The Author of Recollections of the Peninsula, with whom, Mrs. Baillie remarks, "every object is *couleur de rose*, his glowing imagination reflecting its own splendid tints on all he sees," describes the Portuguese women in much more favourable terms. "The Portuguese," he says, "have often been described by travellers as very negligent in their persons, and very dirty in their dress and appearance. I confess I did not find them so. On the contrary, I had occasion to remark, that all the middling and upper classes were very particular both as to the fineness and whiteness of their linen. The middle-sized, plump form, black, bright, and expressive eyes, and regular teeth of a dazzling whiteness, are the peculiar characteristics of the beauty of a Portuguese female, and constitute here, as they would any where else, a very pretty

"Among the peasantry who come into Lisbon from the country, especially on Sundays, it is easy," Mr. Semple says, "to observe a number of particulars in dress and manners, which must be referred to a Celtic origin. Instead of hats, they frequently wear caps or bonnets. The ancient plaid, too warm to be carried in this climate as a cloak, is converted into a party-coloured sash, which they wear round the middle, and in which they uniformly carry a dirk or long knife; and their favourite instrument of music is the bagpipe, adorned with ribbons, exactly similar to that used in the Highlands of Scotland. To the sound of this very instrument, two or three of them together dance a kind of reel; or, if the tune be slow and solemn, the piper walks backward and forward, amidst a silent and attentive crowd. In their lively dances, they raise their hands above their heads, and keep time with their castanets. The Scotch Highlanders observe exactly the same practice; and I am fully persuaded, that their strong snapping of the fingers is in imitation of the sound of the castanet."

Mrs. Baillie, who had repeated opportunities of an insight into the customs of the peasantry, speaks of them in very high terms. "I delight," she says, "in the peasantry here" (at Cintra); "they are really a fine race of people." But she adds: "We are more and more amazed, the longer we remain in this country, at that ignorance, or, at best, that *superficial* knowledge of the commonest arts, which exists among the Portuguese. A carpenter here is the awkwardest and most clumsy artisan that can be imagined, spoiling every work he attempts: the way in

woman. Neither is the stature of the men in Lisbon, though certainly lower than that of Englishmen, so diminutive as has been often represented."

which the doors and other wood-work belonging even to good houses are finished, would really have suited the rudest ages. Their carriages of all kinds, more particularly their waggons and carts, their agricultural implements and management, their cutlery, locks and keys, &c., are *ludicrously* bad. Their soil, rich and fertile, their climate, so favourable to the growth of almost all vegetation, seems, in a great measure, to be lost upon them; and, in short, (if I am to judge by the little I have seen, and to credit entirely what others tell me,) the state of society and the progress of civilisation in all classes, are so infinitely below par, so strikingly inferior to the rest of Europe, as to form a sort of disgraceful wonder in the midst of the nineteenth century."

Cintra* (*Mons Cynthiæ*) is the Richmond of Lisbon: hither, in the summer months, the citizens repair on the Saturday night, to spend the Sunday, returning to Lisbon on the Monday. Yet, it is by no means a favourite residence with the natives: almost every *quinta* is suffered to go to ruin, and the houses even of the nobility are in a dilapidated state. Lord Byron has not spoken too poetically of the varied beauties of this Portuguese Elysium:

"The horrid crags, by toppling convent crown'd,
The cork-trees hoar, that clothe the shaggy steep,
The mountain moss, by scorching skies imbrown'd,
The sunken glen, whose sunless shrubs must weep,
The tender azure of the unruffled deep,

* "I can add little to the warm tints of description," says Mr. Matthews, "that have so justly been lavished upon Cintra, the beauties of which are heightened by the contrast of the barren and uninteresting country all around it. I should compare it with Malvern; but to the heights of Malvern must be added some hundred feet of perpendicular rock. But, however superior Cintra may be to Malvern in itself, the view from it is much less pleasing. Instead of the fertile valleys of Worcestershire, the eye has nothing to repose on, but a dreary and barren waste."

The orange tints that gild the greenest bough,
The torrents that from cliff to valley leap,
The vine on high, the willow branch below,
Mix'd in one mighty scene, with varied beauty glow."

"I know not how to describe to you," says Dr. Southey, "the strange beauties of Cintra. It is, perhaps, more beautiful than sublime; more grotesque than beautiful; yet, I never beheld scenery more calculated to fill the mind with admiration and delight. This immense rock, or mountain, is in part covered with scanty herbage; in parts, it rises into conical hills, formed of such immense stones, and piled so strangely, that all the machinery of deluges and volcanoes must fail to satisfy the inquiry for their origin. Nearly at the base stands the town of Cintra and its palace, an old irregular pile, with two chimneys, each shaped like a glass-house. But the abundance of wood forms the most striking feature in this retreat from the Portuguese summer. The houses of the English are seen scattered on the ascent, half hid among cork-trees, elms, oaks, hazels, walnuts, the tall canes, and the rich green of the lemon-gardens. On one of the mountain eminences stands the *Penha* convent, visible from the hills near Lisbon. On another are the ruins of a Moorish castle, and a cistern within its boundaries, kept always full by a spring of the purest water that rises in it.* From this elevation the eye stretches over a bare and melancholy country, to Lisbon on the one side, and, on the other, to the distant convent of

* The walls of this cistern are built of hewn stone, with three pilasters at each side, which are continued in arches, as bands to the vault with which it is covered. The water of this cistern or bath is four feet deep; and, what is very remarkable, it neither increases nor diminishes, winter or summer, though it has no apparent source; and, though never cleaned, it is always transparent, and the sides and bottom are free from weeds or sediment."—MURPHY, p. 245.

Mafra; the Atlantic bounding the greater part of the prospect.....I cannot, without a tedious minuteness, describe the ever-varying prospects that the many eminences of this wild rock present, or the little green lanes, over whose bordering lemon-gardens the evening wind blows so cool and rich."*

The Cork Convent, so much noticed by all the visitors of Cintra, "is a hermitage partly burrowed between the rocks which serve as vaults to the church, sacristy, and chapter-house, and partly built over the surface. The subterranean apartments are lighted by holes, cut obliquely in the rocks, and lined internally with cork, to guard against humidity: hence it is called the Cork Convent. It is inhabited by about twenty hermits of the most rigid order of St. Francis. They are governed by a prior, and live chiefly on fish, fruit, and bread. Each has a separate cell, about the size of a grave, furnished with a matrass."†

"The valley of Collares (or Coulanes), extending from the village of Cintra, is one of the richest and best cultivated spots in the kingdom. The greater part of it is planted with fruit-trees, particularly orange; and though they are so close together that their boughs intertwine, yet they bear vast quantities of delicious fruit. The fruit and green markets of Lisbon are chiefly supplied from this luxuriant garden. Musk and water-melons grow in it in such abundance, that the inhabitants sell them during the season for a penny a piece. Of the peculiarity of the soil about this district, *Carcavella* furnishes a striking instance, where there is a vineyard of no considerable extent, that yields grapes different from those of any other part of the kingdom. The name of its wine is well known all over Europe."

* Southey's Letters, vol. ii. p. 202. † Murphy, p. 256.

The Marquis of Marialva has a fine mansion here, in the hall of which was signed the disgraceful Convention of Cintra. Here, too,

> "Vathek, England's wealthiest son,
> Once form'd his paradise,"—

the *quinta* of Montserrat, described by Mrs. Baillie as by far the most picturesque place in the vicinity. "It comprises," she says, "every feature of beauty and sublimity which Cintra has to boast, being situated upon very elevated ground, in the bosom of a wood of cork-trees, surrounded by orange-trees and rocky fountains; hemmed in on three sides by mountains, (among which are those crowned by the Penha convent and the Moorish castle,) and open on the other to the level champaign country, rich in vineyards and corn-fields, which stretches out for about six miles, when it is bounded by the sea. The mansion itself had a singular charm for me, delighting, as I have ever done, in those which call up images of romantic associations. It was originally built by a rich Englishman,* in the style of our own villas, and was in consequence distinguished by an elegance of taste, a refinement of decoration, and a lightness and beauty of architecture, which are peculiar to buildings of this sort in England. *Here*, such a structure really appears as if raised by fairy hands; so far does it excel the ill-contrived and tawdry style to which the natives of this country are generally accustomed;—but, alas! how has this enchanted spot been neglected! and how has the beautiful house been suffered to fall to decay! Now become the property of a Portuguese family, they have evinced the most deplorable want of taste and feeling in regard to it,

* Mr. Beckford, of Fonthill.

for at this moment it is completely a ruin,—a fit residence only for the bat and the owl, or to serve as a casual shelter for the wandering goat-herd and his shaggy flock, at those times when the wind is not high enough to blow down the shattered roof upon their heads. I never beheld so striking an image of desolate loveliness; and could have passed hours here in the indulgence of a reverie, mournful, yet fraught with a nameless charm, that can be comprehended only by the veritable children of romance. Some of the carved doors of the best apartments, brought, at a great expense, from England, were still perfect; and some remains of the superb plates of glass in the light French windows, were yet spared by the fury of the wintry storms which often rage with great violence among the surrounding mountains and woods. The hall, of Grecian elegance, once opened upon a sloping lawn of verdant turf, studded with rare shrubs and flower-beds: it has now been ploughed up, but I could still discover traces of its former designation. A splendid music-room, built in the form of a rotunda, the roof rising in a fine dome to a considerable height, made the greatest impression upon my feelings. I tried my voice there, and was startled at the sound, which, as it died away, seemed to scare the long-sleeping echoes of the place."

Three leagues from Cintra, is Mafra, where there is a palace and convent, founded by John V., in emulation of the royal builder of the Escurial. "It is a stupendous work," Dalrymple says; "but bears not so noble an appearance as the Escurial, though it is much more decorated and richer in marble. In the palace are prodigious suites of apartments, as its extent is the external square, which is above 700 feet each side, the convent and church forming the internal.

Here centre pride and poverty,—a stately palace with bare walls, a sumptuous convent for supercilious priests."*

Dr. Southey gives an interesting account of an excursion to Setubal (commonly called St. Ubes), a sea-port town, sixteen miles S.S.E. of Lisbon, containing five churches, eleven monasteries, and about 12,000 inhabitants. "Having crossed the river to Moita, we found mules ready for the journey, and soon entered a forest of pines, over which the hill of Palmella appeared with its castle. The country abounds with flowers that, scattered on every side amid the heath and sand, attracted our attention by their beauty and novelty; and in every little watery bottom, the frogs croaked out a concert pleasant to the ears of one who loves the sounds of happiness. Ascending the hill, we looked back over the forest to the Tagus and the city on its opposite shore. On our right was a wild tract of high hills, partly covered with green corn, and in parts shewing their red soil; a few grey-green poplars grew at their feet, amid cottages thinly scattered, and orange-gardens. At the entrance of Palmella is a handsome fountain, with the arms of the town and an inscription, in which I was somewhat amused at seeing S.P.Q.P. by the idea of the senate and people of Palmella.

"The prospect as we descended, is the most beautiful I ever beheld. The same wild, bold scenery on our right; the country before us, and to the left, in the highest state of cultivation, abundantly wooded with almond-trees, now covered with their faint pink blossoms, and orange-groves, whose rich verdure is

* Travels through Spain, &c. in 1774, by Major W. Dalrymple. 4to. London, 1787.

diversified with flowers and fruit. Every where around were single cottages, and convents; venerable piles, and picturesque to the eye, however we may detest the purposes to which they are applied. About three miles distant lay Setubal and its harbour; beyond, a low and feeble boundary to the scene, stretched the shore of Estremadura.

"We turned our mules loose in the market-place of Setubal,—a curious way of getting rid of the beasts, which the general testimony could hardly make me believe to be the custom, till our own practice confirmed it. There is a hotel here kept by an Irishman: I had expected a good house, and was completely disappointed. We procured a *ground-floor* apartment there, *two stories above the street*, in which two little bed-closets stood, and a third bed was placed for us in the room: we were three in number, and Manuel attended us.

"Setubal, as seen from the water, very much resembles Coruña; the principal street extending in the same manner along the strand. Cetobriga* is supposed to have stood on the opposite shore: the fishermen frequently find stones in the sand; and a Corinthian pillar, which was dug up there, now stands in the square of Setubal, scraped and ornamented with a crucifix. The great earthquake was attended with singular effects here: part of a wall is still remaining, of which about twenty yards were removed thirty feet further from the river, by the tide, and left still standing. I was informed that the water threw a vessel of a hundred tons burthen on the roof of a house, which was of course destroyed.

* "Hence, through the corruption of Cetobra, its present name, which has led forgers of history and credulous antiquaries to Noah's ark."

"The chief object of our excursion was to visit the celebrated convent of Nossa Senhora da Arrabida, on the Arrabida mountain. This convent owes its origin to a miraculous image of Nossa Senhora, which attracts more visiters to the Arrabida than all its wild and glorious scenery. This image belonged to the chaplain of an English ship, whose name was Haldebrant: during the darkness of a tempestuous night, when the vessel was near the shore, it was preserved from shipwreck by a wonderful splendour that, from the height of the mountain, illuminated the stormy sea. The tempest abated, and the sailors, in exploring the spot whence the light proceeded, discovered the image of the Virgin, which had fled thither from the ship. Believing it to be a spot chosen by the Blessed Mary for her worship, they erected a chapel there with the alms they obtained.

"The promontory of Arrabida projects into the Atlantic ocean, about six miles from Setubal. The custom-house boat had been procured for us, and we departed early on Tuesday morning. We passed by Atun castle, which commands the mouth of the river Sadao,* three miles from the town. The mountain now opened on our view; it was covered with trees till within a few years, when they were destroyed by fire; the quick vegetation of the climate has supplied the loss to the eye, and overspread the ground with tall shrubs, among which a few trees still remain. We went between the shore and two insulated rocks, in one of which was a dark cavern; many shrubs grew on the summit, and there was a monumental cross in memory of a man who had fallen from the precipice where he was catching birds. Near this we landed. Wine and oranges were procured from a venda, the only habita-

* "The Callipos of Ptolemy."

tion in sight: we had brought some cold fowls from Setubal, and the spring by which we sat, supplied us with excellent water.

"Never did I behold scenery so wild and so sublime as the mountain of Arrabida presented, and which, continually varying as we advanced, always displayed some new beauty. The gum-cistus was the most common plant; it was luxuriantly in blossom, and the sun drew forth its rich balsamic fragrance. About three parts up stands the convent: a few cypresses, an orange-garden, and an olive-yard diversified the hill around it. On the summit are a number of little chapels, or saint-boxes; a Dutchman could not have placed any ornament there more detestable to the picturesque eye. Rude crosses are erected on almost every crag; below is the Atlantic ocean. We were conducted to a cavern consecrated to St. Catharine. The entrance is down a long flight of steps, and admits but little light: the sea enters below, dashing the rocks with that loud and continual roar which accords as well with the feelings of the poet as of the devotee. Through this aperture the light ascends, and nothing is visible but rock and sea."

The only very recent British travellers in Portugal have been our armies. We have already had occasion to avail ourselves of the very lively but very desultory volume, entitled Recollections of the Peninsula, written by an officer who served at the commencement of the campaign; and from his pages we shall glean a few more topographical details.

From Lisbon, in July 1809, his regiment was ordered to embark for Santarem, situated about forty miles up the Tagus. The northern bank of the river, for the first six leagues, presents a continued succes-

sion of rural beauties,—convents, chapels and quintas, gardens and vineyards. Santarem is very strikingly situated on bold, elevated ground, on the southern bank of the Tagus, which it completely commands. Like all other cities in Portugal, it has its convents, churches, and chapels; but there is little that is remarkable in any of them. There is a college here, in which there were "not many students." The population is estimated at about 8000. "In these early marches, the villa, the monastery, and the cottage were thrown open at the approach of our troops. The best apartments, the neatest cells, the humble but only beds, were all resigned to the march-worn officers and men with undisguised cheerfulness." But the Writer reluctantly adds, that the rudeness and misbehaviour of the troops soon wrought a change in the kind dispositions of a hospitable people. From Santarem, the regiment proceeded, by Golegâo and Punhete, to Abrantes, the route often leading for miles along the banks of the river. Abrantes is well situated on rising ground, and commands the passage of the Tagus, over which, at this point, a bridge of boats forms a communication with the southern provinces. The route now lay through plains covered with the gum-cistus, and over uplands clothed with heath, but uncultivated and uninhabited, to Niza. From this place, as far as Villa Velha, the country presents some truly romantic scenery. Here the Tagus, "forcing its narrow, deep, and angry course between lofty and precipitous banks, which rise into brown and barren mountains, forms a grand and imposing picture." Crossing the river at this point, the regiment proceeded to Zarza la Major, the first town on the Spanish frontier, on the road to Plasencia; it was found deserted, in consequence of the expected approach of the French. The houses

were barred; the church alone stood open; but the plate and treasure had been removed. In this day's march, the thermometer had varied from 95° to 98°.*

The regiment were subsequently counter-marched to Niza, and, after halting there for a fortnight, were marched into cantonments in Spanish Estremadura, by way of Portalegre, a small town in Alemtejo. "The valley by which you approach Portalegre," says the Writer, "is fertile and very beautiful. Quintas, gardens, vineyards, and corn-fields cover the last six miles on your road to the city, which is airy, well-built, and handsomely situated on a lofty eminence, sheltered to the north by mountains, planted with vines to their very summits, and overlooked on the south by heights, richly clothed with wood to the very edge of the gray and broken ridges of rock which crown them. To the eastward, it commands a fine and boundless prospect over the undulating plains, which stretch in the direction of Badajos and Elvas. We were billeted for the night in this city, and, after dressing in a cool, retired apartment, which opened into a small orangery, I visited the cathedral: it is handsome, has a fine-toned organ, and the singing was sweet. It was the evening service, and afterwards I heard a requiem chanted or sung over the grave of some deceased person of rank; there was a long procession, and several monks assisted, all bearing torches; surrounding the graven stone, under which lay the mouldering remains of this wealthy corpse, or rather once wealthy man, they broke forth into a fine and solemn strain. The number of deep and powerful bass voices, contrasted with the soft and feminine tones of the youthful choristers, produced a very grand effect, far superior to any thing ever heard in our ca-

* On a subsequent day's march it rose to 100°.

thedral service. I am free, however, to confess, that the singing of some individuals in our English choirs is not easily to be surpassed; still, we never hear that astonishing bass which peals forth from a large assemblage of priests and friars, and which is, at once, so awful and so truly imposing.....We continued our march the next day, halting at Arronches, a small, unimportant town, and thence proceeded the following morning to a bivouac under the walls of Elvas."

In the following year, the regiment was chiefly stationed in different parts of Alemtejo, Beira, and Spanish Estremadura. On one occasion, the Writer marched from Niza, by way of Villa Velha, Sarnadas, and Castel Branco, to Atalaya, situated at the foot of the Sierra d'Estrella. Castel Branco is a decayed town. "Its citadel and walls are in a state of ruin and decay. Although not fortified, it is still very important as a military station, for the country around it, especially on the grand road which passes by Sobreiro Formosa towards the Zezere, abounds in strong and defensible positions: it has been also formerly a Roman station; and wherever we can trace the awful vestiges of those all-conquering soldiers, the Roman legions, we feel, I think, a very exalted and indefinable satisfaction. From our camp near Atalaya, the eye ranged over the southern face of the proud Sierra d'Estrella, rising many thousand feet above the level of the sea, traversed by good roads, formed with infinite labour over clefts of rocks, and gemmed with several white towns and villages, which lie nestling and sparkling on its ample bosom."

From the latter end of July to September, in the year 1811, the division lay at Villa Viçosa, "a handsome, well-built town, about five leagues from Elvas.

A hunting-place; a fine large preserve, walled in, and filled with deer and game; wide streets, handsome houses, a royal chapel, and several churches and convents, attest the former rank of this town, which was once a favourite country retreat for the court of Portugal. Our billets here were very comfortable; the walks and rides in the park, which, from the inequalities of the ground, and the thickness of the underwood, had all the character of a wilderness, were strikingly beautiful; the markets are well supplied, and the vineyards of Borba, so celebrated for its wine, lay within two miles of us. One of my daily amusements was attendance at the royal chapel, where the music and singing were both very excellent."

In the year 1812, the Writer once more left Lisbon for Estremadura, to join his regiment, proceeding unattended by way of Abrantes. As far as this place, there was not a town or village on the route that did not present affecting traces of the march of invading armies. "Cottages all roofless and untenanted, the unpruned vine, growing in rank luxuriance over their ruined walls, neglected gardens, the shells of fine houses half destroyed by fire, convents and churches, too solid to be demolished, standing open and neglected, with the ornamental wood or stone work which once adorned them broken down and defaced; all proclaimed silently, but forcibly, that I was travelling through a country which had been the theatre of war, and exposed to the ravages of contending armies. Such are the scenes which, not only in Portugal, but throughout Spain, arrest the eye at every step, and make the Briton, while he sighs over the miseries of the peaceful citizens and laborious peasants whose towns and villages have been thus visited by violence

and rapine, offer up many a grateful prayer for the secure and heaven-defended position of his happier countrymen." From Abrantes, the Writer proceeded to Badajoz. The remainder of the Recollections relate to Spain.

Major Dalrymple, who travelled in Portugal about fifty years ago, has given a meagre description of the route from the Galician frontier to Lisbon, by way of Opôrto: for want of better materials, we must avail ourselves of his journal.

"I crossed the river Minho, and put up at a wretched *estallagem* in Valença. This town, on the most northern frontier of Portugal, is beautifully situated on the banks of the river. The prospects from it are very fine. All without is pleasant, but wretched within. Travelled hence on a very bad road, but through a pleasant country in general, which appeared populous, and was cultivated, as high as the hills would permit, with Indian corn and vines. Met many people, who had a neat appearance, but the women were without shoes and stockings. Saw some oaks and firs, with a few scattered olive trees..... Passed an extensive stone bridge of sixteen Gothic arches and eight circular ones, which gives the name to the town of Puente de Lima, where we arrived, having been seven hours going over what is called five leagues. This town has been fortified, to defend the passage of the river; but the works are now in ruins. The friars in all countries have chosen beautiful situations for their houses. There is a convent of San Benito here, delightfully placed on a height that overlooks the river, and is very conspicuous from the town. We found a tolerably good *estallagem* here.

"From Puente de Lima we proceeded to Braga, through a most populous, pleasant, and enclosed country; rather hilly, but full of houses and villages; fertile with Indian corn, some flax, and vines: the latter, twining round the oaks and other trees in the hedges, formed most beautiful festoons. Six hours to five leagues.

"Braga, in the time of Pliny, was a place of great importance, having under its jurisdiction 24 cities, and 575,000 inhabitants.* The numberless Roman antiquities that are still extant, are vestiges of its ancient grandeur. It is famous for the councils held here in the fifth and sixth centuries, and is still a metropolitan see. Near the church of St. Sebastian are seen a great many *milliaria*, brought hither from different parts, and many ancient inscriptions. This city is pleasantly situated on a height above the river Cebado. It is large and well built. The streets are spacious, well paved, and clean, with many fountains. A manufacture of beaver hats is carried on near this place, and an appearance of much trade prevails in it. At a fair here, there was a great deal of coarse linen cloth, some small cattle, crockery-ware, wooden shoes, called *galloches*, fowls, Indian corn, millet, wheat, rye, salt, and most excellent fruits, melons, peaches, &c., in great abundance. The peasantry had a neat appear-

* The archbishopric of Braga forms the third division of the province of Entre Douro e Minho; and, according to the estimate of 1810, contains 1,292 parishes, 162,960 inhabited houses, and 638,102 inhabitants; being 300,859 males, and 337,243 females. The district contains thirteen cantons. The city of Braga, which is the capital of the province, is situated on the small river Este, not far from the Cavado. It is very neat, and contains five parish churches, eight religious houses, and 13,000 inhabitants. Its manufactory of hats supplies a great part of Portugal with that article.

ance; but the women go barefooted. They all wore English baize petticoats, and cloaks of various colours and different fancies. Those of the city wore black cloth or baize mantles and petticoats, which gave them a most sombre appearance. There are some gaudy churches and large houses here; but they are loaded with superabundant ornaments, which give them a most Gothic appearance.

"Leaving Braga, we travelled through a most fertile, pleasant, and populous country for five hours. The villages, farms, and enclosures, all look well at a distance; but, on approaching them, there appears a want of neatness. For an hour and a half more, mountains and waste land, when we halted and dined at a little village. Pursuing our journey, we crossed a ferry; went through an indifferent country and poor soil, not so much cultivated as before; passed a few scattered olive-trees; and having been twelve hours travelling what is called eight leagues, arrived at Oporto."*

OPORTO.

OPORTO, the second city in Portugal, is situated on the north bank of the Douro, about four miles from its mouth. It stands partly on a hill, and partly on a bank of the river. It has still an old wall, five or six feet thick, flanked at intervals with mean-looking towers, and further protected by a small fort; but, as the harbour is extremely difficult of entrance, the Portuguese Government have paid little attention to the fortifications; and in many places, the wall is fallen into ruins. The quay extends the whole length

* Dalrymple's Travels through Portugal, pp. 118—123.

of the town, but is of very simple construction. On one side is a street; the other side is walled and raised, merely for the purpose of fastening to it the ship-cables. At certain seasons, in consequence of the rains, or the melting of the snow on the mountains, the Douro swells and becomes a mighty torrent, so that no cables are capable of holding the vessels, without the precaution of a number of booms placed on the quay to secure them. The roadstead is spacious, and is at times the rendezvous of fleets of merchantmen for Brasil. It is commanded by the small fort of San Joam (St. John), on the north bank at the mouth of the river. The town is in general well built. From the strand rises a broad, well-paved street, with causeways on each side, leading to two equally handsome, oblique streets. The others on the declivity of the hill are narrow, crooked, and dirty; but several of those on the top are fine and broad, and contain a number of elegant houses. Indeed, the greater part of the buildings in Oporto are regular, light, and neat; and it is allowed to be the cleanest and most agreeable town in Portugal, while, in amount of population and trade, it yields only to Lisbon. The steepness of the hill on which it is built renders riding and walking very difficult. On the east side of the town, the houses overhanging the side of the river are built on so steep a declivity, as to be accessible only by steps cut out of the rock. To make amends in some degree for this inconvenience, the situation and prospect are romantic and beautiful.

This city contains a naval arsenal and dock-yard. The harbour, however, is difficult of access, partly from rocks at the mouth of the Douro, partly from the accumulation of sand brought down by the stream.

It is therefore seldom entered by ships of war, and privateers, aware of their absence, come with impunity up the river to within a short distance of the town. Oporto is a bishop's see, the seat of a *corregidor*, a *provedor*, and a military commander. The population in 1802 was estimated at 74,000; but this included its suburbs. There is a theatre here, of comparatively recent erection.

On the opposite bank of the Douro, there are two places, sometimes accounted distinct towns, but which are more properly suburbs of the city. The smaller and more westerly of these, called Gaya, is reputed to occupy the site of the ancient town of *Cale*. The situation now occupied by the town of Oporto being subsequently found more commodious for navigation, from the greater depth of water along its bank, it was built upon, and called *Portus Cale*. In process of time, it became the more considerable of the two, and took the title of *O porto* (the port), while the kingdom took that of *Portus Cale*, or *Portugale*. Such is the received tradition. To the east of Gaya, and, in like manner, on the south bank of the Douro, is another small but populous town, called Villa Nova da Porto, inhabited, notwithstanding its sounding name, only by mechanics and others of the lower orders. Altogether, the population on the south bank is not short of 20,000, which, with the 54,000 assigned to Oporto, makes a total of 74,000.

Between Gaya and Villanova are immense warehouses for storing the wine embarked here. This wine, though deriving its name from Oporto, is produced, not in the adjacent country, but in the extensive province of Tras los Montes, to the north-west, and in some districts of Entre Douro e Minho, to the north. The amount exported varies, in different years,

from 50,000 to 70,000 pipes, of which by far the greatest portion goes to the British dominions. On the part of the Portuguese, a chartered company for the regulation of the wine trade was established in 1756; but the expediency of vesting such an association with privileges has been much questioned. The other exports from Oporto are, oil, sumach, linen, and oranges. The imports are, woollen, cotton, and hardware manufactures, almost all from England; also, fish from the west of England and Newfoundland; from the Baltic, hemp and flax; from the United States, the chief import is rice. Though so much inferior in size to the capital, Oporto is more properly the central point for the exchange of British and Portuguese merchandise, and has long been the seat of a British factory. The commercial houses of the British in Oporto are about thirty in number; but, in addition to the established merchants, there are always a number of English in Oporto on occasional business, or belonging to the shipping. Their exchange, or place of daily rendezvous, is in a part of the high street, covered with canvass as a protection from the sun and rain. They have also a *cassino*, or house fitted up with reading-rooms: the whole is under good regulations. The exchange with London is computed, as at Lisbon, in milrees, of which sixty-five, more or less, according to circumstances, are reckoned to a pound sterling. The weights, measures, and coins are the same as at Lisbon.

"The climate of Oporto is moist in winter, less from the vicinity of the Atlantic, than from its position in the midst of woods and mountains. The cold is, accordingly, keen for the latitude, but it seldom freezes. In summer, on the other hand, the heat would be intense, were it not moderated by winds which blow

regularly, following the course of the sun, from the east in the morning, from the south in the middle of the day, and from the west at night. The soil of the surrounding country is not fertile; but the gardens in the environs of the town are beautiful and pleasant, producing, according to their exposure, or their respective degrees of elevation, the fruits of the northern or southern latitudes. The vicinity of Oporto, which is mountainous, exhibits many traces of metallic ores; and along the south bank of the river there are indications of productive veins of copper.

"We left Oporto," continues Major Dalrymple, "on the 28th of September, and crossing the Douro to Villa Nova, travelled through a country little cultivated for three leagues, when we came to a small village, where we were obliged to put up at a most filthy *estallagem*, on account of the heavy rain that fell. The next day, we pursued our journey through a populous country, passing several villages; saw many vines, much Indian corn, and some fir-trees, and arrived at St. Antonio, a village: two and a half leagues in three hours. Here we met with another abominable *estallagem*." *

"The third day, we travelled in a narrow, enclosed, bad road; passed some vines and waste land, with scattered olive-trees and many droves of cattle, till we reached Piñeyro, whence, by Alvergueria, crossing the Vouga in a boat, we arrived at Sardaon, six leagues in eight hours.

"(October 1st.) Travelled on a tolerably good road; passed a great many olive-trees, some vines, and Indian corn, with a few villages. Observed the country become less populous, not so many houses and

* Dalrymple, p. 123.

towns, and some waste spots of ground. All through this country from Valença, there is a kind of carriage, like the Irish car, drawn by oxen yoked by the neck. The wheels are never greased, on purpose, as they told me, that they should give notice to each other by the screeching noise they make, so that they may avoid coming in contact on the narrow roads which prevail all through the northern parts of the country. Arrived at Mehallada, four leagues in five hours. At this place, we got wheaten straw for our cattle; the grain trod out as in Andalusia. Here I met, for the first time since I left Astorga, a travelling carriage: a horse-litter put up at the same *estallagem*. The roads hitherto have been so rugged, that it is impossible for other vehicles to travel on them. We got very clean beds.

"From Mehallada, we went, for two leagues, through a country but little cultivated, with some vines and olive-trees, but afterwards more improved. Passed several *quintas*, or country-houses, and arrived at Coimbra; three leagues in three hours. The town is pleasantly situated on the side of a hill, near the river Mondego, over which there is a stone bridge. The prospects from the town, both up and down the river, are fine and extensive. The convent of Santa Clara, where the unfortunate Agnes de Castro was murdered and interred, (but she was afterwards removed with great funeral pomp to Alcobaza,) is an extensive building, seated on the opposite side of the river, and presents itself most beautifully to the view. This town has been a strong post in the time of the Moors; there are the ruins of a Moorish castle still extant."

"Coimbra," says Mr. Murphy, "a city long celebrated as the Athens of Portugal, is built partly on the western side of a steep, rocky precipice, and partly

on a plain contiguous to the river Mondego. Notwithstanding the elevation of its site, we did not perceive it till we had almost entered it, when the churches, colleges, and lofty towers broke upon the view at once. If we may judge from the capaciousness of the several apartments occupied by these rarities, the museum of Coimbra is inferior to few in Europe.....The library is also very extensive, and stored with an immense number of printed books and manuscripts.* The principal manufactories of this town consist of pottery, of which there are six for red, and eleven for glazed ware. The experience of ages, with the aid of various experiments made in the chemical laboratory of this university, have contributed to raise this branch to a high degree of perfection. Woollen and linen cloths are also manufactured here; and the kingdom is hence supplied with horn combs and wooden tooth-picks." †

Coimbra is the see of a bishop. It has, exclusive of the cathedral, eight parish-churches, and a like number of convents; one of which, that of Santa Cruz, is the second, in point of wealth, in the kingdom. But by far the most interesting object at Coimbra is the university, founded originally at Lisbon, in 1291, but transferred hither in 1306, and now the only establishment of the kind in Portugal. It consists of eighteen colleges, with very ample funds. There are nearly forty professors; but the average number of students is not above 800. This city was formerly the residence of the kings of Portugal, many of whose tombs it contains. It was fortified at a very early period, and has undergone many sieges. The ancient

* 30,000 volumes, according to Balbi

† Murphy's Travels, pp. 24—26.

walls and towers still remain, and form its only defence.

From Coimbra, Major Dalrymple proceeded (on the 4th) to Pombal, seven leagues in six hours. He passed this day many olive-grounds and vineyards, some maize-fields, forests of firs, oaks, and cypress-trees, and some waste land. At this place, from which the marquis of Pombal takes his title, there is an old castle on a height. A considerable hat-manufactory is carried on here.

On the 5th, our Traveller proceeded to Leiria, travelling, for two leagues, through a flat country, cultivated with Indian corn, and afterwards with vines and olives in great abundance; five leagues in five hours. This city, though a bishop's see, is small, and had a sombre and poor appearance. It is one of the most ancient cities in Portugal, and is situated on the banks of the river Lis, in the midst of a fertile country, finely diversified with hill and dale. The soil, Mr. Murphy says, "is so productive, that with little labour it yields abundance of corn, grapes, and olives; yet, with all these advantages, both the plough and the loom are neglected; no wonder, then, that an air of sadness and desolation is visible in every street. The remains of a palace, formerly the residence of king Deniz, surnamed the Husbandman, still make a conspicuous figure on the brow of a precipice contiguous to the town." This wise and beneficent sovereign encouraged agriculture, planted the forest at Marinha, one of the most extensive in Europe, and founded, in 1291, the university of Coimbra.

"There is a considerable fair held annually in the city of Leiria, on the 25th of March, which is usually crowded with dealers, exposing to sale various articles of English manufacture, particularly woollen cloths of

a second quality, and hardware of every kind. The principal articles furnished by the natives are plate, jewellery, linen cloths, and pottery. Such an occasion affords a stranger the opportunity of observing the condition of the peasantry, who flock annually to the fair. Their appearance, in general, indicates more happiness than is promised by the uncultivated state of the land. The men wear short, brown jackets, and boots of the same colour. Each carries a staff seven feet long, which he wields in combat with great dexterity. The women wear long cloaks of red or pearl-colour, fringed with ribbons; their necks and wrists are ornamented with gold chains. The former sex are remarkably low of stature and feeble; it is quite the reverse with the females, who are strong, well-proportioned, and though but of a moderate size, yet, when ranged with the men, they look *like* Amazons."

About a league from Leiria, "we entered," continues Dalrymple, "upon a heath, and carried it along with us to Marinha; three leagues in five hours. This is a village, where one Stevens, an Englishman, has got a grant from the crown, and established a glass-manufactory, to the prejudice of foreign commerce.

"Pursued our journey through an uncultivated country for two leagues; we then came to extensive olive-groves, some vines, and Indian corn; and soon arrived at Batalha, four leagues in four hours. At this place, there is a very handsome church belonging to the convent of Dominicans, built in the Gothic style, and endowed by Don John I. king of Portugal, who conquered John I. of Castile, in the famous battle of Aljubarrota, in 1385. King John lies interred here, with Doña Philipa, his consort, who was daughter of John of Lancaster, of

England. Several other kings of Portugal are also buried here. The chapter-house is a handsome building, under a roof of sixty feet square. Near the church are some works in the Moorish taste, remarkably rich in ornament, and beautiful, but which were never finished."

Mr. Murphy gives a more minute description of this church and monastery, which is one of the most remarkable in the kingdom, and would have amply repaid, he says, a longer journey. "The architecture is of the style called Norman Gothic, and may be justly considered as one of the most perfect and beautiful specimens of that style existing. In the construction of the church, we observe none of those trifling and superfluous sculptures which but too often are seen to crowd other Gothic edifices. Whatever ornaments are employed in it, are sparingly but judiciously disposed, particularly in the inside, which is remarkable for a chaste and noble plainness; and the general effect, which is grand and sublime, is derived, not from any meretricious embellishments, but from the intrinsic merit of the design. The forms of its mouldings nd ornaments are also different from those of any other Gothic building that I have seen. The difference chiefly consists in their being turned very quick, cut sharp and deep, with some other peculiarities, which cannot be well explained in writing. Throughout the whole are seen a correctness and regularity, evidently the result of a well-conceived original design. It is equally evident, that this design has been immutably adhered to and executed in regular progression, without those alterations and interruptions to which such large buildings are commonly liable.

"The extent of the building, from the western

entrance to the eastern extremity, is 416 feet. From north to south, including the monastery, it measures 541 feet. The entire, except the inferior offices and dormitories, is built of marble, originally not very unlike in colour to that of Carrara; but that colour is now changed internally to a modest grey: externally, the stone has contracted a yellow scoria, highly picturesque to the eye of an artist. In every thing that constitutes the ornamental or the elegant, the principal entrance certainly stands unrivalled by any other Gothic frontispiece in Europe. The portal, which is 28 feet wide by 57 high, is embellished with upwards of 100 figures in alto-relievo, representing Moses and the prophets; saints, angels, apostles, kings, popes, bishops, and martyrs, with their respective insignia. Each figure stands on an ornamented pedestal beneath a canopy of delicate workmanship. They are separated from each other by an assemblage of mouldings terminating in pointed arches. Below the vertex of the inferior arch, is a triangular recess, where there is seated on a throne, beneath a triple canopy, a figure with a celestial crown, his left hand resting upon a globe; the other is extended in the act of admonition. This figure represents the Saviour dictating to the four evangelists, who surround him, attended by their respective attributes. The summit is crowned with an ornamental railing, at the height of about 100 feet from the pavement of the church. The space between that and the portal is occupied by a large window, of singular workmanship: it consists of tablets of marble formed into numerous compartments, whose interstices are filled up with stained glass. In the evening, when the sun is opposite to this window, his beams dart through the perforations, and cover the wall and pillars of the church with myriads of variegated tints.

It is impossible to convey an adequate idea of the beauty of the effect, or the agreeable sensations they excite in the spectator.

" In point of construction, the chapter-house might be considered as a master-piece of architecture. Its plan forms a square, each side of which measures 64 feet, and is covered with a vault of hewn stone. The principal ribs spring from slender shafts, and branch out in different directions as they approach the centre; where all the radiating nerves, in the form of a star, encircle an ornamented patera.*

" At the rear of the church is an unfinished mausoleum of a curious form, wherein the architect has exhibited no superficial knowledge of geometry, or the principles of sound and elegant design. In point of workmanship, neither the pen nor the pencil is adequate to express its real merits; for, though most objects, when transferred to the canvass, appear to advantage, this, on the contrary, though delineated by the most ingenious artists, upon examination will appear more beautiful than any representation of it upon canvass or paper. And for these reasons the marble is polished, the sculpture in many parts detached from the centre of the block, and so minutely carved, that to preserve all the expressive marks and touches of the

* " It is recorded, that in building that magnificent arch, it fell twice in striking the centres, with great injury to the workmen; but the king desiring at all events to have a room without the defect of a central support, promised to reward the architect if he could accomplish it. At this he was animated in such a manner that he began it again, as if confident of success. The king, however, would not commit the lives of his workmen in striking the centres; but ordered from different prisons such delinquents as were sentenced to capital punishment, in order that, if the like disaster happened a third time, none should suffer, but those who had already forfeited their lives to the offended laws of their country."

chisel, it is not possible to condense them into a smaller compass: so that, to convey a true idea of the whole, the picture would require to be as large as the prototype. To give an instance: there is a figure at the entrance, representing one of the fathers of the church, not more than twelve inches in height; yet, the sculptor has expressed its worn tunic in a thread-bare state. We may form some idea of the magnitude of the design from the magnificence of the entrance. It is 32 feet wide at the splay; as it recedes, the breadth contracts, till it forms an aperture of 15 feet wide by 31 feet high. Among the many thousands of ornaments with which this entrance abounds, we behold the following motto often repeated: *Tanyas Erey.* The characters are Gothic, embossed, and encircled by rings knotted together. In the loggia, contiguous to the above door, we observe, over a recess, a shield, bearing the letters *E Y*, between two armillary spheres. The architecture in some parts is Arabian, in others purely Gothic. The inside presents an octagon, the diameter of which, between the parallel sides, is sixty-five feet. This was to have been covered with a vault of hewn stone, as appears by the parts already commenced, at the height of about 71 feet; but, though it has been exposed to the weather since the year 1509, it scarcely exhibits any traces of decay. It was probably left in this unfinished state, owing to the circumstance, that the king withdrew all the artificers employed here, to the convent of Belem near Lisbon, which he founded in testimony of his joy at the discovery of India by Vasco de Gama. The sides of the octagon, except the one at the entrance, are finished with arches, leading to as many chapels, each distinguished by the devices of the princes for whom they were intended. The pious Leonor, sister-in-law

to king Emanuel, and wife of his predecessor John II. who is supposed by some the foundress of this superb mausoleum as a depository for her husband and other royal personages, has, in one of them, destined for herself and the king her consort, introduced her own maternal device, the pelican piercing its breast."*

From Batalha, Major Dalrymple passed through a very thinly peopled country, with some very barren hills to the left, and at the end of three hours arrived at Alcobaza.

"Alfonso Henriquez made a vow, when passing by this place to the siège of Santarem, that, if successful, he would establish a monastery on the spot. Accordingly, having taken the place by escalade, he founded, with the spoils gained in his wars with the Moors, this convent, about the middle of the twelfth century, and richly endowed it. It derives its name from the two rivers Alcoa and Baça. It is a most extensive pile of building, in the Gothic taste, with some modern additions that disfigure it exceedingly. The church is rich in chalices, plate, &c. The convent is inhabited by 130 friars of the order of St. Bernard, who have an amazing income; I was told, 180,000 cruzados a year, about 20,000*l.* sterling.

* "According to the accounts of those who are supposed to have had their information from the records preserved in the royal archives of Lisbon, the name of the architect of the church was Stephen Stephenson, a native of England. The fathers Casegas and De Sousa, who have written the history of Batalha with great accuracy, though silent on this head, inform us that the king, desirous of building a monastery superior to any in Europe, invited from distant countries the most celebrated architects that could be found. Now, as Gothic architecture at that time flourished in England, it is not improbable that some of its artists might embrace the invitation of so liberal a prince, especially as his consort, queen Philippa, was the eldest daughter of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, son of Edward III."—MURPHY, pp. 33-44.

The west front of this monastery, including the church, which is in the centre, extends 620 feet; the depth is about 759. On entering the church at the west front, one is struck with the grandeur of the general effect peculiar to the inside of Gothic churches; but very few possess that property to a higher degree than this. The prospect at the east end is terminated by a magnificent glory placed over the altar, at the distance of 300 feet from the entrance; but the apparent distance is considerably more, on account of the narrowness of the nave, and the regular succession of pillars. This convent contains one of the finest collections of pictures in the kingdom. In the rear of the church is a large garden, planted with trees and shrubs, and distributed into pleasant walks.

The only two towns of any interest or importance which remain to be noticed, are those of Beja and Evora, both in the province of Alemtejo.* Mr. Murphy gives the following description of them.

"The city of Beja is situated upon an eminence, about three and twenty leagues south-east of Lisbon. Julius Cæsar honoured it with the title of Pax Julia, and made it a Roman colony. The Moors had possession of it from the year 715 till 1162. Some remains of the walls, towers, and fortifications of the latter, are still extant; but none of the monuments of the former. The chief part of the present town was built by Alfonso III. It contains one of the best constructed castles in the kingdom, founded by king Diniz. Two leagues from hence is the Guadiana.

"The ancient city of Beja was built a short distance to the east of the present. In digging there,

* The name of this province signifies, beyond the Tagus. It is the largest in Portugal, being above one hundred miles each way; but great part of it is forest or waste land.

several antique fragments were discovered. It must be regretted that these researches are not prosecuted: the process would not be attended with much difficulty or expense, as the pavement of the old city is not more than 26 feet beneath the surface of the earth. In a cave, not exceeding 30 feet square by 20 deep, several fragments have been found, which are deposited among other ancient remains in the bishop of Beja's museum."

About twelve leagues from Beja, is the city of Evora (or Ebora), situated upon an eminence surrounded by a fine level country, which produces corn, wine, and oil. The Spanish antiquaries say, that Evora was first built by the Celts, about 759 years before the birth of Christ. Pliny and others affirm, that it was inhabited by the Gauls and Phenicians. Quintus Sertorius, the celebrated Roman captain, made himself master of it about eighty years B.C., and secured it with walls, fortifications, and subterraneous ways. He also ornamented it with several public buildings, some of which exist to this day. Julius Cæsar made it a municipal town, and gave it the name of Liberalitas Juliæ. The Moors took possession of it in the year 715. It is not so large as Oporto, though considered as the second city in the kingdom. The number of its inhabitants is computed at 20,000,* among whom are many families of distinction. It contains a college and a tribunal of inquisition.

"Among the public buildings raised here by Sertorius, there exists a noble aqueduct in good preservation. The piers are nine feet broad, by four and a half thick. The arched space between is thirteen feet six inches. At intervals, buttresses are super-

* In 1802, the population was estimated at only 12,000.

added to the piers, the better to secure the arcuation. The whole is formed of irregular stone, except the arches, which are of brick.* A *castellum* is erected over this aqueduct, at its termination in the city. In its centre is a small reservoir, whence tubes are conveyed to the different fountains and cisterns.

"Another structure here, built by Sertorius, is said to be the remains of a temple dedicated to Diana. The elegance displayed in the remains of this temple, has led many to conjecture that the architect was a Greek, from a supposition that Rome, at the time of Sertorius, had not artisans competent to design or execute so polished a fabric. It is now converted into a meat shambles!"

In the Franciscan convent at Evora, there is a remarkable charnel-house, 60 feet long by 36, the piers of which, four on each side, are lined with human skulls and bones, set in a hard cement. Over the archway which leads to it, is inscribed:

"Nos os ossos que aqui estamos,
Pellas vossos esperamos."

"We, the bones that are here, wait for yours also."† The obscurity of the place, and the prostrate posture

* "From the labour and expense required in building aqueducts of this kind, many have been led to conclude that the ancients were unacquainted with the art of conveying water through unequal grounds by any other means. Vitruvius, however, book viii. ch. 7, gives excellent rules for conveying water in tubes. Pliny also, book xxxi. ch. 6, expressly mentions that the ancients frequently conveyed water in this manner."—MURPHY, p. 304. Any one inspecting, amid the ruins of Pompeii, the remains of the fountains discovered there, will be convinced of the justness of the preceding observations.

† A similar Golgotha, but of a still more singular kind, is attached to the Franciscan monastery at Palermo. In some well-lighted, subterraneous galleries, are preserved a horrible collection of human bodies, some standing, others seated, all of them clothed,

of the devotees who visit it, render the whole a scene truly ghastly and awful.

And this is Portugal, the last and lowest of the European kingdoms, yet, once the mistress of both Indies,—the mother country of Brasil! And the peasantry, as well as the soil, are worthy of a better government. In the Peninsular war, they proved themselves capable of becoming as good soldiers, at least, as their haughty neighbours; and if more degraded, they are not, perhaps, so much depraved. Hitherto, civilisation has scarcely made any advance in this most primeval country. All has been stationary, under the repressing influence of a Gothic priesthood, "who love darkness better than light, because their deeds are evil." But the dawn of brighter days has arisen on this back-country of Europe; and though it has been ushered in with gloom and tempest, the horrors and tumult of war, yet, the light which has broken in upon the people will, it may be hoped, eventually compensate for even the French invasion and the revolt of Brasil.

and bearing in their shrivelled hands, each his name, age, and the date of his demise. The bodies of females are preserved in like manner in a building attached to the *Campo Santo* of the same capital.

END OF PORTUGAL.

AFRICA
ASIA
EUROPE
NORTH AMERICA
SOUTH AMERICA
Cape Horn
Cape of Good Hope
Cape Verd
Cape Guardafui
Cape Comorin
Cape Lopatka
Behring's Straits
Cape Farewell
Cape Prince of Wales
Cape Barrow
Cape Bathurst
Cape Turnagain
Cape Flattery
Cape Mendocino
Cape Corrientes
Cape Gracias a Dios
Cape Florida
Cape Hatteras
Cape Cod
Cape Race
Cape Clear
Cape Finisterre
Cape St. Vincent
Cape Spartel
Cape Bon
Cape Matapan
Cape Colonna
Cape Malea
Cape Passaro
Cape Blanco
Cape Bojador
Cape Nun
Cape Blanco
Cape Palmas
Cape Three Points
Cape Formosa
Cape Negro
Cape Lopez
Cape Frio
Cape Corrientes
Cape Blanco
Cape St. Roque
Cape St. Augustine

THE

MODERN TRAVELLER.

A

DESCRIPTION,

GEOGRAPHICAL, HISTORICAL, AND TOPOGRAPHICAL,

OF THE

VARIOUS COUNTRIES OF THE GLOBE.

IN THIRTY VOLUMES.

By JOSIAH CONDER.

VOLUME THE TWENTIETH.

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THE

MODERN TRAVELLER,

&c. &c.

AFRICA.

[The third or southern division of the Old Continent: extending from lat. 37° N. to 35° S., and from long. 18° W. to 51° E.: bounded, N., by the Mediterranean; E. by the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean; S. and W. by the Atlantic.]

AFRICA, that vast peninsula, the coasts of which have been circumnavigated by the ships of Europe for more than three centuries, still presents to the eye of science, as regards its interior recesses, a blank in geography,—a physical, and not less a moral problem,—a dark and bewildering mystery. The spirit of enterprise has opened the way for civilization through the primeval forests of the American continent, has traversed the boundless steppes of the South, and planted cities in the heart of the Andes. But the rivers of Africa have hitherto afforded no inlet to its central regions; and the fiery deserts which extend from Egypt to the Atlantic, have proved a barrier against the march of conquest or of civilization, more impassable than the frozen wilds of Siberia or the Himalaya itself.

The inhospitable coasts, the arid surface, and deadly climate of the greater part of the African countries, account in some degree, though not alto-

gether, for their having been the last portion of the world to receive the arts and laws of civilized Europe. Extending 5000 miles in length, and about 4600 at its greatest breadth, it presents an area of nearly 13,430,000 square miles, unbroken by any estuary or inland sea, and intersected by few long or easily navigated rivers.* All its known chains of mountains are of moderate height, rising in terraces, down which the waters find their way in cataracts, not through deep ravines and fertile valleys. Owing to this configuration, its high table-lands are without streams; while, in the lower countries, the rivers, when swelled by the rains, spread into floods and periodical lakes, or lose themselves in marshes. Malte Brun describes Africa, agreeably to this view of the probable structure of the unknown interior, as one immense flat mountain, rising on all sides from the sea by terraces; an opinion favoured by the absence of those narrow, pointed promontories in which other continents terminate, and of those long chains of islands, which are, in fact, submarine prolongations of mountain chains extending across the main land. In Africa, nothing similar appears. With the exception of the Canary Islands near the north-western extremity, a sea clear of islands washes a coast marked by an even, unnotched line. The great island of Madagascar, on the east, is not a prolongation of the continent, but follows a direction parallel to that of the coast. It is not impossible, however, remarks M. Malte Brun, that, in the centre of Africa, there may be lofty table-lands like that of Quito, or valleys like that of Cashmeer, where, as in those two happy regions, spring holds a perpetual reign.

* Malte Brun, vol. iv. p. 2.

In regard to its population, as well as its geographical character, Africa naturally divides itself into two great portions, north and south of the mountains of Kong and the *Jebel al Komr*, which give rise to the waters of the Senegal, the Niger, and the Nile. To the north of this line, Africa is ruled, and partially occupied, by foreign races, who have taken possession of all the fertile districts, and driven the aboriginal population into the mountains and deserts of the Interior. Here, the Mohammedan creed maintains its ascendancy. South of this line, we find Africa entirely peopled with the negro race, who alone seem capable of sustaining the fiery climate, by means of a redundant physical energy scarcely compatible with the full development of the intellectual powers of man. This is Central Africa,—a region, as has been eloquently remarked, "distinguished from all others by its productions and climate; by the simplicity, and yet barbarian magnificence of its states; by the mildness and yet the diabolical ferocity of its inhabitants; and peculiarly by the darker nature of its superstitions,—the magical rites which have struck with awe strangers in all ages, and which present something inexplicable and even appalling to enlightened Europeans. The Evil Principle here seems to reign with less of limitation, and, in recesses inaccessible to white men, still to enchant and delude the nations. The common and characteristic mark of their superstition is, the system of *Fetiches*, by which an individual appropriates to himself some casual object as divine, and which, with respect to him, by this process becomes deified, and exerts a peculiar fatality over his fortune.....The barbarism of Africa may be attributed (in part) to its great fertility, which enables its inhabitants to live without care, but chiefly to its

imperviousness. Every petty state is so surrounded with natural barriers, that it is isolated from the rest; and though it may be overrun and wasted, and part of its inhabitants carried into captivity, it has never been made to form a constituent part of one large consolidated empire; and thus, smaller states become dependent without being incorporated. The whole region is still more inaccessible on a grand scale, than the petty states are in miniature; and while the rest of the earth has become trite from the frequency of visiters, it still retains part of the mystery which hung over the primitive and untrodden world." *

Proceeding southward, the negro features and complexion gradually give way to the characteristics of the Caffre race, who occupy all the eastern coast, and who, together with the Betjouana and Hottentot tribes, form the population of Southern Africa.

It is to the first of these regions that the name of Africa properly belongs; that appellation having originally been employed by the ancients to designate the fertile territory comprised in the modern kingdoms of Tunis and Tripoli, which, down to the twelfth century, retained the name of Africa Proper.† Like the name

* Douglas's Hints on Missions, pp. 43, 44; 52, 53.

† Mr. Murray remarks, that the coast of Libya "was called Africa, or *Southland*, expressive of its relative position to Greece." (vol. i. p. 5.) He gives no authority for this doubtful etymology. D'Anville remarks, that the part of Africa distinguished by that name, was that which lay nearest to Italy and Sicily. The "*creber procellis Africus*" of Virgil was a south-wester. With regard to the etymology of the name, Bochart derives it from a Punic word signifying ears of corn; and it is certain, that the character of high fertility attached to the *Africa Propria* of the ancients. Accordingly, this "arid nursery of lions" (*leonum arida nutrix*) was represented under the emblem of a woman crowned with ears of corn, or holding them in her hand. Calmet fancifully deduced

Asia,—originally applied to the peninsula of which Caria formed the western extremity,—the appellation was gradually extended to the whole continent. In this sense, it is used by Herodotus, who remarks, that Egypt did not belong to either Asia or Africa: the Nile being generally viewed, even in the time of Strabo, as the boundary of the two continents. The term Libya was sometimes used in the same extensive acceptation, but it more commonly denoted exclusively the maritime district between the Greater Syrtis and Egypt.*

The natives of Africa are divided by Herodotus into two races, the Africans and the Ethiopians one possessing the northern, the other, the southern part. "By these nations," remarks Major Rennell, "are evidently intended the Moors and the Negroes, which two classes are as distinct at the present day as in ancient times, and apparently have not greatly varied their ancient limits; although the Negroes may, in many instances, have received new masters from among the Moors. The common boundary of the Africans and Ethiopians in ancient times, may be placed at the southern border of the Great Desert. Hanno found the Ethiopians in possession of the western coast about the parallel of 19°. At present, the Negroes are not found higher up than the Senegal river, or about 17°, and that only in the inland parts."† Nothing can be more indeterminate, how-

the name from the Hebrew *ophar*, dust; while his Editor prefers to derive it from *phreka*, to break off; conjectures equally destitute of plausibility.

* Herodotus states, that Libya begins where Egypt ends. See Rennell, pp. 410, 11. Murray, vol. i. p. 5. Shaw, vol. i. pp. 115, 150. The word is supposed to be derived from the Hebrew לוּחַ *æstus*, because the inhabitants (the *Lubim* of the Old Testament) were placed under a burning sky. See Schleusner and Calmet.

† Rennell, pp. 427, 8. When the Portuguese first explored the western coast in 1446, the tribes or nations of the *Assanhagi* (Zen-

ever, than the terms Ethiopia and Ethiopian; and it is certain, that many distinct races were included under the latter denomination. The Ethiopia of ancient geography bordered northward upon Egypt, comprising the modern divisions of Nubia, Sennaar, and Abyssinia; while the true Nigritia, or Black country, lies far southward and westward. Under the term African also, several tribes must have been comprehended, differing both in language and in physical character.*

The whole of Africa, except where it is joined to Asia, was known to be surrounded with the sea; but of its general figure and its extension towards the south, the ancients had no accurate knowledge. There is strong reason, however, to believe, that, at an era anterior to the earliest records of history, the circumnavigation of Africa was accomplished by the Phenicians in the service of Pharaoh Necho. Herodotus, to whom we are indebted for the knowledge of this interesting fact, speaking of the peninsular figure of

hagi) and the Jalofs were separated by the Senegal or river of Sanhaga; the former being to the north, the latter to the south. The *Assanhugi*, the *Sanhagæ* of Edrisi and Abulfeda, would seem to be the *Melano-Gætuli* (Black Getulians) of Ptolemy; of whom the *Daræ*, who have left their name to Darah, (separated from Morocco by a part of Mount Atlas,) were probably a branch. They appear to have extended from Mauritania to the Senegal, called by Ptolemy, *Daradus*. D'Anville supposes them to have been a Mauritanian race. "Concerning the situation of the *Hesperii Æthiopes*, or Western Ethiopians," he says, "it may be remarked, that the *Maures* being in possession of all that the Desert comprehends, and as far as the Senegal, it is from this river the population of the negro races may be said to commence."—D'Anville, vol. ii. pp. 220—8.

* Ptolemy and Pliny even distinguish a race by the name of White Ethiopians. The Macrobian Ethiops of Herodotus, are supposed by Major Rennell to have been Abyssinians. See, on this subject, MOD. TRAV., Egypt, vol. ii. pp. 350, 1.

Africa, says: "The first person who has proved this, was, as far as we are able to judge, Necho, king of Egypt. When he desisted from his attempt to join by a canal the with the Arabian Gulf, he despatched some vessels under the conduct of Phenicians, with directions to pass by the Columns of Hercules, and after penetrating the northern ocean, to return to Egypt. These Phenicians, taking their course from the Red Sea, entered into the Southern Ocean. On the approach of autumn, they landed in Libya, and planted some corn in the place where they happened to find themselves: when this was ripe, and they had cut it down, they again departed. Having thus consumed two years, they, in the third, passed the Columns of Hercules, and returned to Egypt. Their relation may obtain attention from others, but to me it seems incredible, for they affirmed, that, having sailed round Africa, they had the sun on their right hand. Thus was Africa for the first time known." *

In that rude stage of the art of navigation, however, the knowledge of a passage by the Southern Ocean, was as unavailable for any mercantile or prac-

* Rennell, p. 682. The report which Herodotus thought so strange as to throw discredit on the whole relation, namely, that, in passing round Africa, the navigators had the sun to the right, affords to us, it has been well remarked, the strongest presumption in favour of its truth; while it illustrates the accuracy and caution of the Father of History. Gosselin and Vincent have laboured to prove, that the voyage was altogether beyond any means which navigation at that era could command; but the learned arguments of Rennell throw upon the tradition a strong aspect of probability. In fact, the obscure knowledge of the peninsular figure of Africa, appears to have been derived entirely from the Phenicians. See Rennell, pp. 672—718. Murray, vol. i. pp. 10—11. The date of this first circumnavigation of Africa is supposed to be about 600 B.C.

tical purposes, as the discovery of a north-west passage to us. The precarious and tardy nature of the voyage, as well as the great expense attending it, would necessarily preclude its being made the channel of a regular commerce; nor was there any sufficient inducement for repeating the attempt, as the articles of merchandize most in request were to be had much nearer home. Exaggerated representations, moreover, of the frightful coast and of the stormy and boundless ocean into which it projected, would naturally concur in intimidating future adventurers. Accordingly, we are informed by the same historian, that Sataspes, a Persian nobleman who was condemned by Xerxes to be crucified, had his sentence commuted for the task of sailing round the African continent. He made the attempt from the west, passing the Columns of Hercules, and sailing southward along the western coast for several months; till, baffled probably by the adverse winds and currents, or finding himself carried out into an immense and apparently boundless sea, he in despair abandoned the enterprise as impracticable, and returned by way of the Straits to Egypt; upon which, the disappointed monarch ordered the original sentence to be executed upon him.*

These attempts to circumnavigate Africa, were made under the direction of the most powerful monarchs of the age: the next was undertaken by a private adventurer. Eudoxus, a native of Cyzicus, having, by his nautical skill and geographical science, recommended himself to the notice of the sovereign of

* Rennell, p. 716. "This reminds us," remarks the learned Geographer, "of the fate of Sir Walter Raleigh." It is said, however, that Sataspes avoided his fate, by making his escape from the court of Xerxes to Samos.—Murray, vol. i. p. 12.

Egypt, Euergetes, was entrusted with the command of an expedition by sea to India. He conducted it with success; returned laden with wealth; and was again sent out by the Egyptian monarch. In this second voyage, he was driven by adverse winds on the eastern coast of Africa, where, landing at several points, he carried on some trade with the natives. This circumstance, together with the sight of the prow of a wrecked vessel, said to have come from the westward, appears to have inspired him with an irresistible desire to perform the circuit of the continent. Conceiving himself slighted by Cleopatra, who had now succeeded to the throne of Egypt, Eudoxus repaired to the great commercial city of Cadiz, where the prospect of a new and unobstructed route to India could not fail to excite the liveliest interest. On his way from Alexandria, he touched at Marseilles and other ports of the Mediterranean, where he announced his intended enterprise, and invited the assistance of all who were disposed to join him. He was at length enabled to equip one large and two small vessels, well stored with provisions and merchandize, manned chiefly by volunteers, and carrying, moreover, a pompous train of artisans, physicians, and musical performers. The crew soon became unmanageable, and, wearied of navigating the open sea, insisted that Eudoxus should draw near the coast. The consequence was, that the ship struck upon a sand-bank, and could not be got off. The cargo, however, and part of the timber being washed on shore, Eudoxus was enabled to construct and fit out a new vessel on a smaller scale, with which he resumed his voyage. He soon after came to a part inhabited by nations speaking, as he imagined, the same language as those on the eastern coast. The smallness of his vessel

rendered it impracticable to proceed further, and he returned to Iberia, where his partial success gained him the means of fitting out a second expedition on a scale as large as the first. He now set sail with two vessels, one adapted for the open sea, the other for coasting. 'They were provided also with seed-corn and utensils of agriculture, with the view of raising a harvest on the voyage, in the manner reported to have been done by the Phenicians. At this point, unfortunately, the narrative of Strabo stops short, leaving us totally in the dark as to the result. Pomponius Mela tells us, on the alleged authority of Cornelius Nepos, that Eudoxus actually made the circuit of Africa, adding some particulars of the most fabulous description respecting the nations whom he saw. But no dependence can be placed on this doubtful authority; whereas the narrative of Strabo bears every mark of authenticity.*

These are the only instances on record, in which the circumnavigation of Africa was either performed or attempted by the ancients. Other voyages were, however, undertaken with a view to the exploration of certain parts of its unknown coasts. The most memorable is that performed along the western coast by Hanno, about 570 years before the Christian era. The Carthaginians fitted out this expedition with a view partly to colonization and partly to discovery. The armament consisted of sixty ships, of fifty oars each, on board of which were embarked persons of both sexes to the number of 30,000. After two days' sail from the Pillars of Hercules, they founded in the midst of an extensive plain, the city of Thymioterium. In two days more, they came to a wooded promontory,

* Murray, vol. i., pp. 13—17.

land, after sailing round a bay, founded successively four other cities. They then passed the mouth of a great river, called the Lixus, flowing from lofty mountains inhabited by inhospitable Ethiopians, who lived in caves. Thence they proceeded for three days along a desert coast to a small island, to which they gave the name of Kerne, and where they founded another colony; and afterwards sailed southward along the coast, till their further progress was arrested by the failure of provisions. With regard to the extent of coast actually explored by this expedition, the brief and indistinct narrative affords ample room for learned speculation and controversy. According to Major Rennell, the island of Kerne is the modern Arguin, the Lixus is the Senegal, and the voyage extended a little beyond Sierra Leone. M. Gosselin, on the other hand, contends, that the whole course was along the coast of Morocco; that the Lixus was the modern Lucos, Kerne was Fedala, and the voyage extended little beyond Cape Non. Some of the details, Mr. Murray remarks, particularly those relating to the Lixus, appear strongly to support M. Gosselin's hypothesis. But the whole narrative is surely irreconcileable with such an opinion. At a much later period, this part of the coast excited the curiosity of the Roman conquerors. Polybius, the celebrated historian, was sent out by Scipio on an exploratory voyage in the same direction; but, from the meagre account preserved by Pliny, M. Gosselin infers, that the Roman navigator did not sail quite so far as the Carthaginian had done.*

From this period, the spirit of discovery and maritime enterprise declined, till it seemed to become

* Murray, vol. i. pp. 17—21. Rennell, § 26. D'Anville, vol. ii. pp. 222—228.

altogether extinct in the darkness and lethargy of the middle ages. Even the invaluable discovery of the mariner's compass at the commencement of the thirteenth century, which "opened to man the dominion of the sea, and put him in full possession of the earth,"—had little immediate effect in emboldening navigators to venture into unfrequented seas. "The first appearance of a bolder spirit," Dr. Robertson remarks, "may be dated from the voyages of the Spaniards to the Canary or Fortunate Islands. By what accident they were led to the discovery of those small isles, which lie nearly 500 miles from the Spanish coast, and above 150 miles from the coast of Africa, contemporary writers have not explained. But, about the middle of the fourteenth century, the people of all the different kingdoms into which Spain was then divided, were accustomed to make piratical excursions thither, in order to plunder the inhabitants, or to carry them off as slaves."* It does not appear, however, that this event had any important influence on the progress of discovery; and it was not till the following century, that the dormant spirit of enterprise burst forth afresh with the energy of an insatiable passion. "The glory of leading the way in this new career, was reserved for Portugal, one of the smallest and least powerful of the European kingdoms. Various circumstances prompted the Portuguese to exert their activity in this new direction, and enabled them to accomplish undertakings apparently superior to the natural force of their monarchy. The kings of Portugal, having driven the Moors out of their domi-

* Clement VI., by virtue of the right claimed by the holy see to dispose of all countries possessed by infidels, erected those isles into a kingdom in the year 1344, and it was long held as a fief of the crown of Castile.—Robertson's America, ch. i.

nions, had acquired power as well as glory by the success of their arms against the infidels. By their victories over them, they had extended the royal authority beyond the narrow limits within which it was originally circumscribed. They had the command of the national force, could rouse it to act with united vigour; and, after the expulsion of the Moors, could employ it without dread of interruption by any domestic enemy. By the perpetual hostilities carried on for several centuries against the Mohammedans, the martial and adventurous spirit which distinguished all the European nations during the middle ages, was improved and heightened among the Portuguese. A fierce civil war towards the close of the fourteenth century, occasioned by a disputed succession, augmented the military ardour of the nation, and formed or called forth men of such active and daring genius as are fit for bold undertakings. The situation of the kingdom, bounded on every side by the dominions of a more powerful neighbour, did not afford free scope to the activity of the Portuguese by land, as the strength of their monarchy was no match for that of Castile. But Portugal was a maritime state, in which there were many commodious harbours; the people had begun to make some progress in the knowledge and practice of navigation; and the sea was open to them, presenting the only field of enterprise in which they could distinguish themselves." *

When, in 1412, John I. sent forth a few vessels to explore the western shore of Africa, while he prepared a great armament to attack the Moors of Barbary, the art of navigation was still very imperfect; nor had the Portuguese ever ventured to sail beyond Cape Non.

* Robertson.

The vessels sent on his voyage of discovery were the first in modern times to double that formidable cape, till then the *ne plus ultra* of geographical knowledge; and they proceeded 160 miles beyond it, to Cape Bojador. Its rocky cliffs, stretching out into the Atlantic, appeared still more formidable than the promontory they had passed; and the Portuguese commander, not daring to sail round it, returned to Lisbon, "more satisfied," says Robertson, "with having advanced so far, than ashamed of having ventured no further." Inconsiderable as this voyage was, it served to stimulate the nascent passion for discovery; and this was still further increased by the fortunate issue of the king's expedition against the Moors. But what most powerfully contributed to give impulse and direction to the national ardour, was the enlightened enthusiasm with which Prince Henry of Portugal * espoused the interests of science and the prosecution of nautical discovery. In order to pursue his splendid projects without interruption, he fixed his residence at Sagres, near Cape St. Vincent, where the prospect of the open Atlantic continually invited his thoughts to their favourite theme. His first effort was upon a small scale. He fitted out a single ship, the command of which was entrusted to two gentlemen of his household, who volunteered their services, with instructions to use their utmost efforts to double Cape Bojador, and thence to steer southward. According to the mode of navigation which still prevailed, they held their course along the shore; and by following that direction, they must have encountered almost

* He was the fourth son of Joam I., by Philippa of Lancaster, sister of our Henry IV.; and his splendid abilities are said to have been united to a rare combination of patriotism, private virtue, chivalrous valour, and enlarged philanthropy.

insuperable difficulties in the attempt to pass the Cape. Their want of skill was, however, compensated by a fortunate accident. A sudden squall of wind drove them out to sea, and, when they expected every moment to perish, landed them on an unknown island, which, from their happy escape, they named Porto Santo. They returned to Portugal with the good tidings, and were received with the applause due to fortunate adventurers. The next year, Prince Henry sent out three ships to take possession of the new island. A fixed spot on the horizon towards the south, resembling a small black cloud, soon attracted the attention of the settlers; and the conjecture suggested itself, that it might be land. Steering towards it, they arrived at a considerable island, uninhabited and covered with wood, which, on that account, they called Madeira. Prince Henry immediately improved the discovery by colonizing the island. Having procured slips of the vine from Cyprus, and plants of the sugar-cane from Sicily, he introduced the cultivation of these productions into the new country; and the sugar and wine of Madeira soon became articles of some importance in the commerce of Portugal. Nor was this the only result of the discovery. By their voyages to Madeira, the Portuguese became accustomed to a bolder navigation; and at length, in 1433, one of Prince Henry's captains, by venturing out into the open sea, succeeded in doubling Cape Bojador, which had till then been regarded as impassable. "This successful voyage, which the ignorance of the age placed on a level with the most famous exploits recorded in history, opened a new sphere to navigation, as it discovered the vast continent of Africa still washed by the Atlantic ocean, and stretching towards the south. Part of this was soon explored; the Portu-

guese advanced within the tropics, and, in the space of a few years, they discovered the river Senegal, and all the coast extending from Cape Blanco to Cape de Verd." Their brilliant success excited the spirit of emulation. Many Venetians and Genoese entered into the Portuguese service, to acquire a more extensive knowledge of their profession in this new school of navigation. Private merchants formed companies with a view to search for unknown countries. The Cape de Verd islands and the Azores were successively discovered about the year 1449. Yet, notwithstanding all their improvements and successes, the Portuguese had not advanced, at the death of Prince Henry in 1463, within five degrees of the equinoctial line; and after the continued exertions of half a century, scarcely 1500 miles of the African coast had been explored. It was not till 1471, that their navigators ventured to cross the line; when, to their astonishment, they found that region of the torrid zone which had been supposed to be scorched with intolerable heat, to be not only habitable, but populous and fertile.

So long as the naval career of the Portuguese extended along the shores of the Sahara, and they saw nothing before them but "a wild expanse of lifeless sand and sky," no temptation presented itself to form a permanent settlement.* But, after passing Cape Blanco, the coast began to improve in appearance; and when they came to the fertile shores of the Senegal and the Gambia, and saw the ivory and gold brought down from the interior, those regions began to excite the lust of conquest. An undertaking of this description was, however, beyond the force of any

* Yet, to this part of the coast, M. Gosselin supposes the Carthaginian colonies to have been confined,

expedition that had yet sailed from Portugal. Nunez Tristao, in attempting to ascend a small river near the Rio Grande, was attacked by the negroes, and fell with a number of his men in the affray. An insular position appeared therefore the most eligible for a first settlement; and with this view, Arguin was fixed upon.

Soon after this establishment had been formed, an important event took place, which afforded a favourable opportunity and pretext for laying the foundations of the Portuguese empire in Africa. Bemoy, a prince of the Jaloofs, arrived at Arguin as a suppliant for foreign aid in recovering his dominions from a more powerful competitor or usurper. He was received with open arms, and being sent forward by the governor to Lisbon, was treated at that court with royal honours. The Portuguese chronicles are lavish in describing the astonishment of the barbarian prince at the exhibition of European magnificence. He, in his turn, gave a splendid description of the cities and internal traffic of Western Africa. What more particularly inflamed the pious zeal of the Christian monarch, was the information, that, far to the east of Tombuctoo, there was a territory inhabited by a people who were neither Moors nor Pagans, but who, in many of their customs, resembled the Christians. It was immediately inferred, that this could be no other than the kingdom of the mysterious personage known in Europe under the uncouth appellation of Prester John, who, on the vague reports of the early travellers, was believed to reign over some remote part of the East, and whose name had hitherto formed a Will of the Wisp to the Portuguese in their career of discovery. It was now explained to Bemoy, that, if he expected any aid from the pious monarch, he must previously submit to the rite of baptism; to which, after a few

decent preliminary instructions, he was admitted on the 3d of November, 1489. "On the same day, says the historian (De Barros), that he received this eternal honour, he was admitted also to the temporal honour of arms of nobility, which consisted of a cross of gold in a vermillion field, with the quarters of Portugal on the border. He then did homage to the King, as his liege lord, for all the lands which he should gain by his aid; and also to the Pope, in the person of his commissary, according to the form usually adopted by Catholic princes.....Meantime, the Portuguese court were busily employed in equipping a fleet which, under the shew of establishing Bemoy in his native dominions, might establish their own power on the fertile banks of the Senegal. The armament consisted of twenty caravels well armed and equipped, and having on board a large proportion of land troops with materials for building a fortress. The command was given to Pero Vaz d'Acunha, while Alvaro, a brother of the order of Dominicans, was sent with a body of monks for the purpose of converting the natives to the Christian faith. With this armament, Pero Vaz entered the Senegal, and began the erection of the intended fort. But some misunderstanding arose between him and the African prince.....and the Portuguese commander stabbed Bemoy to the heart on board his own vessel."*

This disastrous circumstance, together with a pestilential disorder which made its appearance among the troops, led to the abandonment of the design of building the fort; but the armament was ordered to remain in the river, while embassies were sent to the most powerful of the neighbouring states. Among

* Murray, vol. i. pp. 51—56.

these are mentioned the kings of Tongubutu (Tombuctoo) and Tygorol, a Mandingo chief named Mandiansa, and a king of the Foulhas, with all of whom an amicable intercourse was established. In the account given by the Portuguese writers of the successes of their countrymen, some empty boasting may be suspected to have mingled; but, remarks Mr. Murray, "the great Portuguese population which the English and French found established along the banks of the Senegal and the Gambia, clearly attests the substantial truth of their narration. The French, in penetrating into Bambouk, found a mixture of Portuguese words in the language of that country, which confirmed the statement of the natives, that it had once been invaded and conquered by Portugal."

Meanwhile, the progress of discovery was proceeding rapidly in another direction. The fort of Mina upon the Gold Coast had been established as the centre of the Portuguese power, and as the point whence all further advances were to be made. Availing himself of the papal grant made to the crown of Portugal, on the application of Prince Henry, of all the lands which should be discovered by the Portuguese from Cape Bojador to the Indies inclusive,*—the reigning monarch (John II.) no longer hesitated to add to his other titles that of Lord of Guinea; and directions were given to the naval commanders, in the event of discovering any new line of coast, to raise a pillar of stone bearing the royal arms in an escutcheon, and surmounted with the cross. The first who set out

* "Extravagant as this donation, comprehending such a large portion of the habitable globe, would now appear even in Catholic countries, no person," remarks Robertson, "in the fifteenth century, doubted that the Pope in the plenitude of his apostolic power had a right to confer it."

from Fort Mina, to plant these ensigns of dominion in yet undiscovered regions, was Diego Cam. He advanced to the mouth of the Zaire or Congo, which he ascended, and having opened a communication by signs with the natives, he adopted a bold expedient for turning his discovery to advantage. Understanding that the king of the country resided at the distance of several days' journey inland, he determined to send a certain number of his men with presents for the prince. At the same time, he encouraged the visits of the natives on board his vessel; and at a moment when several of the principal men were on board, he suddenly weighed anchor and sailed for Portugal. He intimated, by signs, to their countrymen on shore, that he would return in the space of fifteen moons, and that, in the interval, he left as hostages, those of his own people who had gone on the embassy and not returned. With these living trophies of his discovery, Diego presented himself to the Portuguese monarch; and the pains bestowed upon the Africans during the voyage, enabled them to gratify still further the royal curiosity. As the appointed period for his return approached, Diego again set sail for the Congo, where he arrived in safety; and great was his joy to find that his countrymen whom he had left behind, had been treated in the most hospitable manner during his absence. He now sailed forward 200 leagues along the coast of Congo, and on his return, paid a visit in person to the sable monarch of the country, who loaded him with honours, and ultimately professed himself a convert to the Christian faith. Diego returned bearing presents of ivory for his sovereign, and accompanied by two young Africans of distinction, who were sent to be instructed and baptised. After they had spent two years in Europe, they were sent back in the year 1490,

under charge of an ambassador and a body of missionaries. On the 29th of April, they reached the capital of Congo; and four days after, the first stone was laid, under sanction of the king, of a Christian church. On the same day, the royal convert was baptised, with all his nobles and a hundred thousand of his subjects.

Nothing could be more auspicious than this first establishment of the Roman Catholic faith in Congo. But when, after these ceremonial preliminaries, the missionaries proceeded to enforce upon their sable disciples the necessity of some moral restrictions in the matter of polygamy, the monarch, in disgust, renounced a creed so intolerable, and returned with all his nobles to paganism. Amid the general relapse, his eldest son alone remained firm; and the worthy fathers managed so well, with the aid of the Apostle St. James and a numerous cavalry of angels, that the old king soon died, and the Christian prince was, by a miraculous victory over hosts of his heathen countrymen, left undisputed master of the throne. Thus much is certain, that the districts to the south of the Congo continued during more than two centuries to profess a nominal Christianity; and that by the successive bodies of missionaries subsequently sent out on the spiritual errand by the Court of Rome, a political authority was sometimes exercised, almost paramount to that of the sovereigns.*

Having thus acquired a footing in Congo, the Portuguese formed a series of establishments along the coast, and even up some of the rivers, whence the missionaries penetrated into Congo, and even into re-

* Murray, vol. i. pp. 62—75.—A spirited analysis of the narratives published by several of these Missionaries, is given by the learned Editor. Those of Fathers Carli and Merolla are reprinted in vol. xvi. of Pinkerton's Collection of Travels.

gions still further inland, explored by no other European. An expedition under Fernando de Po had, in the mean time, explored the coast of Benin; and the name of its commander was given to the large island at the mouth of the Rio Formosa. Here also the work of conversion went forward; and a factory and church were established. While these discoveries and successes were followed up with so much spirit, as the means of extending the Portuguese power and commerce in Africa, the great design of prosecuting the circumnavigation of the continent was not lost sight of by the sagacious monarch. His fleets had now advanced 1500 miles beyond the line, where, for the first time, the Portuguese beheld the stars of another hemisphere. As they proceeded southward, they had found, that the continent, instead of extending in breadth, according to the geography of Ptolemy, appeared to contract and to bend eastward. This circumstance seemed to impart credibility to the exploded accounts of the early Phenician voyagers; and it gave birth to the hope, that, by following the same route, they might reach the shores of that country, the commerce of which has enriched every nation that has successively monopolized it. "The conduct of a voyage for this purpose, the most arduous and important which the Portuguese had ever projected, was committed to Bartholomew Diaz, an officer whose sagacity, experience, and fortitude, rendered him equal to the undertaking. He stretched boldly towards the south, and proceeding beyond the utmost limits to which his countrymen had hitherto advanced, discovered nearly a thousand miles of new country. Neither the danger to which he was exposed by a succession of violent tempests in unknown seas, and by the frequent mutinies of his crew, nor the calamities of famine, which

dred from losing his store-ship, could deter him from prosecuting his enterprise. In recompence of his fortitude and perseverance, he at last descried that lofty promontory which bounds Africa to the south. But to discover it, was all that he had in his power to accomplish. The violence of the winds, the shattered condition of his ships, and the turbulent spirit of his sailors, compelled him to return, after a voyage of sixteen months, in which he discovered a far greater extent of country than any former navigator. Diaz had called the promontory which terminated his voyage, *Cabo Tormentoso*, the Stormy Cape; but the king, his master, as he now entertained no doubt of having found the long-desired route to India, gave it a name more inviting and of better omen, The Cape of Good Hope."*

The discoveries of Diaz, in concurrence with the information brought home by an envoy whom the Portuguese monarch had despatched overland by way of Egypt in search of the kingdom of Prester John,—left scarcely the shadow of a doubt with respect to the practicability of sailing from Europe to India. But the vast length and appalling dangers of the voyage, had intimidated the Portuguese mariners to such a degree, that it required all the influence and authority of the monarch to reconcile their minds to a renewal of the perilous adventure. The Venetians had, however, begun to be disquieted with the apprehension of losing the monopoly of the Indian trade, and the Portuguese already enjoyed, in imagination, the wealth of the East, when the attention of Europe was suddenly turned to the splendid discovery of a new world in the western hemisphere.

In Feb. 1493, Columbus arrived in Lisbon on his

* Robertson.

return from his first memorable voyage, in which he imagined that he had reached India by a western course; an error which has been perpetuated in the appellation of the West Indies. The success of Columbus, and jealousy of the nation in whose service he had found that employment which the Court of Lisbon had meanly and unwisely refused him, now excited among the Portuguese a general emulation to surpass his achievements. Emanuel, who inherited the enterprising genius of his predecessors, recurred to the grand scheme of a passage to the Indies by circumnavigating Africa; and soon after his accession, a small squadron was equipped for the adventurous voyage, the command of which was entrusted to the accomplished Vasco de Gama. The time chosen for his departure was the *most improper season of the year*. He set sail from Lisbon on the 9th of July 1497, and standing towards the south, had for four months to struggle against contrary winds, before he could reach the Cape of Good Hope. There, their violence began to abate, and in an interval of calm weather, Gama doubled that formidable promontory, and directed his course north-eastward along the coast, touching at several ports, till, after various adventures, he came to anchor before the city of Melinda. Several vessels from India were found in that port; and under the conduct of a Mohammedan pilot, Gama pursued his voyage, and arrived at Calicut, May 2, 1498. Not being provided with the means of opening any advantageous commerce with the natives, and satisfied with having been the first to ascertain the practicability of the voyage, De Gama hastened back to Portugal, and landed at Lisbon Sept. 14, 1499; two years, two months, and five days from the time he left that port.*

* Robertson.—The transport from Alexandria to Musiris, ac-

No sooner had the Portuguese monarch assumed the title of Lord of Guinea, than he claimed a right of prohibiting the other European powers to land or to trade on any part of the African continent. As this arrogant pretension was sanctioned by the authority of the Court of Rome, he hesitated not to maintain it by force of arms; and, for some time, it appears to have been tacitly recognized. In 1481, a movement was made in England, for the purpose of obtaining a share in the African trade. John Tintam and William Fabian are stated to have been employed in equipping a fleet for the coast of Guinea, at the command of the Duke of Medina Sidonia. Alarmed at this intelligence, the king of Portugal (John II.) immediately despatched an envoy to Edward IV., to represent to the English court his sovereign claims as Lord of Guinea, and to urge the request, that no man should be allowed throughout the English dominions "to arm or set forth ships to Ginnee;" also, that his Majesty would "dissolve a certain fleet" equipped for that purpose. The demand was complied with; and down to the close of the sixteenth century, the merchants of London imported from Lisbon the rich productions of the East. The first efforts of British navigators, prosecuted for a long series of years, had for their object to discover a new passage to India by the northern ocean.* It was not till fleet after fleet had returned shattered in the impracticable attempt to make way through the polar ice, that they began to

cording to the course discovered by Hippalus, and which for 1400 years formed the best known communication between the East and the West,—occupied about ninety-four days. The average length of the voyage from Portsmouth to Madras, is between three and four months.

* See Mod. Trav. India, vol. ii. p. 5.

inquire, why the safe and easy passage round the Cape should be interdicted to British vessels? So early as 1551 and 1552, a Captain Windham had made two successful voyages to the coast of Barbary; and in 1553, a company of London merchants equipped "two goodly ships," with a crew of 140 men, to prosecute, in defiance of the Portuguese, trade and discovery in Guinea. The first voyage, owing to the flagrant misconduct of Windham, had a fatal and disastrous issue; but a second enterprise, under Captain Lok, was more successful; and between 1554 and 1566, repeated voyages to Guinea were undertaken by British navigators.* Towards the close of the century, the English merchants began to attempt the formation of establishments on the central rivers of Africa. In 1588, Queen Elizabeth granted a patent to certain rich merchants of Exeter, to carry on the trade of the Senegal and the Gambia. The Portuguese appear to have been by this time entirely driven from the Senegal, as the English navigators in 1591, heard of only one individual of that nation residing on its banks. But on the Gambia, they were established in great numbers, and they appeared to view the arrival of the English with great jealousy. Some French vessels from Dieppe about this time visited both rivers.†

In the mean time (A.D. 1580), Sir Francis Drake had executed the bold project of crossing the Pacific and regaining England by the Cape of Good Hope; performing with ease the navigation of which the Portuguese had spread such terrific accounts, and "exhibiting to the wondering eyes of his countrymen, the

* The voyages of Windham, Lok, Towrson, Baker, and Fenner, are given by Hakluyt; and brief abstracts by Murray, vol. i. pp. 145—164.

† Murray, vol. i. p. 165.

first English ship, and the second in the world, that had circumnavigated the globe." The first voyage to India performed by an English ship, was accomplished, although with difficulty and disaster, by Lancaster in 1601; and on the last day of the sixteenth century, the first English East India Company was instituted by royal charter.*

Early in the seventeenth century, an unbounded spirit of enterprise appears to have been excited among the British merchants, by vague reports of an African *El Dorado*. In 1618, a Company was formed in London for the express purpose of penetrating to the country of gold and to Tombuctoo; for that celebrated city was already known as the centre of the commerce and imaginary splendour of Interior Africa. George Thompson, a Barbary merchant, to whom was entrusted the command of the first adventure, ascended the Gambia as far as Tenda; a point much beyond what any European had before reached. He was killed, as is supposed, in an affray with his own party; and on this ground, he has been styled "the first martyr" (more properly the first victim) in the cause of African discovery. Captain Jobson, in 1620, reached the same point, but did not push his discoveries further.

A long period now elapsed, without any fresh effort being made to penetrate, by this channel, into the heart of Africa. The civil wars drew off the attention of the nation from foreign enterprise; and after the Restoration, the India trade became the favourite object of the English merchants. It was not till about the year 1723, that the spirit of discovery revived. The Duke of Chandos, then director of the Royal African Company, finding that the profits of the establish-

* Mod. Trav., India, vol. ii. pp. 5—10.

ments fell short of the expenditure, conceived the hope of retrieving its affairs by the discovery of new and lucrative branches of commerce. Accordingly, Capt. Bartholomew Stibbs was despatched with orders to navigate the Gambia as high as possible; but he was unable to penetrate beyond Tenda; and several other attempts appear to have stopped short very nearly at the same point, where the shallows and sand-banks oppose all further navigation.

The year 1788 constitutes a new era in the annals of African discovery. Hitherto, motives of interest had alone guided the spirit of enterprise; but an association was now formed, consisting of men eminent for rank and wealth, and still more distinguished by their zeal in the cause of science and humanity, the object of which was to promote the discovery of the Interior of Africa, with a view to the advancement of geographical knowledge.* The names of Ledyard, Lucas, Houghton, Park, Horneman, and Burckhardt, sufficiently attest the value and importance of the well-directed efforts of this Association. The results of the discoveries made by those enterprising travellers, will be given in the description of the countries they traversed. Here, therefore, we suspend our brief outline of the general progress of African discovery, as what remains to be told will best assume the form of personal adventure.

In the present state of our knowledge, the following Table may serve to indicate with sufficient correctness, the chief divisions, ancient and modern, of the African Continent.

* The first committee (chosen by ballot) was composed of Lord Rawdon (Marquis of Hastings), the Bishop of Llandaff (Watson), Sir Joseph Banks, Mr. Beaufoy, and Mr. Stewart.

I. BARBARY, OR MOORISH AFRICA.

Modern Names.	*Ancient Names.*
1. Morocco	Mauritania Propria (or Tingitana).
2. Algiers	Numidia, Mauritania Cæsariensis.
3. Tunis	Africa Propria, or Carthage.
4. Tripoli	
5. Fezzan	Phazania. Garamanta.
6. Barca	Cyrenaica Marmarica.
7. Sahara, or the Desert	Gætulia, Lybia Interior.

II. NILOTIC COUNTRIES.

1. Egypt Proper	Ægyptus.
2. Nubia	Æthiopia supra Ægyptum.
3. Dongola	
4. Sennaar	
5. Abyssinia	Æthiopia Superior.

III. EASTERN NIGRITIA.

1. Kordofan	Æthiopia Interior.
2. Dar Foor	
3. Dar el Abiad, or Shillook Country	
4. Dar Kulla	
5. Dar Cauga or Fittre	Nigritia.
6. Dar Saley (or Sheleh), Borgoo, or Waday	
7. Baghirme, or Begarmi	
8. Bornou, or Kanem	
9. Mandara	

IV. WESTERN NIGRITIA

1. Houssa	Nigritia.
2. Timbuctoo	
3. Massina	
4. Beeroo	
5. Ludamar (Welled Omar)	
6. Kaarta	
7. Bambarra	
8. Melli, or Foolaloo	
9. Magho, or Maha Country	
10. Killinga, or Borgoo	
11. Nyffee	
12. Yacoba, or Yakoo	

V. SENEGAMBRA.

1. Yolof Country . . . . . }
2. Foota Toro . . . . . }
3. Foota Bondoo . . . . . }
4. Kajaaga or Galam . . . . }
5. Bambook . . . . . } Hesperii Æthiopes.
6. Kasson . . . . . }
7. Mandingo Country . . . . }
8. Jallonkadoo . . . . . }
9. Foota Jallon . . . . . }

VI. GUINEA PROPER, OR UPPER GUINEA.

i. MARITIME.

1. Sierra Leone Territory . . }
2. Liberia or Grain Coast . . }
3. Ivory Coast . . . . . }
4. Gold Coast . . . . . }
5. Slave Coast, or Whidah, &c. }
6. Benin and Waree . . . . . }
7. Calabar . . . . . }
8. Biafra . . . . . }
9. Calbongos . . . . . } Hesperii Æthiopes.
10. Gaboon . . . . . }

ii. INTERIOR.

1. Kooranko . . . . . }
2. Kong . . . . . }
3. Dagomba . . . . . }
4. Sarem, Ghaman, or Buntakoo . . . . . }
5. Ghunja or Ashantee . . . }
6. Dahomey . . . . . }
7. Eyeo or Yarriba . . . . . }

VII. CONGO, ANGOLA COAST, OR LOWER GUINEA.

1. Loango . . . . . }
2. Congo . . . . . }
3. Angola, or Dongo . . } Unknown to the Ancients.
4. Benguela . . . . . }
5. Matumba . . . . . }

VIII. SOUTHERN AFRICA.

1. Cape Colony or British Africa.
   (1) The Cape.
   (2) Zwartland, or Western Coast.
   (3) Intra-montane districts, comprising the Bokkevelds, Bosheveld, &c.
   (4) Southern Coast.

(5) Kannaland.
(6) Kamnasiland.
(7) Langekloof.
(8) Albany.
(9) The Great Karroo.
(10) Eastern district, including the Tarka.
(11) Transmontane, including Nieuwveld, Further Roggeveld, &c. to the Northern boundary of the Colony.
2. Cisgariepine, or Bushmans' country.
3. Caffraria Proper.
4. Griqua Country.
5. Little Namaqualand.
6. Great Namaqualand.
7. Korana, or Koraqualand.
8. Bichuana-land.
9. Karrikarri country.
10. Damaras.

IX. MOZAMBIQUE.

1. Inhambane.....
2. Sabia .....
3. Botonga or Sofala .....
4. Monomotapa, Mocaranga, or Zambesia.
5. Mozambique Proper .....

} Agizymba?

X. ZANGUEBAR .....Zingis.

XI. AJAN .....Azania, or Barbaria.

XII. ADEL .....Aromata.

XIII. Unexplored Regions of the Gallas, Eevis, Maravies, Jagas, Bororos, Mounimigians, and Gingirians.

To Egypt, Nubia, and Abyssinia, a separate portion of our work has been devoted. In proceeding to describe what is known of the remaining portions of this mysterious continent, we shall begin with Tripoli,—the state with which we have the most friendly relations, and which has been considered as the most eligible starting-point from which to commence the prosecution of discoveries in the Interior.

TRIPOLI.

THE state of Tripoli (properly so called) comprises that part of Africa Proper extending, north of Fezzan, between the Gulf of Sidra (the Greater Syrtis) and that of Gabes (the Smaller Syrtis).* It appears to have acquired the name of Tripolis, as a distinct district or province of the western empire, on account of its containing the three cities of Leptis, Oea, and Sabrata, probably about the middle of the first century. As in other cases, the name subsequently became common to the district and its capital. Sabrata, still called Sabart, is the *Tripoli Vecchio* of the Mediterranean navigators, and seems to have been the capital at the time of the first Arabian invasion. Its inhabitants, on the destruction of that place, took refuge in the city now called New Tripoli, which is thought to occupy the site of Oea, and has absorbed the population of the other two. †

The modern town of Tripoli (by the natives called *Tarables*) has been built on a foundation of rock, washed on two sides by the sea, while, southward and westward, it has a large sandy plain partially cultivated. It stands in latitude 32° 54′ N., longitude 13° 10′ 27″ E. ‡ "Previously to entering the Bay,"

* So called from σύρω, *traho, quod naves attractas mergant*. Sidra seems to be a corruption of Syrtis.

† D'Anville, vol. ii. p. 189. Malte Brun, vol. iv. p. 178. Beechey, pp. 24—32. That Tripolis was properly the name of the district, not of the city, is rendered probable by the use of similar words,—Pentapolis, applied to Cyrenaica, and Decapolis, a district of Palestine. The Syrian and the Arcadian Tripolis had probably the same origin.

‡ According to Capt. Beechey. Mr. Blaquiere makes its position

says the Author of the amusing "Letters written during a Residence at Tripoli," * "the country is rendered picturesque by various tints of beautiful verdure. No object whatever seems to interrupt the evenness of the soil, which is of a light colour, almost white, and interspersed with long avenues of trees; for such is the appearance of the numerous palms, planted in regular rows, and kept in the finest order. Their immense branches, coarse when near, are neat and distinct at a distance. The land lying low and very level, the naked stems of these trees are scarcely seen, and the plantations of dates seem to extend for many miles in luxuriant woods and groves. On a nearer view, they present a more straggling appearance, and afford neither shelter nor shade from the burning atmosphere which surrounds them. The whole town appears in a semi-circle, some time before reaching the harbour's mouth. The extreme whiteness of the square, flat buildings, covered with lime, which in this climate encounters the sun's fiercest rays, is very striking. The baths form clusters of cupolas, very large, to the number of eight or ten, crowded together in different parts of the town. The mosques have in general a small plantation of Indian figs and date-trees growing close to them, which, at a distance, appearing to be so many rich gardens, give the whole city, in the eyes of a European, an aspect truly novel and pleasing. On entering the harbour, the town begins to discover dilapidations from the destructive hand of time, large

to be, lat. 32° 54′ N., long. 13° 18′ E. Ali Bey says, that he ascertained the latitude to be 32° 56′ 39″; the longitude, 11° 8′ 30″ E. of Paris.

* Commonly called Tully's Memoirs, but really written by a Sister-in-law of the British Consul.

hills of rubbish appearing in various parts of it. The castle or royal palace in which the Bashaw resides, is at the east end, within the wall, with a dock-yard adjoining. This castle is very ancient, and is enclosed by a high strong wall: it has lost all symmetry on the inside, from the innumerable additions made to contain the different branches of the royal family; for there is scarcely an instance of any of the blood-royal, as far as the Bashaw's great grandchildren, living without the castle walls. These buildings have increased it, by degrees, to a little irregular town."*

The form of the town itself is very irregular. The high thick walls which encompass it, seem to have been very strong, but are now falling fast to ruin. Wherever any part of the old work is seen through the mud and fragments of stone with which it has been unskilfully repaired, it appears to be solid and good. "The walls are provided with ramparts, on which are planted a number of guns, quite sufficient," says Capt. Beechey, "to make themselves tolerably respected, were it not that the impertinent interference of rust, and the occasional want of carriages for the guns, might contribute to prevent their effect..... Appearances, however, are by no means disregarded, and the surface of his Highness's castle displays a bright coating of plaster and whitewash over the unseemly patchwork beneath it. The city walls and ramparts are for the most part disguised under a cloak of the same gay material; and the whole together, viewed under an African sun, and contrasted with the deep blue of an African sky, assumes, we may even say, a brilliant appearance. It must, however, be

* Tully, vol. i. pp. 1—3.

confessed, that this is much improved by distance."* The town is much smaller than either Algiers or Tunis. Its greatest length, Captain Beechey says, may be about 1360 yards, and its extreme breadth about 1000 yards. In the sixteenth century, according to Leo Africanus, its houses and bazars were esteemed handsome, compared with those of Tunis; and its streets, though narrow, are double the width of those of either Tunis or Algiers. The architecture of none of the public buildings, however, appeared to Capt. Beechey at all striking or admirable;† and "the rude and dilapidated masses of mud and stone, or more frequently, perhaps, of mud only, dignified by the appellation of houses," are not recommended by either taste or convenience. The town is, moreover, so uneven with accumulated rubbish, on which they often build without removing it, that the thresholds of some of the street-doors are on a level with the terraces or tops of houses not far distant. Merchandize is usually carried on the backs of camels and mules; and the dust they raise in the dry, sandy streets is intolerable.‡

* Beechey, pp. 13, 14.

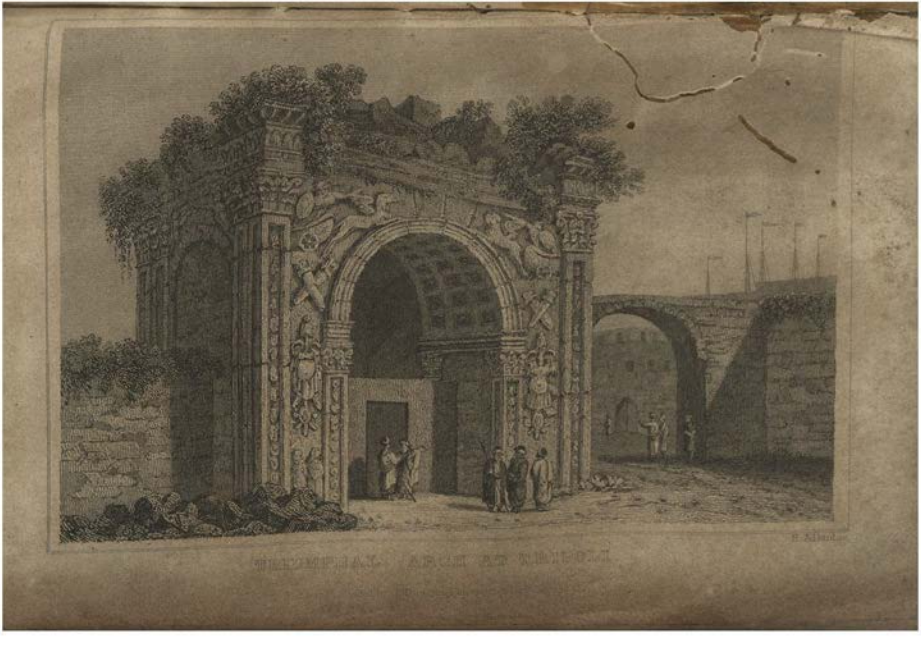
† In the Tully Letters, however, the exterior of the great mosque is described as extremely handsome. Mr. Blaquiere speaks of it as a very elegant structure; and Ali Bey's account is still more at variance with Capt. Beechey's. "Tripoli," he says, "contains six mosques of the first rank, with minarets, and six smaller ones. The great mosque is magnificent and of a handsome architecture. The roof, composed of small cupolas, is supported by sixteen elegant Doric columns, of a fine grey marble, which are said to have been taken in a Christian vessel. This building, as well as others of the same kind, is by far superior to those of Morocco. They are of a majestic elevation, and have lofty galleries for the singers like European churches···The worship is plainer and more mystical at Morocco; here, it is complicated and pompous."—Ali Bey, vol. i. pp. 286, 7. The town itself is described as much handsomer than any in the kingdom of Morocco.

‡ Tully, vol. i. p. 9. Beechey, p. 14. Mr. Blaquiere gives a

Here and there are a few remains of tesselated pavement, some of which appear evidently to be Roman; and some fragments of columns and entablatures may be seen built into the walls of modern structures. But the only ancient remain of any consequence is a triumphal arch near the Marine or sea gate, the arches of which have been built up, and it is now used as a storehouse. An inscription, still perfect, states it to have been erected A.D. 164, in honour of the Emperors Marcus Aurelius Antoninus and Lucius Aurelius Verus. This arch, which "is thought by all good judges," we are told, "to be handsomer than any in Italy," is now half sunk in the sands. It is built of blocks of markle, extremely large, without cement, and has been ornamented with warlike trophies and other carvings in relief. The cieling also is beautifully sculptured, but a few parts only are in sufficient preservation to shew the original beauty of the workmanship.* To the eastward of the town, on a

much more favourable description of the place. "In point of tranquillity and cleanliness," he says, "Tripoly might be taken as a model by some European towns in the Mediterranean. Though it possesses neither the elegance nor the regularity of Valetta, you never hear of acts of violence being committed in the streets, and robberies are altogether unknown. This is the result of a well-regulated police, for which all the towns of Barbary are very remarkable; for, independent of a nightly patrole, there is a guard stationed in each street, who is responsible for whatever may occur in it of an improper nature. There is besides, always a number of persons kept for the express purpose of sweeping the town; a precaution of the greatest utility, and to which, among others, we may attribute the health generally enjoyed by the inhabitants.... The caravanserais, mosques, and houses of the different consuls and higher classes, are usually built of stone, and regularly white-washed twice a year. The dwellings of the lower orders are fabricated of earth, small stones, and mortar."

* Lyon, p. 18. Tully, vol. i. p. 16; vol. ii. p. 58. Ali Bey, vol. i. p. 242.



tract of rocky and elevated ground, is the ancient cemetery, where the researches of the British Consul, Mr. Warrington, have brought to light some interesting objects, particularly "several large sepulchral urns of glass." *

The harbour is formed by a long reef of rocks, running out in a north-easterly direction, and by other reefs to the eastward of these, affording together a very good shelter. In the deepest part, however, there is little more than five or six fathoms' water. At the extremity of a rocky projection to the northward, forming part of the first-mentioned reef, are two batteries called the New Fort and the Spanish; and westward of these, on an insulated rock, is a circular one, called the French Fort. Besides these, there are two others on the beach to the eastward, which, with the New and Spanish forts, would prove of considerable annoyance to hostile vessels entering the harbour. These forts are in better condition than the walls and ramparts.†

The domestic manners and customs of the inhabitants of this Moorish city, have been minutely described by a female writer who had the opportunities of a Ten Years' Residence for personal observation. Entertaining, however, as might be the detail, the habits of the Tripolitans differ so little, in any essential respects, from those of other Moslems,

* Beechey, p. 15.

† *Ib.* p. 16. "The harbour of Tripoly, though not very spacious, is perfectly safe, and capable of containing a large fleet of merchant-ships. Small frigates, whose draught of water does not exceed eighteen feet, may also ride there in perfect safety."—Blaquiere, vol. i. p. 23. The reef might, it is added, be converted, at a very trifling expense, into a capital pier; "which, together with the construction of a light-house, would render the port uncommonly good."

that we can afford but little space for the description.* In 1785, Tripoli was supposed to contain 14,000 inhabitants, less than half the population of Tunis. In that year, a dreadful visitation of the plague carried off, within six weeks, "two-fifths of the Moors, half of the Jews, and nine-tenths of the Christians, who could not procure the conveniences necessary for a quarantine." Before that year, the town had not been visited by the plague for seventy years, the burning deserts which surround the country defending it in general against the importation of the pestilence.† When it does appear, its ravages are the more fatal, inasmuch as the winter, being very mild, scarcely checks the contagion. Its precursor, in this instance, was a dreadful famine, occasioned by several years of drought, ‡ which raged during the last six months of the year 1784, when numbers died of starvation. In the mean time, the plague had broken out at Tunis; and in the beginning of May, it had spread to Tripoli.

* The Letters were written in the years 1783—1793, and are chiefly occupied with the narration of the circumstances which occurred at Tripoli during that period. Under Ali Bashaw, the sovereign then reigning, Tripoli enjoyed for upwards of thirty years a mild government. "Moorish families slept unmolested in the open air on their terraces;" and "Christians, to whom the highest respect was paid by the Moors on all occasions, lived happy with the natives, and safer than in any other part of Barbary."

† "Infected caravans which set off for this city, are completely cleansed by the dry, parching heat of a hot land-wind, which generally occurs during the length of sands they pass before they reach Tripoli."—Tully, vol. i. p. 211.

‡ "The place is at present in so dreadful a state of famine," writes the Author of the Tully Letters, "that it is become horrid to walk or ride out, on account of the starved objects that continually die in the streets. They are grinding down the bark of the date-tree to support the cattle, asses, camels, and mules; the horses, however, will not touch it."—Letters, vol. i. p. 141. Many of the inhabitants fled to Tunis, where the plague was then raging, to avoid starving in the famine.

Between two and three hundred corpses were carried out of the town in a day; and within two months, it was computed that 3000 persons had died. Towards the end of August, its violence had abated; but in December, the deaths increased from four a day to fifteen.* It was not till June 1786, that it was deemed prudent to terminate the quarantine in which the Consul's house had been placed for upwards of twelve months; during which the Bashaw's officers of state, all his best generals, and all the children of the Bey, his eldest son, had been swept off by the pestilence.†

The country in the immediate neighbourhood of the city is naturally fertile; but, as the harvest depends entirely upon the rains, the supply is very precarious. "A few years ago," says this Writer, "the barley here grew so favourably, that it produced in return three times as much as in any part of Europe. Such quantities of it were exported, that

* The ignorant manner in which the Moors treat their sick, together with the neglect of prudent precautions, greatly contributed to the mortality. "I believe it to be often doubtful," says the Writer, "whether the patient dies of the malady he labours under, or by the hand of those attending on him,"—that is, by the remedies administered.

† Tully, vol. i. pp. 179, 186, 218. "The city of Tripoli, after the plague, exhibited an appearance awfully striking. In some of the houses were found the last victims that had perished in them.... while in others, children were wandering about deserted, without a friend belonging to them. The town was almost depopulated, and rarely two people walked together."—*Ib.*, p. 268. The depopulation was, however, in part temporary, as numbers of Jews and others who had the opportunity of escape, had fled to Leghorn and Tunis. In 1805, the population was estimated by Ali Bey at between twelve and fifteen thousand souls. In 1811, Mr. Blaquiere supposed it not to exceed 25,000; which, if approaching to correctness, indicates a great increase. According to this Writer, no visitation of plague had occurred since that of 1785; and he represents the climate throughout Tripoli as very salubrious.

Tripoli was enriched by its sale; but the failure of rain has left the country for several years without one good harvest.....There have not been more than one or two good harvests for thirty years." Of its natural fertility, however, evidence was afforded by the corn-wells or caverns on each side of one of the streets, in which grain was formerly laid up for exportation; and "they say, it will keep in them perfectly good for a hundred years."* The rains, when they occur, fall incessantly for many days and nights, and then cease suddenly: not a drop more descends for several months together. There are no rivers near; and no other soft water is to be had in the country, than that which is preserved in the tanks. There are, however, innumerable wells; and fresh water is found every where near the surface, but it is brackish and ill-flavoured. † Part of the sandy plain to the south-eastward is, indeed, occasionally flooded by the sea during the prevalence of strong northerly gales; and there is a tract of marshy ground to the westward of the town, between the sea and the cultivated lands, which is converted by the rains into a salt-lake, but is dry the greater part of the year. To the southward, the soil is sandy, and its level is supposed by Captain Beechey to have been raised by the sands thrown up by the sea. It appears, however, to have lost no degree of its ancient fertility; and any change that has taken place, must be attributed either to an alteration in the seasons and the more precarious occurrence of the rains, or to the discouragement of agriculture and a neglect of the practicable means of

* Tully, vol. i. pp. 103, 141.

† *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 53. Mr. Blaquiere states, that the Bashaw had, for political reasons, "destroyed an aqueduct which formerly conveyed an abundant supply from a spring outside the walls."

irrigation.* In the gardens at a short distance from Tripoli, the fig-tree, (both the Indian and the Turkish,) the orange, the citron, and the lime, flourish luxuriantly. There are also "delightful olive woods," in which, "when the fruit is ripe, it is inconvenient to walk, on account of the olives continually falling loaded with oil;" and near them are marble reservoirs to receive the produce. The country yields also "several sorts of fine plums, and some very high-flavoured sweet grapes, which, if cultivated in sufficient quantities, would render this country rich in vineyards." There are also two sorts of apricots, one remarkable for its size and flavour; excellent water-melons, and other coarser fruit; and the date-tree, which here attains a height of nearly 100 feet, bears clusters weighing from twenty to thirty pounds.†

* See Beechey, p. 17. The assertion of Leo Africanus, that the lands which ought to be cultivated are all covered with water, owing to the gradual advance of the sea, is shewn by Captain B. to be at utter variance with the topography of the surrounding country, as the higher grounds must always have been above the reach of the floods. The Author of the Tully Letters thus describes the plain. "The *Pianura* at present (September) looks remarkably rich and pleasant; but, the greatest part of the year, it is a sea of sand, shifting from place to place, with occasionally a mud covering, and small patches of ground that have been sown, yet looking as if they had been burned with fire, owing to the extreme power of the sun, which leaves the stubble perfectly black. It just now makes a very different appearance. It is for the present a rich field or little country of corn, every corner of it being sown with *bishna*, Indian wheat, and barley. The Indian wheat grows here from five to six feet high, and forms the most delightful alleys to walk in, where the sand is not too loose."...."The barley here yields twice as much as it does in Europe."—Vol. i. pp. 48, 103.

† The dates of Tripoli differ materially, Mr. Blaquiere says, from those of Egypt, Fezzan, and the rest of Barbary, being much more luxuriant. "They are of a yellow, brown, green, black, and red colour: the latter are termed horse-dates, and are given as food to that animal, while the stones are consigned to the camels."—Blaquiere, vol. i. p. 39.

In May, the Arabian jasmine and the violet cover the gardens, which then present an almost impenetrable wood of aromatic trees and shrubs. Such is the account given by the Fair Resident, of this portion of the African territory. To complete the picture, "the people," she says, "may here be said to walk upon gold. The precious ore is sifted for on the sea-shore, and taken up in very small quantities; but whole veins of this rich metal are found inland as they approach to Fezzan. When it is found on the coast, (which it is at several parts near Tripoli,) the people gather up handfuls of it, put it into a wooden bowl, and wash it with several waters, till all the gold remains at the bottom. The rich sediment is tied in little bits of rags, of about the size of a small nut, and brought in that state to Tripoli. These small parcels are known by the name of *metagalls*; each of them is worth exactly a Venetian sequin. The merchants melt a certain number of them into bars or ingots."*

"On approaching the coast of Tripoly," says Mr. Blaquiere, "and being first met by an extensive waste of sand, which is occasionally relieved only by a cluster of date-trees, the traveller cannot be induced to believe that he is in the neighbourhood of a most fertile region, producing every necessary of life, and many valuable articles of commercial speculation. Such is, however, the case. The exports are as follow: wool, of an excellent quality; senna and several other drugs; madder-root; barilla; hides; goat and sheep skins dressed; salt; *trona* (an article resembling borax, and used by the Tripolines in all their dyes;

* Tully, vol. i. pp. 104—108; 56. To the fidelity and accuracy of this Writer's account, Captain Lyon, as well as Captain Beechey, bears the most unequivocal testimony.

many Moors mix this alkali with their snuff and tobacco); ostrich-feathers; gold dust; ivory; gum; dried fruit and dates; lotus-beans;* *cassob-venene*;† saffron; bullocks, sheep, and poultry.‡ . . . A more fertile and luxuriant country than that which is seen in the immediate neighbourhood of the city, cannot be imagined. Leaving the gate on the land-side, the prospect on every hand is extremely gratifying. Country-houses, extensive pleasure-gardens, groves of orange-trees, and innumerable fountains, together with the incessant progress of vegetation, form an assemblage of rural beauty here, which is rarely to be met with. The fairy scene does not, however, reach more than five miles inland; when nothing but an immeasurable waste of sand is presented to the eye, and forms a striking contrast with the cultivated fields to the edges of which it approaches. It should be observed, that *a want of industry and of proper encouragement from the government, are the only reasons why more of the desert is not cultivated and en-*

* "The lotus-tree, on the fruit of which the savage *lotophagi* of antiquity were said to exist, abounds in the *Meshea*, and is lofty and umbrageous: the fruit is contained in a pod not unlike that of the tamarind and, when ripe, is sweet and nutritious." Great quantities of this fruit are brought from the island of Jerbi, supposed to be the *Meninx* of the ancients. Shaw says, the *lotus arbor* is the *seedra* of the Arabs; that it is a species of *zizyphus* or *jujeb*, and that the fruit tastes something like gingerbread. When fresh, it is of a bright yellow.—Shaw, vol. i. p. 263.

† The cassob-seed, Mr. Blaquiere says, yields a most nutritive flour, and forms a principal part of the people's diet; it is contained in a spike about three inches in length, which grows on the top of a reed about three feet in height; the seed is of a light lead colour.

‡ During the war, Malta drew from Tripoli large supplies of cattle and other live stock. Owing to the small quantity of animal food consumed by the natives, an almost unlimited exportation is admitted. There is also a fine breed of horses and mules.

closed; as, in a very short space of time, the places which are now covered with sand, would become highly productive. There is probably no country on earth so highly favoured by nature as this is, in respect to a rapid succession of the crops. The rains generally begin after gathering the dates, towards October; in the beginning of which month, the Arabs plough and sow their grounds. In December and January, the weather becomes dry and extremely pleasant, like our spring in England. In the beginning of April, the market before Tripoly is abundantly stocked with cattle, poultry, and vegetables of every kind. Towards June, almonds, figs, apples, pears, plums, peaches, nectarines, grapes, and melons are in season, and incredibly abundant. The fruit of Tripoly generally possesses an exquisite flavour..... Cotton has been cultivated very successfully by various individuals; but, owing to a want of encouragement, does not form an article of export.... Formerly a considerable quantity of raw silk formed one of the exports; but its cultivation has latterly been neglected. The mulberry-tree is, however, to be found near the town in great numbers, so that this valuable article may at any time become a staple commodity of the country. To the foregoing may be added the castor-tree, found in the vicinity of Tanjoura, where a great deal of that oil is made annually; it has not as yet, however, been exported in any quantity. On the coast, fish of every kind are most abundant; but, with the exception of a few boats employed from the capital, fishing does not form a part of public industry." *

The population of Tripoli is of a very motley cha-

* Blaquiere, vol. i. pp. 33, 39; 27, 28; 37; 40; 39.—Olive oil is also exported.—Tully, vol. i. p. 343.

racter, comprising Moors, Turks, Jews, Arabs, Mamlouks (renegadoes or purchased slaves from Georgia or Circassia), Maltese, Franks,* and Negroes. Mamlouks enjoy the highest offices; and the Bashaw's daughters are not permitted to marry any others.† The Jews, who have three synagogues, and occupy a distinct quarter (*Zanga tel Yahood*), are by far better treated than in Morocco and other parts of Barbary. They amounted, in 1805, according to Ali Bey, to about two thousand, of whom thirty might be considered wealthy. They dress like the Mohammedans, with this distinction, that their caps and slippers must be black, and their turbans blue. Although exposed occasionally to insult and oppression, they contrive to engross all the trade and places of profit. A kind of bad Italian is generally spoken by the inhabitants of the town, so that Christians have little difficulty in transacting business.‡ "Above forty *Christian slaves*, all Italians," Ali Bey says,

* Ali Bey found at Tripoli, a French merchant, a Spanish shipbuilder, a physician from Malta, and a Swiss watchmaker. The Roman Catholics had a chapel, served by four regulars. Mr. Blaquiere says, there are a few French, Maltese, and Spanish families.

† The admiral of the fleet in 1811, Mourad Reis, was a *Scotch* mamlouk. His original name was Peter Lysle; and in 1794, he was mate of an English ship which used to frequent the port. Accused of plundering part of the cargo, he took refuge in the castle, and turned Moslem, upon which he was soon advanced to a high command in the Tripoline navy. He afterwards distinguished himself as a pirate. Although enjoying the empty title of first admiral, "Poor Peter," Mr. Blaquiere says, "was no longer an object of consideration with any party. The *Kaya* or grand judge was a Russian renegade, to whom the Bashaw had given one of his sisters in marriage."

‡ The Arabic spoken at Tripoli is at the same time supposed by European adepts, Mr. Blaquiere says, to be the purest known on the whole coast: "the Tripolines consider it as infinitely superior to that of their Tunisian neighbours."

"do the service of the palace;" and "the Pasha himself speaks Italian, which the Moors account a sin."* The Christian slaves, he tells us, are well treated: "they are permitted to serve any body, on condition of giving part of the profits to Government." Shiploads of unfortunate blacks are frequently brought to Tripoli; and there is a distinct bazar, where both men and women are exposed for sale. The greater number are bought for re-exportation to other parts,†—whether by Jewish, Moorish, or Frank merchants, does not appear.

The most extraordinary personages in Tripoli are the Maraboots or Mohammedan fakeers, who rival in fanaticism and roguery any of the Hindoo yogies. In the Interior, Capt. Lyon says, "persons of this order deem it requisite to keep up the outward shew of sanctity, and to abstain from proscribed liquors, from profane language, and from licentious intrigue. In Tripoli, such forbearance is deemed unnecessary. "The Maraboots there are of two classes; idiots, who are allowed to say and do whatever they please; and men possessed of all their senses, who, by juggling and performing many bold and disgusting tricks, establish to themselves the exclusive right of being the greatest rogues and nuisances to be met with. There are mosques in which these people assemble every Friday afternoon, and where they eat snakes, scorpions, &c., affecting to be inspired, and committing the greatest extravagancies." Once a year, they celebrate, with barbarous ceremonies, a festival which lasts three days. During this period, they parade the

* Ali Bey, vol. i. pp. 234, 5. Ali Bey was a Spaniard, and might not like to admit the fact, that Spanish as well as Maltese and Genoese slaves were in the Pasha's service. See Tully, vol. i. p. 59.

† Tully, vol. i. p. 12, 328.

streets in frantic processions, which recall the wildest orgies of paganism. No Christians or Jews can then, with any safety, make their appearance; as they would, if once in the power of these wretches, be instantly torn to pieces. Wherever they even shew themselves, on their terraces or from windows, they are sure of being saluted with a volley of missiles. Capt. Lyon, however, being in the dress of the country, resolved to witness the whole of the ceremonies, and, with his dragoman, made his way to the mosque from which the procession was to set out. "I certainly felt," he says, "that my situation was a very dangerous one; but, being resolved on the attempt, and telling the man to follow me closely, I dashed in with the crowd, and succeeded in getting near the saints, who, with dishevelled hair, were rapidly turning round, and working themselves into a most alarming state of frenzy. A band of barbarous music was playing to them, while several men were constantly employed in sprinkling them with rose-water. Had I been discovered, my life would have been in great jeopardy; but, fortunately, I was able to keep my countenance, and to pass unnoticed; and when the performers were sufficiently inspired, I sallied out with them, and followed through the streets. One had a large nail run through his face from one cheek to the other, and all had bitten their tongues in so violent a manner, as to cause blood and saliva to flow copiously. They were half naked, at intervals uttering short groans and howls; and as they proceeded, (sometimes three or four abreast, leaning on each other,) they threw their heads backwards and forwards with a quick motion, which caused the blood to rise in their faces, and their eyes to project from the sockets to a frightful degree. Their long black hair, which grew from the crown

of the head, (the other parts being closely shaven,) was continually waving to and fro, owing to the motion of the head. One or two, who were the most furious, and who continually attempted to run at the crowd, were held by a man on each side, by means of a rope or a handkerchief tied round the middle. As we passed through one of the streets, a party of Maltese and other Christians were discovered on a terrace, and were instantly assailed with showers of stones. I observed that whenever the Marāboots passed the house of a Christian, they affected to be ungovernable, and endeavoured to get near it, pretending they made the discovery by smelling out unbelievers. After following for an hour or two, during which I witnessed the most horrible and revolting scenes, I returned home; when, to my great amusement, I learned that a rumour prevailed of my having been attacked and very ill-treated; and that I had, in defending myself, stabbed a Marāboot, and run away, no one knew whither. I was happy to be enabled in person to contradict these reports, and to prove that I had escaped not only unhurt, but unobserved. There were two parties who traversed the town; but, from their being of opposite sects, and at war with each other, it was so arranged, that they should take different routes. That which I did not see, was the superior one, and took its departure from under the walls of the castle. It was headed by a man named Mohammed, who had been much at our house, going on errands, and attending our horses. I did not until afterwards know he was so celebrated a character. Before the time of the procession, he was confined in a dungeon, in consequence of becoming very furious. When all was in readiness for the ceremony, the Bashaw took

his station in the balcony overlooking the arsenal, and this man was set at liberty; when he rushed on an ass, and with one thrust pushed his hand into the animal's side, from which he tore its bowels, and began to devour them. Many eat dogs and other animals; and on that day, a little Jew boy was killed in the street, either by the Maraboots or their followers.

"As the power of taking up serpents and scorpions is supposed to constitute a Maraboot, I determined on acquiring that honourable title. Mr. Ritchie bought some snakes, which we all learned to handle; and I soon found out an effectual way of taking up the largest scorpions without the slightest chance of being stung. However, in order to observe the ceremonies practised by these pretended saints, I sent a servant in search of one of the most celebrated, under pretence of wishing myself to become a Maraboot. This fellow went through numberless prayers and ceremonies, spitting in my hands, taking rose-water in his mouth, and sprinkling my face with it, reciting occasional prayers, and then washing his own mouth and hands in rose-water. After bottling up this sacred fluid, he told me to drink it on a particular day, which he named, and I should then be as highly gifted as himself; thus concluding his instructions, which, of course, I did not think myself bound to observe."*

The general character of the Tripolines is far from good. "Drunkenness," says Captain Lyon, "is more common in Tripoli, than even in most towns in England. There are public wine-houses, at the doors of which the Moors sit and drink without any scruple; and the *saldanah*, or place of guard, is seldom without a few drunkards. The greater part of the better sort of people also drink very hard; but their favourite

* Lyon, pp. 9—12.

beverage is *rosolia*, an Italian cordial; and it is not uncommon for visiters, when making calls, to give unequivocal hints that a little rum would be well received."* A separate quarter is assigned to the courtezans (*zanga tel ghaab*), who are very numerous. "There is probably no country on earth," says Mr. Blaquiere, "where the inhabitants are more inclined to be vicious; yet, such is the promptitude with which justice is administered, that crimes bear but a small proportion to those of European countries. I have been unable to discover any of those good qualities that can be put in contrast with their well known attributes of revenge, avarice, treachery, and deceit, which predominate alike in the prince and the peasant." Yet, in no part of Barbary, we are told, has civilization made so great progress, and in no place is so much respect paid to Christians, even their religious ceremonies being here treated with the utmost respect. Nay, Mr. Blaquiere adds, that their sensual passions "are infinitely better regulated than those of any other people on the coast of Barbary;" and upon the whole, it would seem, that Tripoli presents by no means an unfavourable specimen either of the Moorish character or of the Barbary governments.†

The ancient history of Tripoli may be given in a few words. After the destruction of Carthage, this country became a Roman province. As the Roman power de-

* Lyon, p. 13. Mr. Blaquiere states, that the sale of spirits and wine is a monopoly of the Bashaw's, by whom it is farmed. In the absence of rum or brandy, the favourite beverage, he says, is the fermented juice of the date, called *lakby*. This branch of the revenue amounted, in 1805, to 100,000 francs.

† Blaquiere, vol. i. pp. 62, 64, 72. "In honour to the Bashaw's character," says this Writer, "I ought to add, that he punishes in a most dreadful manner, a crime for which the Tunisians are notorious, but which is scarcely known at Tripoli.

clined in Africa, the boundary of civilized manners and cultivated land was insensibly contracted. In the reign of Valentinian, the Tripolitan cities were, for the first time, obliged to shut their gates against a hostile invasion of the savages of Getulia; and finding themselves unprotected by the venal commander to whom the protection of Africa was entrusted, they joined the rebellious standard of a Moor. The insurrection was suppressed by the ability of Theodosius, the Roman general. Seventy years after, Count Boniface, in an evil hour, invited the alliance of the king of the Vandals, to support him in his revolt against an ungrateful court. The wandering Moors and the persecuted Donatists hailed the alliance of the enemies of Rome; and Boniface repented too late of his guilty error. "On a sudden," says Gibbon, "the seven fruitful provinces from Tangier to Tripoli were overwhelmed by the invasion of the Vandals, whose destructive rage has, perhaps, been exaggerated by popular animosity, religious zeal, and extravagant declamation." Carthage for some time resisted the force of the invaders, but was at length taken by surprise, A.D. 439,—585 yearsa fter the destruction of the city and republic by the younger Scipio.* The valour and abilities of Belisarius, in the reign of Justinian (A.D. 533), recovered Africa for the Romans; but a furious sedition soon rekindled the flames of war. "Successive inroads had reduced the province of Africa to one third of the measure of Italy; yet, the Roman emperors continued to reign above a century over Carthage and the fruitful coast of the Mediterranean. But the victories and the losses of Justinian were alike pernicious to mankind; and such was the desolation of Africa, that, in many parts, a stranger might wander whole days without meeting

* Gibbon, ch. 25, 33.

the face either of a friend or an enemy. The nation of the Vandals had disappeared: they once amounted to a hundred and sixty thousand warriors, without including the children, the women and the slaves. Their numbers were infinitely surpassed by the number of the Moorish families extirpated in a relentless war; and the same destruction was retaliated on the Romans and their allies, who perished by the climate, their mutual quarrels, and the rage of the barbarians. When Procopius first landed, he admired the populousness of the cities and the country, strenuously exercised in the labours of commerce and agriculture. In less than twenty years, that busy scene was converted into a silent solitude; the wealthy citizens escaped to Sicily and Constantinople; and the secret historian has confidently affirmed, that five millions were consumed by the wars and government of the Emperor Justinian."*

The conquest of Africa was first attempted by the Mohammedans under the Khalif Omar. Crossing the deserts of Barca, the invaders pitched their tents before the walls of Tripoli; but its fortifications resisted their first assaults. The imperial prefect who advanced to its relief, was defeated in a general action, and slain; and the opulent town of Sufetula fell into the hands of the Saracens. After a campaign of fifteen months, the conquerors returned to Egypt with their plunder and captives; and their further conquests in the west were suspended for nearly twenty years. Their second invasion of Africa in the khalifate of Moawiyah, was invited by the Christians, who groaned under the exactions of their Byzantine masters, and the ecclesiastical tyranny of the patriarch of Carthage.

* Gibbon, ch. 43.

The first lieutenant of Moawiyah is stated to have defeated an army of 30,000 Greeks, and to have swept away 80,000 captives, enriching with their spoils the bold adventurers of Syria and Egypt. But the title of conqueror of Africa, we are told, is more justly due to his successor Akbah. "He marched from Damascus at the head of ten thousand of the bravest Arabs; and the genuine force of the Moslems was enlarged by the doubtful aid and conversion of many thousand barbarians. He plunged into the heart of the country, traversed the wilderness in which his successors erected the splendid capitals of Fez and Morocco, and at length penetrated to the verge of the Atlantic and the great desert." With a view to secure the permanence of his conquests, he laid the foundations of Kairoan, about 50 miles S. of Tunis, which afterwards became the seat of Saracenic learning as well as empire, and still holds the second rank in the kingdom of Tunis. But the new colony was shaken by the repeated defeats which Akbar and his successor received from the Greek generals; and the conquest of Africa was delayed by the civil discord of the Arabians. The interior provinces were alternately won and lost by the Saracens, but the coast still remained in the hands of the Greeks; till, in the year 698, a decisive victory obtained by the Governor of Egypt near Utica, drove the Greeks to their ships; and what yet remained of the colony of Dido and Cæsar was delivered to the flames. The Arabians were not yet, however, masters of the country. The Moors or Berbers of the interior provinces maintained, under their queen Cahina, a fierce resistance; and the Saracens again retired to the confines of Egypt. The Barbarians are said to have now adopted the savage policy of laying waste the country from Tangier to Tripoli, cutting down the

fruit trees, and converting a fertile and populous garden into a desert. The general of the Saracens was again welcomed by the more civilized inhabitants as the deliverer of the country, and Africa was finally reduced to a province of the Mohammedan empire.* "Within fifty years after the expulsion of the Greeks, a lieutenant of Africa informed the Khalif, that the tribute of the infidels was abolished by their conversion;" and by about the middle of the twelfth century, "the worship of Christ and the succession of pastors were abolished along the coast of Barbary, and in the kingdoms of Cordova and Seville, Valentia and Granada."†

On the division and dissolution of the Khalifate, the African province was split into the independent kingdoms of *Morocco*, *Algiers*, *Tunis*, and *Tripoli*; and the history of the sixteenth century exhibits the strange occurrence of the Emperor of Germany landing in Africa as the ally of the Moorish king of Tunis, who had implored his assistance against the famous Greek pirate, Barbarossa or Red-beard. Tripoli was given by the Emperor to the Knights of Rhodes, on their expulsion from that island by the Turks in 1522. They held this city, however, but a short time; being driven from it, in 1551, by the Turkish corsair, Dragoot Rais, under whom Tripoli became the secure resort of most of the corsairs who roved under Turkish colours, whence they continually made attacks and descents upon the opposite shores of the Mediterranean. After

* "Th number of the rebels may be presumed from that of 300,000 captives, 60,000 of whom, the caliph's fifth, were sold for the profit of the public treasury: 30,000 of the Barbarian youth were enlisted in the troops; and···with the religion, the Africans were proud to adopt the language, name, and origin of Arabs."—Gibbon.

† *Gibbon, ch. li.*

the death of Dragoot, the Porte continued to send governors to Tripoli under the titles of sanjak and bashaw; and the castle was garrisoned by Turkish troops, while the Moors under their Bey (or Prince) inhabited the city. At length, in the year 1714, Hamet Bashaw, a native of Caramania, having contrived to massacre the whole of the garrison,* took the reins of government into his own hands, and established the present Moorish dynasty. He also carried his arms into the Interior, and succeeded in making the sultan of Fezzan his tributary, as well as in reducing the hitherto untractable mountaineers of Gharian and Mesulata. Although Tripoli was thus rescued from the rapacity of the Turkish governors, its bashaws still recognized by a tribute the supremacy of the Grand Signior, in return for which they obtained the sanction of the imperial firmaun. The son and grandson of Hamet peacefully succeeded to his power; but the last days of the latter were embittered by dissensions among his sons, and by the rebellion of Sidy Yusuf, who contrived, in 1795, to make himself master of Tripoli. His character, which is stained with the imputation of fratricide, is represented by Mr. Blaquiere as exhibiting an odious assemblage of the darkest qualities of the Moor. Of the present state of the country, however, Captain Beechey (our latest authority)

* In the Tully letters, it is stated, that Hamet had previously obtained from the Porte his nomination as Pasha, in addition to his being already Bey of Tripoli. "At his palace not far from the town, he gave a superb entertainment, and invited all the chiefs of the Turks to partake of it. Three hundred of these unfortunate victims were strangled, one by one, as they entered the skiffer or hall····Next day, the Turks who remained in the city were found murdered in all parts."—Tully, vol. i. p. 69. The present Pasha of Egypt adopted a similar way of ridding himself of the Mamlooks.—See Mod. Trav. Egypt, vol. i. p. 157.

gives a rather favourable description. Tripoly, he says, "appears to be making some advances towards civilization, and is beginning to feel the good effects which result from a state of security and tranquillity. Indeed, when we reflect upon its deplorable condition at the accession of Sidi Yusuf, and look back upon the horrors of civil discord and contention to which it had been for more than eight years exposed,—impoverished at the same time by indiscriminate extortion and plunder, and subjected during the period of these heavy calamities to the dreadful effects of famine and plague,—we may venture to assert, that the present state of Tripoly is far better than might have been expected. It is now secure under the protection of an established government; property is respected, and commerce is improving; its markets are well supplied, its manufactures are encouraged, and its population appears to be increasing. A considerable portion of the revenue of Tripoly was formerly drawn from the plunder obtained by her corsairs; and a very lucrative branch of her commerce consisted in the traffic of slaves. The humane interference and the decisive measures of England have contributed to check, if not quite to abolish, these execrable sources of profit. Piracy, so far at least as we were able to learn, has been wholly superseded by commerce; and when the Tripolines find that it is more to their interest to give up their traffic in human kind, than to continue it, we may hope to see this also relinquished."* Judging from the conduct of the most highly civilized among Christian nations, this must be a period too remote to come within the reach of calculation. Humanity, as this Writer adds, "has not often been found to weigh very

* Beechey, pp. 22, 23.

heavy against the scale in which interest has been opposed to it."

The coast of Tripoli extends from the island of Jerbi to Cape Razatina, a line of about 800 miles in length. Its extent inland is very irregular, owing to the frequent interruption of the desert. The two districts of Mesulata and Gharian are comprehended in an extensive tract of mountainous country S.E. of the capital: they are wholly peopled by Arabs. Ali Bey estimates the total population of the whole kingdom of Tripoli at only two millions of inhabitants. Of the eastern district, comprising the ancient Pentapolis, we are fortunately enabled, by the recent researches of Captain Beechey and his brother, to give a very complete description. No portion of the earth, at one time so well known, the site of populous cities and the centre of an active commerce, had sunk into such complete neglect and oblivion, as the great range of coast between Tripoli and Egypt, extending to more than a third part of the length of the Mediterranean. In 1817, Captain Smyth, while engaged in an official survey of the northern coast of Africa, availed himself of the opportunity to obtain much incidental information concerning the state of the Greater Syrtis and the Cyrenaica, which, on his return, was communicated to the Admiralty; and it was consequently determined by the British Government to direct the prosecution of the survey from Tripoli to Derna. The task was entrusted to Capt. Beechey, assisted by Mr. Tyndall, a young officer in the naval service, and Mr. Henry Beechey, as artist and antiquary. The survey was accomplished in the years 1821 and 1822; and of the interesting result, we are now to attempt a rapid abstract.

FROM TRIPOLI TO BENGAZI.

On the 5th of November, 1821, the party left Tripoli under the escort of an Arab shekh, who presided over the district of Syrt, named Shekh Mahommed el Dubbah,* and who was to conduct the Europeans as far as Bengazi. There, they were to be consigned to the Shekh of Barca, whose authority extends as far as Bomba. Besides the Shekh, they were attended by three Europeans, who acted as interpreters and servants, a *tchaous* (janissary) belonging to the Bashaw, five Bedouin Arabs, and three Arabs of Tripoli to look after the horses, making altogether eighteen.† After passing through the *Messeah* (the cultivated district in the neighbourhood of the capital) and along the large salt marsh, then covered with water, they entered the scattered villages of Tagiura.‡ They are surrounded with gardens, yielding abundant crops of corn, fruit, and vegetables, and shaded by thickly planted date-trees and olive-trees. After quitting these cultivated grounds, which appear to have extended at one time further eastward, the traveller is left to pursue his course as his experience or compass may direct, there being no indication of any tract in the sandy plain before him. Keeping along the seashore, our Travellers skirted a bay, the head of which receives a small stream of pure water, called *Wady*

* That is, the hyena; a surname which this old Maraboot had acquired from his daring exploits in early life as a robber in the district of Syrt.

† Including the exploring party, viz. Capt. and Mr. Beechey, Mr. Tyndall, Mr. Campbell, surgeon, and Lieut. Coffin.

‡ "Tagiura contains about 3000 inhabitants, chiefly Moors and Jews, whose houses are dispersed in groupes over the plain, and who are engaged in agriculture and the manufacture of coarse camlets and mats of palm-tree leaves."—Della Cella, p. 18.

Rumleh or *Rummel* (sandy ravine), flowing from the mountains to the southward. On the border of this stream, they halted for the night. Early in the next day's journey, they crossed the *Wady'm Seyd*, a somewhat smaller stream, and entered upon the extensive plain of Jumarr. In this part, it was found impossible to keep near the coast, the sands being so soft, that the horses sank up to their saddle-girths. The plain of Jumarr appeared to present an excellent soil; yet, a small part only was under cultivation, and few Arab tents were to be seen. The Gharian range is here about seven miles from the coast, and several large ravines are formed by the torrents from the mountains. The travellers pitched their tents at a place called Guadigmata (Wady Gamata?), where they found a small Arab encampment.

In the next day's route, the country became gradually hilly, the road being frequently intersected by ravines. They halted at Sidy Abdellati, so called from a celebrated Maraboot, whose tomb, surrounded with gardens and date-trees, stands conspicuous on the banks of one of these *wadys*. The country about it was every where well cultivated, the wells are numerous, and the hills were covered with sheep and goats. The remains of some strongly built quadrangular forts, occupying the heights which command the road, sufficiently indicate this to have been an ancient military station. About the tomb of the Maraboot, there are frequent traces of building, and the tomb itself is constructed with the fragments of more ancient edifices, while the beach and its neighbourhood are strewed with a quantity of pottery and glass.

After leaving this place, the road led through the valley of Selin to a tolerably wide stream, called Neggazi, which, winding between the hills, gave an un-

usual interest to the view. After continuing for a short time along its banks, it ascended a ridge of hills, branching off from the Terhoona range (a branch of the Gharian), and extending to the sea. This is the eastern boundary of the great plain of Jumarr. From the summit of the ridge, several remains of what appeared to be towers, were seen conspicuously situated on the peaks to the northward, forming apparently a line of posts. The valleys are capable of the highest degree of cultivation, and vines and olive-trees were flourishing most luxuriantly between patches of corn-land and garden; but the Arabs very partially avail themselves of the fertile soil. On descending the eastern side of the range, several ruins of forts and tombs were seen on either side, with remains of ancient wells. A fertile tract of high ground, covered with green turf and clusters of olive-trees, separates the plain of Lebida from the valley at the eastern foot of the range. From this elevation, the whole plain is seen stretching down in a gentle slope to the sea. "A more beautiful scene," says Mr. Beechey, "can scarcely be witnessed. Thick groves of olive and date-trees are seen rising above the villages which are scattered over its surface; and the intermediate spaces are either covered with the most luxuriant turf, or rich with abundant crops of grain." *

* The route from Tripoli to Lebida, as described in Blaquiere's Letters, appears to be somewhat different, and probably more circuitous. After passing Tajoura, and "crossing what the Arabs denominate 'the five rivers" (or *wadys*), you arrive at the base of the Mesurata mountains, and, turning to the left, pass through the villages of Lagarta, Maraboot, and Sidi Benger, leaving those of Tumbrak and Saleen to the westward.—Blaquiere, vol. i. p. 18. Of the intermediate tract of coast, a short account is given by Capt. Smyth. The first principal point E. of Tripoli, is Ras al Amra, where there is a small boat-cove resembling an ancient

LEBIDA.

THE present appearance of the ruins of this once renowned city, is thus described.

"The city of Leptis Magna appears to have been comprehended within little more than a square half-mile of ground. It was situated close to the sea, on the banks of a ravine now called Wady Lebda, which might probably in the rainy season have assumed the appearance of a river. When we passed t' ough the place, it was, however, nothing more than a small stream, although too deep in some parts to be easily forded; and it is probably dry, or nearly so, in the summer. The inadequacy of this supply to the consumption of the city, may be inferred from the remains of an aqueduct communicating with the Cinyphus, still existing in unconnected portions, in the space between the town and that river. At the back of the town are several large mounds of earth, thrown up in the form of banks, which are supposed to have been raised for the purpose of turning off the water which might occasionally have threatened it from the hills, and which the slope of the ground from the hills to the sea may possibly have rendered very necessary.

cothon, with the ruins of several baths with tesselated pavements. Beyond this is another small port, formed by a point of land between the wadys of Benzbarra and Abdellata, whence the produce of the country is shipped off in summer. The mouth of the Abdellata forms a picturesque cove, and on its left bank, a little inland, is a troglodytic village excavated in the sand-stone rock: many of the caverns, being furnished with doors, are used, instead of the usual *matamores*, as granaries. In the vicinity of the Ganema river, frequent vestiges of antiquity announce the approach to a place once more prosperous; and in the valley of Seyd-n-Alli are remains of some Roman fortifications, called by the Moors the Seven Towers, which Capt. S. supposes to be the site of Quintiliana.—Beechey, pp. 72, 3.

The quantity of alluvial soil brought down the wady above mentioned by the winter torrents, have, together with the accumulation of sand from the beach, nearly effaced all traces of the port and *cothon* of Leptis Magna, which does not, indeed, appear to have been at any time very capacious. The actual remains of the city are still sufficient to be somewhat imposing; but they are for the most part so deeply buried under the sand which ten centuries of neglect have allowed to accumulate about them, that plans of them could not be obtained without very extensive excavations. The style of the buildings is universally Roman; and they are more remarkable for the regularity and solidity of their construction, than for any great appearance of good taste employed in their embellishment. A great part of the city has been constructed with brick; and the material which has been used in the instances here alluded to, maintains remarkably well the high character which Roman brick has so deservedly acquired. The remains of the *stadium* are perhaps the most interesting, in speaking of the buildings which have been constructed with stone. They have been partially excavated by Captain Smyth, together with some other buildings; but the task of clearing them entirely would be too Herculean for limited means, and the same may be observed with respect to other parts of Leptis Magna in general."

Captain Smyth first visited Leptis in May 1816; at which period the ruins had a very interesting appearance. His object was, to examine into the practicability of embarking the numerous columns lying on its sands, which the Bashaw of Tripoli had offered to his Britannic Majesty. When he returned, in January 1817, with a vessel adapted for their reception, he was surprised to find, that many of the most valuable

columns which had been standing in the preceding [illegible] had either been removed or broken and mutilated. Upon inquiry, he learned that the report of his intention to carry them off, had spread an alarm among the Arabs, who had long been accustomed to use these ruins as a quarry which supplied them with mill-stones; and they had, in the interval, been busily employed in breaking up the columns to secure a permanent supply. Captain Smyth, however, commenced a work of excavation near the centre of the ancient city; when he had soon the mortification of perceiving, that other barbarians had preceded the Arabs in the work of destruction, instigated either by iconoclastic zeal or by vindictive feeling. From whatever cause it had proceeded, the destruction appeared to have been complete. Most of the statues were found either broken to pieces or chipped into shapeless masses. The arabesque ornaments had been defaced, the acanthus-leaves and volutes knocked off the fallen capitals, and even part of the pavements torn up, the massy shafts of the columns alone remaining entire.* An extensive necropolis was opened, but with little success. There were neither vases nor lachrymatories, but only a coarse species of *amphoræ* and some *pateræ*; with a few coins, neither rare nor handsome, mostly brass, and principally of Severus, Pupienus, Alexander, Julia Mammea, Balbus, and Gordianus Pius. A number of intaglios of poor execution, were picked up in different parts, as also some very common Carthaginian medals, but nothing indicating high antiquity or tasteful skill. The excavations were persevered in

* Had "the furious bigotry of the Carthaginian bishops" led to the demolition of these pagan monuments, it is not at all likely that the columns would have been destroyed, although the statues might have been broken to pieces.

for eighteen days, when, having explored the principal basilica, a triumphal arch, a circus, a peristyleum, and several minor structures, without any better result, Captain S. determined to desist.

In the course of the excavation, he had an opportunity of observing, that the period of the principal grandeur of the city must have been posterior to the Augustan age, and when taste was on the decline. Several of the mutilated colossal statues are in the very worst style of the Lower Empire. "There are also," continues Captain Smyth, "many evidences of the city having been occupied after its first and violent destruction, several of the walls and towers being built of various architectural fragments, confusedly heaped together. Although there are several exceedingly fine brick edifices, most of the walls, arcades, and public buildings are composed of massy blocks of free-stone and conglomerate, in layers, without cement, or at most with very little. The temples were constructed in a style of the utmost grandeur, adorned with immense columns of the most valuable granites and marbles, the shafts of which consisted of a single piece. Most of these noble ornaments were of the Corinthian order; but I also saw several enormous masses of architecture, ornamented with triglyphs, and two or three cyathiform capitals, which led me to suppose that a Doric temple of anterior date had existed there. On a triple plinth near them, I observed a species of *socle*, used in some of these structures as the base of a column, with part of the walls of the cella, surrounded with a columnar peristyle. The city was encompassed by strong walls of solid masonry, pierced with magnificent gates, and was ornamented with spacious porticoes, sufficient portions of which still remain to prove their former splendour. It was

divided from its principal suburb to the east by a river, the mouth of which, forming a spacious basin, was the *cothon*, defended, at its narrow entrance, by two stout fortifications: branching out from them, may be observed, under water, the remains of two large moles. On the banks of this river, the bed of which is still occupied by a rivulet, are various ruins of aqueducts, and some large reservoirs in excellent preservation. Between the principal cisterns and the torrent, to the westward of Leptis, some artificial mounds are constructed across the plain, by which the winter rains were conducted to the reservoirs, and carried clear of the city. On the east bank of the river are remains of a galley-port, and numerous baths, adjacent to a circus, formerly ornamented with obelisks and columns, and above which are vestiges of a theatre. Indeed, the whole plain, from the Mergip hills to the Cinyphus (now the river *Khâhan*), exhibits unequivocal proofs of its former population and opulence." *

Leptis Magna was founded by the Phenicians, and ranked next to Carthage and Utica among their maritime cities. Under the Romans, it was signalized, as Sallust informs us, by its fidelity and obedience. On the occupation of Africa by the Vandals, its fortifications appear to have been destroyed; but they were probably restored under Justinian, when the city became the residence of the prefect Sergius. Here, he was invested by the hostile Moors (*Levatæ*), and was

* Beechey, pp. 74—78. No works of art were recovered, and Captain Smyth was obliged to content himself with carrying off some architectural fragments and thirty-seven shafts, now in the court of the British Museum. Three fine Cipolline columns of great magnitude and extreme beauty, it was found impracticable to bring off. A few of the fine granite pillars were taken away, a century ago, to ornament a palace of Louis XIV.

ultimately compelled to withdraw to Carthage. The city was finally demolished by the Saracens; after which, it appears to have been wholly abandoned, and its remains, according to Leo Africanus, were employed in the construction of the modern Tripoli. "It must always afford matter for surprise," Captain Beechey remarks, "to those who are acquainted with this beautiful and highly productive country, how Tripoly could ever have been selected in preference to Lebida, as the metropolis of the Regency. Placed, in the midst of sand, on the borders of an extensive desert, and situated almost at the extremity of the country in which it stands, Tripoly appears to enjoy scarcely any particular local advantage beyond the possession of its port; while Lebida seems to unite in one beautiful spot, all the advantages of plenty, convenience, and security. It is probable that the harbour and strong walls of Tripoly were the principal causes of its adoption as the capital; and the sums of money which would be necessary to rebuild and fortify Lebida, might have been considered as more than equivalent to its local recommendations, by a people who seldom look beyond the present. But Lebida, once occupied, would be a much stronger post than Tripoly could ever be made; and the good sense of the ancients was conspicuously manifested in its selection as a principal town."*

The *Wady el Khahan*, or Cinyphus, which flows about nine miles to the eastward of Lebida, was found to possess more pretensions to the name of a river, than any stream which had hitherto been seen. The remains of the aqueduct by which its waters were conveyed to the city, are by the side of the road, about

* Beechey, p. 51.

a mile and a half from its mouth. Here may still be observed the same sedgy marshes that anciently characterized this spot, and gave occasion for the construction of the causey still existing, which is mentioned by Strabo as having been built by the Carthaginians. The morass is extremely dangerous to cross without a guide; and two of the exploring party who were unprovided with one, experienced much difficulty in traversing a small quicksand between the marsh and the sea. There is another part of this quicksand, more to the eastward, which it was found impossible to cross: the horses, in attempting it, sank up to the saddle-girths. The exhalations which rise from the marsh are very unwholesome; yet, it abounds with game of all sorts. At its north-eastern extremity is the promontory called Tabia Point. "The region of the Cinyphus," adds Mr. Beechey, "has still the same peculiarities which it has been stated to possess by Herodotus. There we still find the rich and dark-coloured soil and the abundance of water which he mentions; but every thing degenerates in the hand of the Arab, and the produce of the present day bears no proportion to that which the historian has recorded. The lands in the neighbourhood of Zeliten and Mesurata are the only places cultivated to the eastward of the Cinyphus." *

* Beechey, p. 71. "The extensive plain which, about an hour's march from the Ciniphus, stretches out to the east as far as Cape Mesurata, is abundantly productive, and appears to have been the most populous part of Libya in the time of Herodotus, who compares it, in exuberant fertility, to that of the country round Babylon, the richest soil at that time known, and yielding thirty for one. This extraordinary degree of fruitfulness is not owing to the industry of the inhabitants, but proceeds from the generous nature of the soil, spontaneously covered with palm and olive-trees, which there require no sort of cultivation. Upon this plain are three large villages called Sliten, inhabited by Jews and Marabouts.

The village of Zeliten (or Zleetun), where the Travellers halted, contains from 300 to 500 souls; and the district to which it gives name, extending from the Wady el Khahan to Selin, comprises no fewer than fifteen villages with 10,000 inhabitants. A very considerable proportion of the population of Zeliten are Jews, and the manufactures of the place are chiefly in their hands. "We found them," says Capt. Beechey, "uniformly civil, obliging and industrious; and, though much persecuted by the Mohammedan inhabitants, they appear to support their ill fortune contentedly." The houses are built of mud mixed with rough stones, and roofed with mats and palm-branches. Each village is surrounded with its plantations of date-trees and olives, the surplus produce of which, together with the straw mats and earthen jars manufactured by the villagers, are disposed of to Bedouin traders. Near Zeliten are some springs of very good water. The port is an insignificant cove. The many ruins which exist in the vicinity, and the frequent appearance of hewn stones and marble shafts protruding through the mud walls of the hovels, decidedly mark it out as an ancient site,—"probably the *Cinsternæ Oppidum* of Ptolemy."* Among the sand-

The latter have so increased and multiplied, that the whole country is thickly strewed with their little churches; and the Jews are in such subjection to them, that, besides the performance of the lowest menial offices, they are in various ways fleeced of their gains by the Marabouts, and exposed to every species of extortion and indignity.... The vestiges of the ancient dwellers upon this luxuriant tract are frequently observable in the fragments with which the modern huts are constructed, and in the ruins of old towers in which some of the Marabouts have contrived to perch themselves."—Della Cella, pp. 37, 8.

* Della Cella places Cisterne at another ancient site. "Among the sands near the sea, and about eight hours distant from Cape Mesurata," he says, "are the remains of an ancient town called

hills which almost surround the village, are several imperfect ground-plans. Near the beach is the tomb of a Marabout, Sidy Abd-el-Salam; "a really handsome mosque, ornamented with minarets and neat cupolas, and white-washed all over." * Two markets are held here weekly; one on a Friday in front of the castle, the other on a Tuesday near the Marabout's tomb. Judging from the number of drunken men to be seen at the market, *lakbi* appears to be pretty generally a favourite beverage.

On leaving Zeliten, the route enters upon an extensive plain, overrun for the most part with squills and brushwood. Two roads cross it; one to Mesurata, the other to Benioleed: the former was preferred as nearer the sea; and at sunset, the Travellers arrived at Selin. The next evening, they reached the little village of Zoúia, and on the day following, by a circuitous route, Mesurata, the capital of the district. This is the last town on the eastern boundary of the cultivated districts, where the plain of Barbary is abruptly succeeded by the awful and desolate expanse of the Syrtis.

Orir by the Moors; consisting of such fragments of walls, ruins of houses, pieces of marble, and shattered mosaic pavements, as prove it to have been once a handsome town. Its site corresponds to that of the *Cisterne* of Ptolemy, situated between Cape Triero (the Cephalus of Strabo) and the pools of the Ciniphus." Capt. Beechey admits this; but, supposing the Orir of Della Cella to be Selin, (in which he is probably wrong,) he thinks Zeliten more adapted than that place, for the site of a city.

* The descendants of this saint, Capt. Lyon says, who are called *Walad el Shekh* (sons of the Shekh or Elder), are much respected, and "think themselves authorized to be the most impudent begging set of people in the whole Regency. "Few Marabouts have a mosque for a mausoleum: their tombs are, in general, small, insulated buildings, with a single cupola, usually placed on an eminence.

"The town of Mesurata," Capt. Beechey says, "is built with tolerable regularity; its streets cross each other at right angles; and near the centre stands the market-place, which, like most others in this country, is half occupied by a pool of green and stinking water. The houses are only one story high, and are built with rough stones and mud; the roofs are flat and formed with slight rafters, covered with reats and a quantity of sea-weed, over which is laid a thick coat of mud, smoothed and beat down very carefully. They are fortunate who can mix a little lime with the mud which forms the outer part of their roof; for, without this addition, it is wholly incapable of resisting the heavy rains which assail it in winter, and a thick muddy stream never fails to find its way through the numerous mazes of sea-weed and matting to the luckless inhabitants below; the white-washed walls are, in consequence, usually marked with long streaks of this penetrating fluid, and present a singularly variegated appearance.* The greater part of the town has been built upon a hard rocky incrustation, about two feet in thickness; the soil beneath is soft and sandy, and, being easily removed, is excavated by the Arabs into storehouses for their corn and dry provisions. Some of these have, in the course of time, fallen in, and the streets are in such places not very passable.

"The extent of the district of Mesurata, according to the report of its Shekh, is from Selin to Sooleb, a

* Della Cella says, their houses fall to pieces before the rainy season is over. "Diseases of the eyes, rheumatism, and dysentery are the general and natural consequences of the damp vapours to which the inhabitants are exposed; and to this cause of sickness may be added another, arising from their total ignorance of the use and benefit of lime, though living upon a calcareous soil."

place in the Syrtis, two days distant to the southward of the town. It consists of the villages of Ghara, Zouia, Zoroog, Gusser Hamed, Gezir, &c., and is said to contain 14,000 inhabitants, including those of the town of Mesurata: the population of the five villages which we have just named, amounts to about 1200 persons, supposing the estimate of the Shekh to be correct. The gardens, which extend from Zouia to Marabut Bushaifa, produce dates, olives, melons, pomegranates, pumpkins, carrots, onions, turnips, radishes, and a little tobacco and cotton; the palma Christi also, we frequently observed in this neighbourhood. Many of the gardens are raised from six to eight feet above the road, and are enclosed by mud walls, or by fences of the prickly pear and wild aloe. The dates, which are of several kinds, are in great abundance, and the olives yield a plentiful supply of oil. These, with barley, which is also very abundant, are carried to various markets for sale: for the home consumption of the place consists chiefly of dates and *dúrrah*, and the greater part of the barley is exported. The principal manufactures of Mesurata are, carpets, the colours of which are very brilliant, straw mats, sacks of goats' hair, and earthen jars.* The market is, in general, well supplied with meat, vegetables, the fruits of the country, oil, manteca, and salt: the latter is procured from some very extensive marshes a few miles to the southward of the town.

* "Caravans go from Mesurata to Fezzan and Vadei, with cotton goods, camlets, carpets, and a large assortment of Venetian coloured glass beads, the richest and most valued ornaments of the beauties of Tombuctoo; and at Vadei, they meet the caravans of negroes, who convey those articles to Tombuctoo, and bring gold dust, ivory, and slaves."—Della Cella, p. 43.

"We were unable to discover any remains of antiquity at Mesurata; but its remarkable position, between the fertile regions of the Cinyphus and the barren, dreary wastes of the Greater Syrtis, cannot fail to make it an object of more than common interest to those who witness the singular contrast. From the high range of sand-hills, between the town and the sea, an excellent idea may be formed of this striking peculiarity of situation; and we often toiled up their steep and yielding sides, to enjoy the singularity of the prospect. At the foot of these masses, to the southward and to the westward, are the varied and cultivated lands of Mesurata: there are seen endless groves of palm-trees and olives, among which are scattered numerous villages and gardens, rich tracts of corn-land, flocks of sheep and goats, and every where a moving and busy population. To the south-eastward, a tenantless and desolate waste, without a single object rising from its surface, lies stretched in one long, unbroken line, as far as the eye can range. Not a single tree or shrub is on that side to be seen; not a single house or tent, not a single human being or animal of any description. In fact, the effect of the Greater Syrtis, from this place, is that of a dreary moor,—a wide tract of level, waste land,—without any thing to distinguish one part of it from another, but the windings of a marsh, which threads its dark surface, and is lost in different parts of the unbroken horizon."*

The town of Mesurata is about two miles to the southward of the cape of the same name, the *Cephalus Promontorium* of Strabo. It is under the government of an Aga, whose military command extends over the whole province; and he can raise, Della Cella states,

* Beechey, pp. 89, 90; 106, 7.

800 horsemen and as many infantry.* During the reign of the late Bashaw, Mesurata was in a very disturbed state. The inhabitants, exasperated by the outrages committed by Sidi Yusuf, the Bashaw's younger son, refused to receive him as governor, although they professed their readiness to accept of another that might be sent to them.† Through the influence of the Shekh, they were at length reduced to obedience. The Aga, as the immediate organ of the Bashaw's will, unites in his own person all the judiciary and legislative powers; "if, indeed," adds Della Cella, "such appellation can be bestowed upon an authority uncontrolled either by equity, reason, custom, or public opinion."

Two days before the exploring party left Mesurata for the Syrtis, a strong *scirocco* wind set in, and brought such myriads of locusts, that the air was literally darkened by them. The inhabitants remained out all night, keeping up a continued shouting and firing of muskets and pistols, to prevent their settling on the cultivated lands. Other hands were busily employed in collecting the locusts which had been beaten down, and carrying them off in baskets as an article of food: many asses, heavily laden with these insects, were driven into the town and neighbouring villages. Owing to these precautions, the mischief occasioned by these formidable invaders was inconsiderable. ‡

The desolate region upon which the route now

* "As these levies are subject to the Aga's caprice, and made without due regard to the number of the inhabitants, no accurate estimate can be formed of the real state of the population."

† Tully, vol. ii. pp. 125, 127, 145.

‡ Pliny states, that, in the Cyrenaica, there was a law compelling the inhabitants, every third year, to wage a regular war against the locusts, by seeking out their nests.

entered, is an immense marsh, enclosing a series of pools or shallow lagoons, which occasionally communicate with the sea: it extends in length, from Mesurata to Sooleb, little less than forty miles, and in breadth, from nine miles to fifteen. In the time of Strabo, this marsh appears to have assumed the appearance of a lake with islands; and there was a naval station at the point of communication with the Gulf, of which there are obscure traces in the remains of a long quay or causey, about nine miles from Mesurata, extending 330 paces inland. During the rains, the greater number of the pools, many of which are some miles in extent, unite and form still larger sheets of water; and the morass then becomes very dangerous, if not altogether impassable. Indeed, from the alternate *laminæ* of salt and alluvial deposite, as well as from the numerous small shells which cover its surface, it is evident that it is still, at times, wholly inundated by the sea.*

"Our guides," says Capt. Beechey, "were always desirous that we should not deviate from the track, and were constantly representing to us the danger there was of sinking, with all the usual hyperbole of Arab description. As we suspected, however, that they only made difficulties in order to save themselves the trouble of attending us in our excursions, we paid but little attention to their observations, and continued

* Like the maritime lagoons which border the Egyptian Delta, this marsh seems to have been originally a gulf. The coast, though now above the level of the marsh, is a low strip of sand, which has apparently been formed by the strong current and north-easterly winds. The formation of this bank would convert the gulf into a lake; and the accumulation of mud and sediment raising the bed of the lake, while the embankment continued to rise, would transform the lake into a marsh.—See MOD. TRAV., Egypt, vol. i. pp. 44—6.

to cross the marsh, whenever our duties rendered it necessary that we should examine either the coast or the country beyond it; taking no other precautions than those of keeping in such places as appeared to offer the firmest footing. The crusted surface occasionally gave way under our horses' feet, and discovered hollow spaces of various depth underneath, at the bottom of which appeared water; but, as none of our party ever sank in very deeply, we concluded that these hollows were too trifling to be dangerous, till experience at length convinced us, that a portion of truth was mixed up with the exaggerated accounts of our guides.....We were afterwards surprised, not only at our numerous escapes, but at our want of penetration in not having sooner perceived the danger to which the nature of the marsh had exposed us. As two of our party were making their way across to something which bore the appearance of a ruin, the ground suddenly gave way beneath the feet of the foremost horse, and discovered a hollow of 10 or 12 feet in depth, at the bottom of which appeared water. The animal, who was galloping at the time, feeling the insecurity of his footing, sprang violently forward with all the energy of terror, and, by this sudden exertion, saved himself and his rider from destruction; for it would not have been possible to extricate either from such a place, had there even been more persons at hand to attempt it. The ground continued to crack and break away for some distance further, as the horse galloped on from the hole; and a large aperture was soon formed in the crusted surface of the marsh, as the pieces fell in one after another. The whole extent of the danger was not at first perceived by the rider who had so narrowly escaped; but the person who was following, saw the chasm which had been made,

and wheeling his horse round in another direction, was just in time to avoid plunging into it. As this accident occurred near the middle of the marsh, it was difficult to decide upon the best path to be pursued, the surface being every where in appearance the same; but, in order that the weight might be more equally divided, both riders dismounted, and continued to lead their horses till they reached a firmer place. This was, however, no easy matter; as the poor animals were so terrified with their repeated stumbles, that they could with difficulty be pulled along, and they trembled so violently as to be almost incapable of keeping their legs; for the surface frequently cracked, and partially gave way in places which appeared to be secure, and the parties were so often obliged to alter their direction, that they almost despaired of being able to bring off their horses. After much winding and turning, this was, however, at length effected, and both horses and riders were heartily glad to find themselves once more on firm ground. Nothing was said to our guides of this accident, but it served to convince us that their apprehensions of the marsh were not groundless; and we afterwards took the precaution of dismounting, when we had occasion to cross any part which was considered to be dangerous. We found, on examination, that many hollow spaces of considerable depth and extent existed in various parts of the marsh; and that the crust of salt and mud which covered them was sometimes not more than two inches, or an inch and a half, in thickness." *

Independently of their apparent depth and consequent danger, the water at the bottom of these chasms, was usually several feet deep; and the deposite of

* Beechey, pp. 127—9.

mud below this, made the whole a formidable quagmire, from which escape would be nearly impossible. In that part of the marsh surrounding the *Gusser el Jebha* (Jebha's castle), the ground being unequal, no saline crust has been formed; but the pits are often not less effectually concealed by the rank herbage, reeds, and brushwood; and the Travellers were indebted to the sagacity of their horses, which obstinately refused to quit the winding-path, more than to their own sagacity, for their preservation. Many insulated spots, both of earth and sand, are conspicuous in different parts of the marsh, most of which are "honoured with a name." The road either winds along their margin, or, when necessary, traverses them for greater security. The first of these little islands, or oases, lies out of the track, at the distance of seven or eight miles from the coast: it is called *Towergah*, and has a village with a considerable plantation of date-trees. Sooleb, at the southern limit of the great marsh or lake, presents some tolerable pasturage, and its dreary wilds are consequently enlivened by flocks and herds, the property of several Arab shekhs, tended chiefly by negro slaves who dwell in scattered tents. The only water, however, is bitter, brackish, and stinking. In fact, the marsh does not wholly terminate here: having contracted itself, in passing this place, to the width of two or three miles, it again expands, extending southward along the coast as far as Giraff, and occupying altogether a space of 101 miles in length.*

* About ten miles S. of the mausoleum of the Maraboot Bushaifa, which gives name to the bay that it overlooks, there is a sandy elevation bearing the name of *Aarar*, which is remarkable as possessing a tall and solitary date-tree, the only one to be met with on the coast of Syrtis, a tract of more than 400 miles. The whole coast

The party reached Giraff on the 11th of December, (the ninth day from Mesurata,) and pitched their tents upon some sand-hills, bordering a wide expanse of plain covered with low brushwood. The journey across the marsh had been monotonous in the extreme. "No objects," says the Writer, "had appeared to enliven the scene, and no sounds were heard but the voices of our own camel-drivers, and the tiresome, unvaried songs of our Arab escort, which usually consisted of no more than three or four words, repeated eternally without any change of tone, and apparently without the consciousness of the performers themselves. The only sounds which broke in upon the stillness of the night, were the prayers of our friend the *Dubbah*, as he chanted them at intervals in a low and drowsy tone, and the howlings of his namesakes (the hyenas), who prowled about the tents, occasionally mingled with the shrill cries of the jackals." The noxious qualities of the night air in these swampy regions, were occasionally severely felt; and in many parts of the marsh, a very offensive smell was perceived.

A little beyond Giraff, is a small ravine called *Wady Ghebaiba*, the banks of which present the only cultivation in the neighbourhood; but the ground now begins to undulate, and is covered with pasturage; and at Zaffran, the luxury of sweet water was again obtained,—the first that had been met with since leaving Mesurata.* Zaffran has evidently been a mi-

continues very low till eastward of Giraff, when it alters its character; the shore becomes rocky, the land gets more hilly, and is covered with vegetation.

* The horses and camels had necessarily been put upon short allowance even of the bad water, and for the last four days had been without any, which they had felt severely. Their breath,

litary station, and it has a little port,—"the first which occurs eastward from the *Cephalas Promontorium*," but it is now nearly filled up with sand. At this place, (supposed to be the Aspis of Strabo, and the Aspa of Edrisi,) a chain of fortified posts commences, which extends through the whole of the Syrtis, and into the Cyrenaica. The forts are of a quadrangular form, capable of holding from 50 to 100 men, and are usually built over springs of water. They have neither gate, window, nor other opening, except at the top, to which the garrison and those who fled to them for protection, must have gained access by ladders. The greater number of them are supposed to have been erected by the Romans under the emperors. When the empire was at its greatest extent, the demand for soldiers pressed upon its resources; and the harassing service of the frontier required that every practicable provision should be made for the security and comfort of the troops to whom it was confided.* The immediate design of these forts, however, seems to have been, to maintain an open communication between the eastern and western parts of the province; in order to which, it was necessary to guard the watering-places, and to provide depôts strong enough to resist the sudden and unskilful attacks of the barbarians.†

particularly that of the camels, became extremely heated and offensive. The camel has been known to go as long as ten days without drinking, but it suffers from an abstinence of three or four.

* "With regard to Egypt, Africa, and Spain, as they were far removed from any important scene of war, a single legion (supposed to amount, with its attendant auxiliaries, to about 12,500 men) maintained the domestic tranquillity of those great provinces."—Gibbon.

† Both Appian and Diodorus, in passages cited by Capt. Beechey, mention the practice of erecting castles (πυργοι) near the watering

The general appearance of Zaffran is not unpleasing. Though bare of trees, the hills covered with verdure and overspread with a variety of flowers,* the flocks scattered over the higher grounds, and the partial cultivation of the valleys, give to the country a cheerful aspect.† It furnishes large supplies of corn, wool, and *manteca*. The inhabitants of Zaffran, as of all the other parts of the Syrtis, are Bedouins; "for there is not a single inhabited town or village between Mesurata and Bengazi." "We found them," says Captain Beechey, "hospitable and obliging; and never entered one of their tents without receiving a cordial reception: their simple fare of milk and dates was always freely offered, and our horses were regaled with a feed of corn.‡ Fresh milk

places; a precaution rendered necessary by the barbarous policy, so often had recourse to in order to repel invasion, of filling up the wells or poisoning them.

* No traces could be perceived of the plant, properly so called, which appears to have given name to the place; but the whole neighbourhood was overspread with a species of crocus, "from which saffron might very possibly be extracted." The place, doubtless, takes its name from the flower. The saffron of the Gharian mountains is described by Leo Africanus as the best in the world.

† The appearance of the beach in the neighbourhood of Zaffran, is described as very singular and formidable. "Had we not ourselves beheld the extraordinary scene which it presented, we should scarcely have believed it possible that the force of the sea could, under any circumstances, have raised the large blocks of stone which are piled up on this part of the coast. Heaps of sand and sea-weed are thrown up with these blocks; and the roar and confusion which a moderate gale of wind here occasions, are such as, in other places, will seldom be found to accompany the most violent weather. Sallust seems to allude to the powerful action of the surf: *Nam ubi mare magnum esse et sævire ventis cœpit, limum, arenamque, et saxa ingentia fluctus trahunt.* (*Bell. Jugurth.*, p. 78)"—Beechey, p. 162, 3.

‡ The corn is deposited, as is usual in Northern Africa, in cisterns or subterranean granaries. Varro asserts, that wheat thus pre-

was not always to be had, but they were never without a good supply of *léban* (butter-milk), which a long day's hard riding through a country without roads, and under the influence of an African sun, made infinitely more palatable than will easily be imagined by those who can spare it for their pigs. "We were often much amused, on these occasions, with the surprise which our appearance created, and at the contest between ill-repressed curiosity and the respect which our Arab friends were desirous of shewing to their guests. This struggle generally lasted till we had finished our repast, and our hosts would then begin to draw a little nearer to the mats which they had spread upon the ground for our seats; the women to examine our dress more minutely, and the men to handle our sabres and fire-arms. The white linen of which our turbans and under garments were composed, excited the greatest admiration in the former, while our double-barrelled guns, and pocket-pistols, with stop-locks, were the objects of attraction to the latter. In a very short time, the reserve of both sexes would begin to wear away very rapidly, and the whole family of our host would crowd round us indiscriminately, each trying to be heard above the other: one question after another poured in upon us from all sides, and either nobody waited for an answer, or the answer was given by half a dozen of the family at once, each expressing a different opinion from that of his neighbour. At length, when no satisfactory conclusion could be formed upon the subject of their inquiry, they would wait to have the question formally answered by ourselves; and the real

served, will keep for fifty years, and millet for more than a hundred. Cæsar alludes to the same ancient mode of preserving the produce of Africa.

use of every object which excited their curiosity, was generally so different from all those which they had assigned to it, that the whole party, then waiting in silent expectation for the result, would burst out all at once into the loudest exclamations of surprise, and sometimes into fits of laughter, which laid them rolling on the ground, and left them scarcely strength to rise when we got up to take our leave. Among the numerous objects of attraction, our compass, telescopes, and watches excited universal admiration; and the reason why the hands of the latter should move round of themselves, and why the needle of the compass should always turn to the northward, must have been canvassed among them for many months afterwards. Why a man or a camel could be seen distinctly through a tube, when they could scarcely be seen at all, at the same distance, without it, will afford equal matter for speculation; and the next European who may visit the tents of our friends, will probably hear an account of these wonders so much disfigured by misrepresentation, and so much exaggerated by the enthusiasm of Arab fancy, as will lead him to doubt whether they ever saw what they are describing, or to believe that they are telling him some whimsical story which has no better foundation than those of the Thousand and One Nights, or the description of a Mahommedan paradise.

"We found the men of Zaffran active, healthy, and well made; the women pretty and well behaved. The dress of the former consists merely of a coarse *baracan*, with a red cap, and sandals of camel's hide. The women wear a loose cotton shirt under the *baracan*, and, instead of the sandals, were furnished with laced boots. They had as usual a profusion of rude ornaments and charms to avert the evil eye, and were not at all anxious

to keep their faces veiled or to avoid the society of strangers. A small looking-glass and a few strings of beads were received with delight by the fairer part of this community; and a knife with a few flints and some powder, were accepted very thankfully by the men."*

The route from Zaffran to Medinet Sultan, lies through the same description of pastoral country, which becomes gradually higher, and in the valleys is well cultivated. Besides numerous flocks of sheep and goats, some oxen and camels were seen; and in all parts were found hares, plovers, quails, curlews, wild ducks, a few snipes, and numerous jackals: the latter were, indeed, throughout the journey, constant companions.

Medinet Sultan has been an important military position, and its situation appears to answer very nearly to that of the city of Sort, the ancient capital of this district.† There are remains of several strongly built quadrangular forts, with foundations of strong walls communicating with them. Within one inclosure is a subterranean granary, which has been lined with rough stones, and coated with excellent cement, still in a very perfect state. About two miles S. E. of this station, are decided remains of an ancient city, from which it probably takes its name. A number of the wells and tanks are in very good preservation, but the buildings were found in so ruinous a state as to

* Beechey, pp. 165—168.

† The name of Sort or Sert is not known to the Arabs as applying to any city or ancient site, but is employed to designate the tract of country which begins at Sooleb and extends to Barca. The modern name of the ruins, *Medina* or *Medinet Sultan* (the city, or the royal city), which has evidently superseded the more distinctive appellation, indicates this to have been the chief place in the Syrtic region.

render it impossible to make out a plan of them without previous excavation. At Medinet Sultan, there is a sandy bay, in which boats might find shelter with particular winds; and a lake commences here, apparently deep, which communicates with the sea in two places, and extends along the coast to the eastward. The stony nature of the beach, running out into dangerous shallows, renders a passage through the channels now impracticable for vessels of any kind; but it may formerly have allowed of the entrance of small craft. A great many flamingoes were seen upon the lake, with several coveys of snipes and curlews.

The route continued to traverse low and marshy ground to Nehim, the next halting place; and then skirted the edge of another marsh, which extends for several miles parallel with the beach, from which it is separated by sand-hills. The same dreary alternation of lake and swamp, according as the coast rises into sand-hills or sinks to the marshy level, continued with little interruption during several successive stages. At Wady Shegga, there are remains of some strong forts, and obscure traces of a small town; and about two miles to the eastward, a high cliff projects very remarkably into the sea, upon which has been built a strong fortress of hewn stones. It commands, on both sides, an extensive view over the sea, and overlooks many remains of building scattered about the plain at the back of it. A great quantity of broken pottery was found at this place; and red earthen jars were observed protruding through the sides of the cliff where it had fallen away. The floor and two sides of a chamber (or reservoir?) coated with excellent cement, were noticed in the side of the cliff near the sea: the other parts had fallen away with the rock, and were scattered in ruin on the beach, which was thickly

strewed with remains of the fortress. At the foot of the eminence is a ravine, which seems to be the bed of a considerable torrent. The mountains, here running parallel with the beach, approach so closely to the sea, that the intervening plain might, by means of this ravine, be easily defended; and traces of strong walls are visible on both sides of it, which have extended from the sea to the foot of the hills, forming a very effectual barrier. This site seems to merit the more particular description, being so well adapted, in the opinion of Capt. Beechey, both by nature and art, for the establishment of a boundary line, that he is strongly inclined to fix here the site of the Castle of Euphrantes, which defended the frontier of Cyrene under the Ptolemies. Its modern name is Benger-wád.* Some large mounds of sand and rubbish, through which occasionally appear parts of the walls and ground-plans of houses, about five miles further, and three-quarters of a mile inland, are conjectured to mark the site of the trading frontier town of Charax. There is no doubt, it is remarked, that the greater part of this tract has been formerly inhabited.

Soon after passing the above-mentioned mounds, the Travellers arrived at the wells of Hudia, which seems to take its name from a Jewish settlement. Here is seen a very remarkable hill, through which gypsum protrudes in almost every part, and terminating in a conical mound of pure gypsum, "so smooth as to have the appearance of ice." The diameter of the cone at its base is about 30 feet. The valleys between the hills are very fertile, and produce, among other flowers, a variety of wild geraniums, singularly

* For the arguments in support of this opinion, we must refer our readers to Beechey, pp. 189—91. Della Cella supposes the boundary to have been at Zaffran.

mixed with a species of leek, which flourishes in great abundance. The water is collected in a hollow between the hills, and the 'wells' appear to be ponds.

A barren and rugged country now succeeds for two stages to the confines of Barca; and during the latter part of the way, no living creature was seen, with the exception of a hyena and a wild bull of a species called by the Arabs *bagrah-wash*, both of which fled at the approach of the party. Muktahr is the boundary of the districts of Syrt and Barca, the line being marked by small piles of loose stones. A road here branches off to some sulphur-mines called *Kebrit*, a day and a half to the southward, whence sulphur is brought on camels to Braiga, where vessels occasionally arrive to receive it. From this circumstance, the Gulf, in this part, is called by the Arabs, *Giun el Kebrit* (Sulphur Gulf). Near Muktahr is a remarkable table-hill, called *Jebel Allah*. The route now lay for a few miles along the edge of an extensive salt lake, and then crossed a ridge called *Jeria*, to Sachreen, a place situated at the most southern point or bottom of the Syrtic Gulf. The aspect of this part of its shores, might seem well to harmonize with the horrors with which ancient superstition invested them.* Marsh, sand, and barren rocks alone meet the eye, without a trace of vegetation in any direction. The stillness of the night was not even broken by the howlings of the jackal and the hyena, who prowled about the tents of the Travellers in other parts of the Syrtis; and it seemed as if the barren waste had been deserted by every animated thing.

Contrary to every representation of the figure of this Gulf in modern charts, its southern termina-

* "In this neighbourhood was the cave of the formidable Lamia so much dreaded by the children of the ancients."

tion was found to be a shore very slightly indented, sweeping due east and west, without any appearance of either inlet or port.* It is remarkable, too, that the large tract of quicksand usually laid down in this part of the Gulf, was ascertained to have no existence; the sand-hills affording as good a footing as any dry sand can be supposed to present. The sand heaps are, moreover, confined to the beach. A chain of hills of solid stone, varying in height from 400 to 600 feet, runs E. and W. at a short distance from the coast; between which and the sand-hills, the plain, after passing the bottom of the Gulf, affords in many places an excellent pasturage. "So that, if we should consider the Syrtis in general as a large unbroken body of sand, which the ancients seem mostly to have done, we should certainly form a very wrong idea of the country in question." †

From Sachreen, the party proceeded for two hours along a very narrow path between a large marsh and the sand-hills on the coast; which, during the rains, must be impassable. They then again entered on a district of pasture-land; and on the next day, reached the port of Braiga. This has been a strongly fortified post. On the western point of the bay which constitutes the *mersa* (harbour), are the ruins of a Roman fort; and on the same high ground are other remains of building. The ground was, for some distance, strewed with fragments of pottery and glass; and a brass coin of Augustus Cæsar was found in a tolerable

* "The chart ascribed to Ptolemy, is the only one we are acquainted with, which approaches to something like the actual form of the coast; and every step which modern geographers have receded from this outline, has been a step further from the truth."

† Beechey, pp. 210—224. Lucan's description of the march of Cato across the burning sands of the Syrtis, is so exaggerated, Captain B. says, as to be almost wholly poetical.

state of preservation. Several heaps of sulphur lay on the beach, ready for embarkation. South-west of this point, there extends a large salt lake and marsh, below the level of the sea, with which it has at one time, probably, communicated; in which case, the point on which the fort stands, may have been an island. Among the high sand-hills are some wells, the water of which is brackish, though several hundred feet above the level of the sea. Beyond them, to the southward, are some green hills, among which are ruins of several quadrangular forts. Braiga must certainly have been a station of some importance, and Captain Beechey suggests, that it may be the site of the Automala of Strabo.

After passing two interesting ruins of ancient forts, the party next halted at a bold, rocky promontory, called by the Arabs *Tabilba*, on which are remains of another castle. On a hill just above it, are the ruins of a very strong fortification, which was connected with the castle by a wall five feet in thickness, carried quite round the precipice on which it stood. This was defended, on the inland side, by a fosse thirty feet in width, excavated in the solid rock; and the rubbish extracted formed a bank on the outer side. On the beach are remains of a wall, or quay, remarkably well constructed, as is proved by its having so long resisted the violence of the surf. The interior of the castle rock has been excavated into numerous galleries and chambers, which seem to have answered the purpose of barracks: some of these are spacious and very well finished, but the sea, which now washes through the exterior chambers, has destroyed their surface, and, in some instances, their foundation. In fact, the base of the rock, Captain Beechey says, is perforated like a honeycomb by the action of the sea, which now

washes through the hollows with a roar that must, in stormy weather, be tremendous. In one of the chambers were several indistinct Greek inscriptions, in the running-hand of the Greeks of the Roman empire, written in ink upon the walls,—possibly by prisoners. In other parts of the rock were excavated tombs, some of which were entered by a quadrangular well or shaft: they contained only a few scattered bones. "There can be no doubt," it is added, "that great part of the rock has already been washed away, the sea having gained considerably on the land; and several wells are now observable some feet under water, which were of course originally above its level." On each side of the promontory is a small sandy bay, neither of which at present affords any shelter for vessels, but from which the galleys of the ancients might have been easily drawn up on the beach; a mode of sheltering their vessels often adopted.

The next day, the party proceeded to some brackish wells called *Ain Agan*; a few miles from which, there is a remarkable hill called *Aalum Limarish*, overlooking an extensive tract: to the southward of this hill, a chain of lakes and swamps extends two days to the south-eastward. They communicate with the *wady* at Ain Agan, and may once have joined the sea. To seaward was observed an island about a mile in length, called *Gara*, and the Gulf is here beset with breakers. No object of any interest occurs along the coast between this point and Bengazi. Inland, however, there are many ruins of ancient forts, which become more numerous and considerable on advancing eastward. Tombs are occasionally found excavated in the neighbourhood of such forts as are built on a rocky soil: some of these were entered by wells; others by inclined planes like those in front of the Tombs of the

Kings at Thebes. After passing Carcora, (where are two coves that might serve for boats,) the country improves at every step, and the Travellers soon found themselves surrounded with extensive crops of barley and excellent pasturage, attended with a correspondent increase of population. A great part of the country in the last stage towards Bengazi, is encumbered with blocks of stone placed upright in long alleys, which are crossed at right angles by others, forming a complete labyrinth. "This peculiarity appears to be occasioned by the nature of the soil, which, although rich and excellent, is every where covered with a surface of stone of various thickness, which it is, of course necessary to break up and remove, in order to cultivate the soil beneath. To move the blocks altogether from the ground, would be an endless labour; and they have accordingly been ranged in this manner, serving at the same time as boundaries to property, and as impediments to the approach of an enemy."

At length, on the 12th of January, after a journey of about five weeks from Tripoli, Capt. Beechey and his party reached Bengazi, which occupies the site of the ancient Berenice. Here, they took up their quarters for the rainy season, which commenced shortly after their arrival, and lasted till the beginning of March, accompanied with constant gales from the N. E. and N. W. "The state of the town during this period," says Capt. Beechey, "may truly be said to have been miserable; the houses, being chiefly put together with mud, were continually giving way, and falling; in and we were frequently apprised of occurrences of this nature, in our own immediate neighbourhood, by the shrieks and cries of women, whose families had been sufferers on some of these occasions.

"The streets, during a part of the time, were literally

converted into rivers; the market was without supplies, owing to the impossibility of driving cattle into the town; and the number of sheep and goats which perished in the neighbourhood of Bengazi, from the extreme inclemency of the weather, amounted (we were informed) to several thousands. For ourselves, we were fortunate in having one room in our house which was capable of resisting the rain, the terrace on its roof having been cemented by one of the Beys, who had occupied it a short time before; and this, we really believe, was the only room in the town, which could be fairly considered weather-proof. The court-yard round which our apartments were built, (if they may be dignified with so imposing an appellation,) assumed for a long time the appearance of a pond; and a narrow space was only left here and there on its borders, by which we could pass from one room to another.

"From the state of our own house, which we have already said might be considered as the best in the town, the condition of other parts of Bengazi during the rains, may be in some measure imagined; although it will scarcely be possible for the inhabitants of civilized countries, unacquainted with the nature of Arab towns, to conceive half the wretchedness and the utter want of comfort which they present on similar occasions.

"The houses of Bengazi are built after the usual manner of Arab buildings; that is to say, with rough and unequally shaped stones, put together with mud instead of mortar; they generally consist of a ground floor only, built round a square court-yard, which is exposed to the weather, and into which the doors of the chambers open, which seldom communicate with each other; the court is not paved, and in houses of more than ordinary consequence, there is sometimes

a well in the centre. The roofs are flat, and are formed of rafters (chiefly of young pine-trees from the neighbouring forests), over which are laid mats; and on these, there is generally a quantity of sea-weed, or other vegetable rubbish; over the whole is spread a thick stratum of mud, which is beat down as hard as Arab laziness will admit of at the time when the terrace is made. They who can afford it (and there are very few so fortunate), spread a preparation of lime over the mud; which, as the cement is usually well made, forms a surface impervious to the weather, while the coating remains in good condition. The rain which falls, is in these cases highly beneficial, since it is carried off by spouts into some general reservoir, or is collected in large earthen jars for the daily consumption of the house. By far the greater number of houses are, however, unprovided with any defence of this nature; and if the precaution of beating down the mud, which forms the terrace, sufficiently hard to make the water run off, be not adopted at the commencement of the rains, it is more than probable, that the whole of the building so neglected will disappear before the season is over. As the religion and the laziness of an Arab equally prompt him to depend more upon the interference of Providence, than upon any exertions of his own, this precaution is often neglected; and after having borne, with exemplary patience, all the dirt and inconvenience occasioned by the passage of the rain through the mud over his head, he is roused from his lethargy by the screams of his wife and children, alarmed, or badly wounded by the fall of the roof, or by some serious accident from a similar cause, by which he is a sufferer himself. Many persons were severely wounded at Bengazi in the winter during which we were confined there; and it is

probable, that there are accidents in the town every year, occasioned by similar neglect.

" When a house falls, it is generally left in a state of rubbish and ruin, and the survivers of the family remove to another spot without troubling themselves further about it: the consequence is, that the streets are often nearly blocked up by mounds of this nature, disposed in various parts of them; which form, in the winter time, heaps of mud and mire, and, in the dry weather, scatter thick clouds of light dust in the faces and eyes of the passengers.

" As these masses of rubbish also serve at the same time as general receptacles for the superfluities of the city, groupes of half-famished dogs and myriads of flies are invariably collected about them; in the midst of which are seen lying very contentedly, or rolling about for diversion, swarms of little naked children, regardless of either, which one might almost fancy were actually produced by the fertilizing qualities of these heaps of putrid matter, as the monsters of old are asserted to have been from the slime and the mud of the Nile. There is, however, nothing singular or peculiar to Bengazi in the scene which we have just described; for every Arab town and village will be found, more or less, to present to us a similar spectacle. Filth and dust, and swarms of insects of every description, must inevitably be the consequences of this continued neglect; and we accordingly find that these several annoyances, together with the scattered groupes of lean dogs and naked children, form the principal characteristics (in the estimation of their European visiters) of these enviable places of abode. We say, in the opinion of the natives of Europe, because an Arab or a Moor sees nothing remarkable in any of the objects here alluded to, and would con-

sider it a mark of affectation or effeminacy, to be annoyed at any similar objects or inconveniences.

"In addition to the nuisances already enumerated, the open spaces in Bengazi are usually ornamented by pools of stagnant, putrid water; and that which is in the market-place, is rendered more particularly offensive, from the circumstance of its being the common receptacle of the offal and blood of the animals which are killed there, and which may truly be said to realize the words of the poet, in 'making the green one red.' It may readily be imagined, that, in the heat of the summer, these places are not very wholesome: and they are probably often the causes of fevers, especially during the prevalence of southerly winds. That these sinks of corruption should ever be bathing-places, will not perhaps be so easily conceived; but they are nevertheless often used for such purpose; and the children of the town will very frequently adjourn from the dust-heaps already described, to cool themselves (we cannot in conscience say to clean themselves) in the green and red pools here alluded to. With so many objects to attract and encourage them, it is not to be wondered at, that Bengazi is proverbial for flies; and every part of the town, both within and without the houses, may truly be said to swarm with them. Among the various annoyances with which the place abounds, these are, perhaps, the most serious of any; or, at all events, they are those from which it is least possible to escape; there is, in fact, no chance of avoiding them; they follow you every where from place to place, settle on every part of the arms, legs, and body, which the heat of the weather obliges you to leave uncovered; creep obstinately into the corners of the eyes, and up the nostrils, into the hollows of the ears, and the corners of the mouth when it is closed,

and often fly down the throat, nearly choking you, when it is open; at meals, every part of the dishes and their contents are covered as soon as they are produced, and every fluid becomes a trap for as many of these insects as can crowd themselves over its surface. In short, there is literally no riding or walking, no reading or writing, no eating or resting one's self, in any part of Bengazi in comfort for them; and if, at night, they take up their accustomed position on the ceiling, and give place to the fleas and mosquitos, the first dawn of morning finds them on the wing, and all alive to recommence their operations. They are at the same time so watchful, and so quick in their motions, that it is difficult to succeed in killing any of them. We often caught thirty or forty fleas in a morning, on turning down the bed-clothes, with a little attention, and as many during the day on different parts of our dress, particularly about the legs and ankles; but the whole collection of flies which we could kill in a week, would scarcely amount to this number; unless we except those which were caught in the traps which we were usually in the habit of setting for them. All hot climates are more or less subject to these nuisances, but it is probable, that no place on earth will be found to abound more in flies than Bengazi; we might perhaps say, that few places could be mentioned where so many of them will at any time be observed.

"The situation of Bengazi is, however, much better than so filthy a town may be said to deserve. It is built on the coast, close to the sea, at the extremity of a beautiful, fertile plain, extending itself to the foot of a long chain of mountains, about fourteen miles distant (in this part) to the south-eastward. Plentiful crops of corn and vegetables are afforded to the

town by the cultivated lands in the neighbourhood, and the supplies of beef and mutton are in general very regular and abundant. The harbour of Bengazi appears to have been formerly capable of containing good-sized vessels; and even in the recollection of some of the present inhabitants, the Bashaw's ships were accustomed to lie, where now only boats can be accommodated. At present, it can be entered only by small vessels, drawing seven or eight feet water, and that merely in moderate weather. It is well protected from the sea by reefs of rocks, between which the entrance is so narrow as to render a pilot necessary. There seems to be little doubt that the harbour originally communicated at all times with the lake to the southward of the town, as it does at the present day in the rainy season; but, owing to the accumulation of sand from the sea, and of alluvial deposite from the lake, the communication is now, during the summer months, wholly interrupted. At the entrance of the port is the castle of the Bey of Bengazi, constructed on the ruins of an ancient building, part of which is still visible at the base of the castle next the sea. The existing structure is built with small stones and mud, so slightly, that when the Adventure made its appearance before it, the Bey requested Captain Smyth would dispense with the usual salute, as he feared the concussion would otherwise bring down a part of the walls. Its form is square, with a round tower at each of three angles; the fourth, which fronts the entrance of the harbour, being occupied by a pile of building, appropriated to the harem of his excellency.

"Besides the harem of the Bey, the castle contains the officers and *chaouses* of his household, and a numerous body of troops might be lodged within the limits of its walls. In time of trouble, it is the only

place to which he could retreat with safety; and it forms the only ornament and the only protection which the town of Bengazi possesses.

"We were informed, that Bengazi contained about 2000 inhabitants, a large proportion of which were Jews and negro slaves; but the number of persons residing in the town is continually varying, owing to the circumstance of many persons removing to the country whenever the weather permits, where they establish themselves in tents, or in huts made of palm-branches and dhurra-stalks. The Jews of Bengazi are a persecuted race, but uniformly steady in their pursuit after riches: as is usually the case in Mahomedan countries, they are, with the few exceptions we shall presently mention, the principal merchants and tradesmen of the place; and their well-directed and unremitted industry alone enables them to meet the heavy exactions which are made upon their purses and property by the adherents to the religion of the Prophet. Their houses are generally cleaner and better furnished than those of most of the Mahomedans; and we never entered any of them without finding the whole family employed in some useful occupation. We found them invariably civil and obliging, and apparently contented with their condition; which proves how much habit will reconcile us to evils which, to those not inured to them, would be intolerable. The 'fierce impatience' which formerly characterized the Jews of the Cyrenaica, has disappeared with the probability of its being successfully exerted; and poverty is now almost the only evil to which they will not quietly submit. The trade of Bengazi is not, however, wholly confined to the Jews; for, besides the Bey himself, who may be considered as the first merchant, there are several other

very respectable Mahomedan traders. The bazar, notwithstanding, presents little more than the articles in greatest request among the Bedouins; amongst which may be seen bundles of rusty nails, horse-shoes, musket-balls, and large flints, which form the chief objects of their visits, and are exposed for sale, on boards, at the doors of a few of the most industrious Arab inhabitants of the town, and bargained for with as much seriousness and vehemence, as if they were the most costly goods.

"The produce of the interior consists chiefly of corn, wool, and manteca, with which the merchants freight the different foreign vessels that purposely touch at Bengazi. This is done in preference to employing the small vessels of the country; first, because the foreign vessels are much better navigated, and secondly, because in sailing under European colours, they are less liable to molestation from the Greeks. Besides these articles, oxen are well known to constitute a great portion of the trade of Bengazi; and many vessels are kept constantly employed in transporting them to Malta and other places during the summer months. If the wind prove favourable, and the passage be quickly made, the profits to all parties are great; but it sometimes happens that, from violent or contrary winds, or from the vessel being ill calculated for the cargo, and more frequently from there being too great a number of these poor animals crowded inconsiderately together, so many oxen die from thirst and suffocation, from bruises, and occasionally from drowning, as to render the profits of the voyage very trifling. The cattle are chiefly driven from the neighbourhood of Cyrene."*

* Beechey, pp. 282—301.

Few traces of the ancient city remain above ground, although much might be brought to light by excavation. "When we reflect," remarks Capt. Beechey, "that Berenice flourished under Justinian, and that its walls underwent a thorough repair in the reign of that Emperor, it will be thought somewhat singular, that both the town and its walls should have disappeared so completely as they have done." Of the latter, scarcely a vestige remains above the surface of the plain; but the limits of the ancient city appear to be indicated by a salt-water lake to the southward of the town, while to the eastward, the ground is so low as to be frequently covered by the sea, which oozes through the sand heaped upon the beach. Very extensive remains of building are still found about Bengazi, at the depth of a foot or two below the surface of the plain. "Whenever a house is intended to be erected, the projector of it has nothing more to do, in order to obtain materials, than to send a few men to excavate in the neighbourhood, and with them a camel, or two or three asses, to transport what has been dug up to the spot which has been fixed upon for the house. If the fragments which are found should prove too large for removal, which is generally the case, they are broken into smaller pieces, without the least hesitation or concern, till they are reduced to a convenient size for loading, and are afterwards broken again into still smaller pieces as occasion may require, on the place where the house is built. Many valuable remains of antiquity must have disappeared in this way; but it is probable, at the same time, that many still exist to reward the expense of excavation; and we have little doubt, that statues and inscriptions, numerous fragments of architecture, and good collections of coins and gems, might still be obtained

within the distance of half a mile round Bengazi. On the beach to the northward and to the north-eastward of the town, where a bank of twenty and thirty feet (more or less) is formed of the rubbish of one of the ancient cities, coins and gems are continually washed down in rainy weather; and the inhabitants of Bengazi repair in crowds to the beach, after storms, and sift the earth which falls away from the cliff, disposing of whatever they may find to the few Europeans of the place."*

The quarries from which the city of Berenice ("and probably that of Hesperis also") drew its materials, are found at no great distance, sunk down in the rock to a considerable depth. Capt. Beechey and his party flattered themselves that they should have found them full of excavated tombs; but there was no appearance of their having been applied to the purpose of sepulture. In one instance only, a large portion of rock had been shaped into a quadrangular form, to serve as a tomb. Besides these quarries, some very singular pits or chasms, of natural formation, were discovered in the neighbourhood. They consist of a level surface of excellent soil, several hundred feet in extent, enclosed within steep, and for the most part perpendicular sides of solid rock, rising sometimes to a height of 60 or 70 feet, or more, before they reach the level of the plain in which they are situated. The soil at the bottom of these chasms appears to have been washed down from the plain above, by the heavy rains, and is frequently cultivated by the Arabs; so that a person, on walking over the country

* Beechey, p. 316. An excellent collection of these remains has since been sold for 6000 dollars by a relation of the vice-consul of Bengazi.

where they exist, comes suddenly upon a beautiful orchard or, garden, blooming in secret, and in the greatest luxuriance, at a considerable depth beneath his feet, and defended on all sides by walls of solid rocks, so as to be at first sight apparently inaccessible. "The effect of these secluded little spots, protected, as it were, from the intrusion of mankind by the steepness and depth of the barriers which enclose them, is singular and pleasing in the extreme. They reminded us," says Capt. B., "of some of those secluded retreats which we read of in fairy legends; and we could almost fancy ourselves, as we looked down upon them, in the situation of some of those favoured knights and princes, the heroes of our earlier days, who have been permitted to wander over the boundaries of reality, into regions shut out from the rest of mankind. It was impossible to walk round the edge of these precipices, looking every where for some part less abrupt than the rest, by which we might descend into the garden beneath, without calling to mind the description given by Scylax, of the far-famed garden of the Hesperides."

It has hitherto been supposed, that the Hesperian Gardens of the Ancients were nothing more than some of those verdant oases which stud the Libyan Desert, and which, from their concealed and inaccessible position, their unknown origin, and their striking contrast to the surrounding waste, might well suggest the idea of a terrestrial paradise, and become the types of the still fairer creations of poetic fable. It would really seem, however, that the first position of these Elysian groves, was at this extremity of the Cyrenaica; and that the original idea of the legend was taken from a subterranean garden of the above description. "This celebrated retreat is stated

by Scylax to have been an inclosed spot of two *stadia* each way, filled with thickly planted fruit-trees of various kinds, and inaccessible on all sides. It was situated at 620 *stadia* (50 geographical miles) from the port of Barce; and this agrees precisely with that of the places above described from Ptolemata. The testimony of Pliny is also very decided in fixing the site of the Hesperides in the neighbourhood of Berenice. 'Not far from the city' (Berenice) 'is the river Lethon and the sacred grove where the gardens of the Hesperides are said to be situated.'* The name, indeed, of Hesperides would induce us to place the Garden so called, in the vicinity of Bengazi; for the Hesperides were the early inhabitants of that part of the Cyrenaica, and Hesperia was the ancient name of Berenice.....We do not mean," adds Captain B., "to point out any *one* of these subterranean gardens as that which is described in the passage above quoted from Scylax; for we know of no one which will correspond, in point of extent, to the garden which that author has mentioned. All those which we saw, were considerably less than the fifth of a mile in diameter (the measurement given by Scylax); and the places of this nature which would best agree with the dimensions, are now filled with water sufficiently fresh to be drinkable, and take the form of romantic little lakes. Scarcely any two of the gardens we met with were, however, of the same depth or extent; and we have no reason to conclude that, because we saw none which were large enough to be fixed upon for the garden of the Hesperides, there is therefore no place of the dimensions required; particularly as the sin-

* Pliny, Nat. Hist., lib. v. c. 5. "Ptolemy also may be supposed to intend the same position, when he informs us, that the garden was to the westward of the people of Barca."

gular formation we allude to, continues to the foot of the Cyrenaic chain, which is fourteen miles distant, in the nearest part from Bengazi. When we consider that the places in question are all of them sunk below the surface of the soil, and the face of the country is overspread with brushwood, and no where perfectly level, it will not be thought extraordinary, if some of them should have escaped us in a diligent search.

"It has been mentioned, that some of the chasms have assumed the form of lakes; the sides of which are perpendicular, like those of the gardens, and the water in most of them appears to be very deep. In some of these lakes, the water rises nearly to the edge of the precipice which incloses them, and in others, is as much as 20 feet below it. They are, no doubt, much fuller after the rainy season, than at other times of the year, and the water is then sweeter than ordinary. Besides these, there are also several subterranean caves in the neighbourhood of Bengazi. One of these, at the depth of about 80 feet from the surface of the plain, contains a large body of fresh water, which is said to run very far into the bowels of the earth, or rather of the rock which overshadows it. On descending into this cave, we found that it widened out into a spacious chamber, the sides of which had evidently been, in many places, shaped with the chisel, and rose perpendicularly to a considerable height. Our progress was soon stopped, as we were advancing into the cave, by the body of water we have mentioned; which, notwithstanding the lights we procured, was scarcely visible through the thick gloom which surrounded us. We found the water shallow at the edge, but it soon became gradually too deep to be practicable; we were also unable to discover any end to it, and a stone thrown as far

as we could send it, fell into the water without striking. We had, however, seen enough to excite our curiosity very strongly, and we determined to return at some early opportunity, with a boat and a good store of torches, intending to go as far along this subterranean stream as the height of the rock would allow us.

"On mentioning our visit and our intentions to Bey Halil, he informed us, that he had himself paid a visit to the place, in company with a chaous of his suite; and that he had carried with him a small boat, in which he embarked with the chaous, and proceeded a considerable distance. They became, at length, afraid of not finding their way back, and put about to return as they came; having found (as he said) on sounding, that the depth of the water was in some parts as much as 30 feet. This account naturally made us more anxious than ever to put our intentions in execution; but no boat could then be found in the harbour, sufficiently small for our purpose, and we were obliged to defer our subterranean voyage; determining, however, that if we could not find a portable boat on our return from Cyrene, we would contrive to put together some pieces of timber, and prosecute our researches on a raft, after the example of Sinbad the sailor."*

The unexpected manner in which their researches in the North of Africa were cut short, prevented their putting this project in execution, and the Lethean stream retains the secret of its course. Mr. Beechey, unwilling to give up all the benefit of the incomplete discovery, indulges the romantic conjecture, that this subterranean river is the Lethe or Lathon of Strabo; and he supposes, that "a small spring which runs into

* Beechey, pp. 319—328.

the lake near Bengazi, may be the re-appearance of the same river in the place so decidedly assigned to it" by that Geographer,—"the port of the Hesperides."* "The circumstance of finding a subterranean stream in this neighbourhood," continues our ingenious Traveller, "between the mountains and the lake which joins the Harbour of Bengazi, would certainly appear to favour the conclusion, that the course of the stream was towards the lake; that is to say, from the higher ground to the lower. And although the recent discovery of a small stream of fresh water emptying itself into the lake here alluded to, does not by any means tend to confirm the existence of a communication between it and the subterranean stream in question; yet, there is no proof (at least, not that we are aware of), that one of these is not connected with the other. At the same time we may add, that if it were really ascertained that no connexion existed between the two, such a circumstance could not be considered as proving that the ancients did not suppose that they communicated. It was believed by the Greeks, (or, at any rate, it was asserted by them,) that the Alpheus communicated with the fountain of Arethusa, and that any thing thrown into the former at Elis, would re-appear on the waters of the latter in Sicily.

"Other instances might be mentioned of similar extravagancies, which are considered by the moderns as poetical inventions, and never received as historical facts. The disappearance of the Lathon, and its sub-

* In order, however, to identify the port with the lake, it is necessary either to suppose that λιμνη is the correct reading of the passage, or that the lake, which still communicates with the harbour, was originally deep enough to admit the vessels of the ancients.

sequent rise, might have been equally a poetical fiction. But when we find, in the country in which it was placed, a large body of water which actually loses itself, we are naturally led to believe one part of the assertion, and to seek to identify the actual subterranean stream with that which is said to have existed. On a reference to the authority of geographers and historians, we find a river called Lathon laid down very clearly in the place where this body of water is found; and we remark, that the name which they apply to the river, signifies *hidden* or *concealed*. So far there is a probability, that the Lathon of the ancients, and the subterranean stream in the neighbourhood of Bengazi, may be one and the same river.

"Again, we are told, on the authority of Strabo, that the Lathon discharged itself into the Harbour of the Hesperides; and we find a small spring actually running into the lake which is connected with the harbour in question; and which might, from the position of the subterranean spring between it and the mountains to the southward of it, have received at least a portion of the waters, which lose themselves in a place where the level is higher. When we find that the Lathon (or hidden stream) of Bengazi is *directly* between the mountains and the harbour, it becomes the more probable, that such a communication may have existed; and whether the little spring which runs into the lake be a continuation of the Lathon or not, there appears to be quite sufficient reason for believing that the ancients might have imagined it was. If we consider how trifling are the existing remains of the Ilissus, the Simois, the Scamander, and other rivers to which we have been in the habit of attaching importance, we must not be surprised to find a celebrated stream dwindled down into

a very insignificant one. The changes which a lapse of nearly two thousand years may be supposed to have occasioned on the northern coast of Africa, are fully sufficient to have reduced the river Lathon to the spring which now flows into the Lake of Bengazi.

"The lake itself is salt, and, in the summer, is nearly dry; while the small stream in question takes its rise within a few yards of the lake, and running along a channel of inconsiderable breadth, bordered with reeds and rushes, might be mistaken by a common observer for an inroad of the lake into the sandy soil which bounds it. On tasting it, however, we found its waters to be fresh, and the current which is formed by its passage into the lake, is very evident on the slightest examination."

Lucan places both his Lethe and his Hesperian Gardens in the neighbourhood of the Lesser Syrtis; and, in fact, they appear to have been continually retreating to the westward before the progress of knowledge. The scenery of poetic fiction was doubtless originally suggested by the phenomena of nature; and the Styx and the Lethe had a local existence not less real than Olympus and Castaly. But still, they were essentially visionary creations, the elements of which only were borrowed from the material world; and to attempt to fix their geographical position, is to take the latitude of the rainbow. The names of Hesperis and Berenice* have alike passed away from the scene of their ancient renown; and "the present inhabitants of the miserable dirty village, (for we can

* Berenice received that name in honour of the daughter of Magas, the queen of Ptolemy Philadelphus. The name is mentioned by Edrisi as still remaining in his time; but Capt. Beechey states, that it is wholly unknown to the modern Arabs. Yet, Bengazi may have some relation to it.

scarcely," says Capt. Beechey, "call it a town,) which has reared itself on the ruins of those cities, have no idea that Bengazi did not always occupy the place which it has usurped on the soil of the Hesperides. The Arab who now gathers his corn or his fruit in some one of those gardens so celebrated in the annals of antiquity, dreams of nothing whatever connected with it beyond the profits which he hopes for from its produce. He knows nothing of the stream or the properties of the Lethe; and the powerful influence of the River of Oblivion seems to have drowned at length even the recollection of itself."*

Bengazi is situated in lat. 32° 7′, long. 20° 3′. The extensive plain in which it stands, is bounded, southward, by the range of high land, on the summit of which Cyrene once stood so conspicuously; and the whole of the plain, from the foot of this range to the sea, is covered with vegetation. The soil no longer produces that variety of fruits which it yielded in the days of its ancient prosperity; but the palm and the fig-tree still flourish in great abundance; and there is a considerable proportion of cultivated land. It is not owing to any change in the land, but simply to neglect, that it is not as productive as ever. The sand itself, with a very little labour, is converted into a fertile soil.† The chief produce of the gardens are

* Beechey, p. 337.

† "The first care of the cultivator is to turn up the sand, and spread layers of faggots underneath: the sand is then replaced, and over it is sometimes spread a mixed *stratum* of sand and manure. Upon this the seeds are sown, and care is taken to keep the land irrigated by means of numerous wells of a few feet only in depth. Some of these are built round with rough stones, but the water is always brackish, and occasionally stinking, owing to the quantity of decayed roots and other vegetable matter with which they are suffered to be clogged. By the adoption of this short and simple process, the sand is soon rendered so productive, that the Arabs

melons and pumpkins, *melonzani* (egg-plants), cucumbers, *tomatas*, red and green pepper, and some few of the plants called *bamia*. Any one who had seen the place only in the summer time, Captain Beechey says, would scarcely recognise it as the same in the winter season, when covered with luxuriant vegetation.

FROM BENGAZI TO CYRENE.

On the 17th of April, Capt. Beechey and his party left Bengazi, to prosecute their researches in the Cyrenaica. The road to Ptolemeta lies through a very fertile and beautiful country, a comparatively small portion of which, however, is under cultivation. It is described as "a plain thickly covered with wood and flowering shrubs, stretching from the sea to the foot of the mountains which form the northern limits of the Cyrenaica, and narrowing every mile as you advance towards Ptolemeta, where the mountains run down very close to the sea.* The sides of the mountains are also thickly clothed with wood, chiefly pine of various kinds, and the Phenician juniper (supposed by Della Cella to be the *thyon* of the ancients) is found in great quantities among the other shrubs. Ravines, the sides of which are equally covered with wood and verdure, cross the road very frequently in their course from the mountains to the sea; and most of these (as there is nothing like a bridge over any of them) must be nearly impassable in winter. The force with which

prefer cultivating it, to the trouble of clearing the rich soil beyond it, to the southward, of the broken stones and fragments of building with which it is thickly interspersed."—Beechey, p. 345.

* The space between this range and Bengazi, is about fourteen geographic miles; whereas, at Ptolemeta, the distance between the mountains and the sea is not more than a mile or a mile and a half; the whole length of the plain from Bengazi to Ptolemeta is fifty-seven geographic miles.

the water rushes down the ravines in the rainy season, is evident; the ground being furrowed and torn up in the beds of the torrents, and encumbered with trees and stones. Open spaces are occasionally met with in the woods, some of which are of considerable extent: these were, probably, once cultivated, but are now thickly covered with grasses of various kinds, among which we often observed a great proportion of oats, produced spontaneously. A species of wild artichoke is also very commonly found, which is eaten raw by the Arabs. Several towers of very solid construction are scattered over the plain."

At sunset on the second day, the party reached Birsis, distant thirty-one miles from Bengazi and seven from the site of Teuchira. This place, where there is usually an Arab encampment, is five or six miles from the Cyrenaic range, and about a mile and a half from the sea. A number of walls and fragments of building are all that remain above the soil, to indicate an ancient site; but, a little to the S.W. of Birsis, there are remains of building of a more decided character. Several arched door-ways and walls of houses are standing, to the height of from 10 to 12 feet above the present level. The site is much overgrown with high grass and shrubs, which harbour numerous serpents. The Arab name for the place is Mabny or Mably, which appears to be a corruption of Napoli or Neapolis; * the situation does not, however, entirely correspond to the position assigned by

* The M is frequently substituted by the Arabs in pronunciation for the N, and the B always for the P; the L and the N are also often confounded. T is pronounced as D, and K is turned into G. Thus, Napoli becomes Nably, or Mably, and even Mabny; Tripoli, Tarables; Ptolemeta, Dolmeita; Cyrene, Grenna; and Pentapolis, Bentablis.

Ptolemy to the Libyan Neapolis.* The country here is highly productive wherever it is cultivated, and is agreeably diversified with shrubs and brushwood. The Arabs were found very hospitable and obliging.

TEUCHIRA.

Six miles to the N.E. of Birsis are found the remains of the ancient Teuchira (or Tauchira), one of the cities of the Pentapolis. Under the Ptolemys, its name was changed to Arsinoë, and subsequently, by Mark Antony, to Cleopatris; but its original appellation has survived the others, and it is still known to the Arabs under the name of Taucra. The remains are of a much more imposing nature, than any which the Travellers had hitherto beheld; consisting of walls of uncommon strength and thickness, a mile and a half in circuit, defended by six-and-twenty quadrangular towers, and entered by two strongly built gateways on the eastern and western sides. Part of the town is built upon a rising ground; part upon the level of the plain. A portion of it to the westward has been built round a quarry; and what appears to have been the citadel, is constructed on the edge of another quarry to the eastward, which considerably strengthens its position. Without the walls, on the east and west, are also very extensive quarries, which have been formed into sepulchres. In these, as well as on the inner part of the city walls, are numerous Greek inscriptions; but they consist almost entirely of names and dates, of different countries and periods. "The most interesting piece of information that we were enabled to derive from them," says Mr. Beechey,

* It seems to be the place identified by Della Cella with Adrianopolis.

"was the proof which they afford, of the Egyptian names of the months having been in general use in this part of the Cyrenaica." Many of the tombs, and probably most of the earliest, are buried under drifted sand. None of those into which it was practicable to penetrate, were found to possess any particular interest. They appear to have been rude, compared with those of Egypt, and the inscriptions are for the most part very rudely cut. Most of the tombs consist of a single chamber, three sides of which are occupied with niches for the reception of as many bodies: some of the chambers have only two niches, or a single one opposite the entrance; and in others, rudely cut *columbaria*, as if for the reception of cinerary urns, are all that could be perceived. Not a trace of any bodies, not a bone, not a single remnant of linen, nor a fragment of any cinerary urn, was to be found. The Arabs, who occasionally use these excavations as places of shelter for themselves and their cattle, have apparently removed every thing of the kind. There appears to have been no difference in the mode of burial practised respectively by the Greeks and Romans of Teuchira, since many of the tombs have inscribed on them names belonging to both nations. There is one example of a painted tomb, in very bad taste. Mr. Beechey supposes, that most of them have been originally painted, and that what are now seen, are mere skeletons of the originals.*

Within the walls, nothing remains standing. The destruction of the city has been so complete, that it is scarcely any thing more than a confused heap of

* Beechey, pp. 371—4. An intermixture of Greek and Egyptian rites and customs was very common under the Ptolemys. Paintings in like manner occur in the Catacombs of Alexandria. See Mod. Trav., Egypt, vol. i. pp. 195—201.

ruins. It is evident, Mr. Beechey says, that Teuchira has been intentionally destroyed, and that the solidity of the walls has alone prevented their being confounded in the general wreck. They were repaired in the reign of the Emperor Justinian; and many of the stones employed in their restoration, have belonged to more ancient buildings, fragments of handsome cornices, friezes, and capitals, being seen built into them; and on some of the stones, are parts of Ptolemaic inscriptions. The original walls have evidently been constructed at a period when military architecture had attained great perfection, and Mr. Beechey thinks, that they may be referred to an epoch somewhat anterior to the Ptolemaic era.* On the north side, no part of the city wall is remaining, and it is probable that it has been undermined by the sea, which, as in other parts of the coast, has advanced beyond its original bounds. Although situated close to the sea, Teuchira has no port, the coast affording in this part no protection whatever for vessels.

Of the buildings contained within the walls, the plans of which are distinguishable, the most interesting are two Christian churches. Near that which is in the eastern quarter of the town, part of an entablature was found, in the worst taste of the Lower Empire; a circumstance which may lessen our regret at the destruction of the edifice to which it belonged. The streets appear to have crossed each other at right angles. In various parts, especially the north-eastern and south-western quarters, there are imposing re-

* Five ranges of massy blocks of stone, longitudinally placed, form the outer and inner surface; and these are crossed, at regular intervals, by a single block, the length of which is the thickness of the wall. Between the two longitudinal ranges is a space filled up with rubble and stone. Little or no cement has been used.

mains of fallen columns and entablatures. Outside of the walls also, to the westward, there are some interesting remains, among which was found a groupe in *alto-relievo*. Without excavation, however, it was found impossible to make out their plan. The enclosed area abounds in wells of excellent water, which are reserved by the Arabs for their summer consumption, being resorted to only when the more inland supplies are exhausted: at other times, Teuchira is uninhabited.*

PTOLEMETA.

THE road to Ptolemeta (distant from Teuchira about eighteen geographical miles) now leads along the sea-coast. The soil is excellent, and the country for the most part well cultivated, the wood being chiefly confined to the sides of the mountains and the ravines which cross the road. On approaching Ptolemeta, the attention is first arrested by a large and very lofty quadrangular mausoleum, built on a square base of solid rock, which has been insulated from the quarry in which it stands. This monument assumes the appearance of a lofty tower, and is seen from a considerable distance.† The next object that presents itself is an insulated gateway, originally connected with the walls, but now standing alone on an ele-

* Bruce has described Teuchira under the name of Ptolemeta. It is not clear what place he took for Arsinoë, where, he says, he found nothing interesting.

† Della Cella says, the tower is commonly reputed to be a royal mausoleum; and he conjectures that it was erected by Ptolemy Physcon, under whom he supposes that the name of the town was changed from Barca to Ptolemais. By whomsoever erected, however, it was not intended for the tomb of an individual, as it contains several rows of cells for the reception of the dead.

vated spot, overlooking the ancient city. On reaching the summit of the mound, the remains of Ptolemeta are seen stretched out in various parts of a beautiful plain, sloping from the mountains to the sea. It appears to have occupied an area of about a square mile; and a more agreeable position could not have been chosen on this part of the coast. The harbour has been formed chiefly by art, (one side only being sheltered by nature,) and the remains of the *cothon* are still conspicuous, though much encumbered with sand.

An amphitheatre and two theatres are still visible at Ptolemeta. The latter are close to the remains of a palace, of which three Ionic columns only are now standing: the interior court is still covered with tesselated pavement, and beneath it are very spacious arched reservoirs communicating with each other, and receiving air and light from the court-yard above. A Greek inscription, built into the basement of the columns, bears the names of Cleopatra and Ptolemy Philometor; and on another, turned upside down, occurs that of Arsinoë conjointly with Ptolemy and Berenice.* The amphitheatre has been partly excavated out of a large quarry, a small portion only being built, which could not be formed in the rock itself. Its form appears to have been round, the

* As Ptolemeta is unprovided with springs, the care of its reservoirs and aqueducts must have been an object of essential importance; and the reparation of them is recorded, among other acts of munificence performed at the command of Justinian, in the eulogy of that Emperor by Procopius. They have all been coated with an excellent cement, still, for the most part, very perfect; and occupy a square of about 100 feet. There are also remains of stone conduits leading into these cisterns from the mountains at the back of the town. They still afford a very copious supply to the Arabs in the neighbourhood, although no care is taken to lead the rain into them; and the water was found very cool and delicious.

diameter of the circle being about 250 feet. That of the larger theatre is 245 feet.

In the north-eastern quarter of the town, there are still standing the outer walls of a structure, of very large dimensions, but the plan of its interior is not sufficiently apparent to indicate its purpose. On its northern face are three large tablets bearing Greek inscriptions. To the westward and south-westward of this ruin, are many interesting remains of private dwellings, palaces, baths, &c. which require a great deal of excavation. Most of them appear to be Roman. The capitals and bases of some of the columns are very fanciful and overcharged with ornament; and the shafts of some small columns are spiral and formed of coloured marbles. They may be probably ascribed to the reign of Justinian, under whose politic munificence the city of the Ptolemys was restored to a transient prosperity. "There is nothing at Ptolemeta," says Mr. Beechey, "which is not either Greek or Roman.....It appears to us, that by far the greater part of the buildings now remaining, have been constructed after the place became a Roman colony, and that there are none to which a higher antiquity can be assigned, (with the exception of some of the tombs,) than the period at which the country was occupied by the Ptolemys."

"The ravines which form the eastern and western boundaries of Ptolemeta," continues Mr. Beechey, "(particularly that to the eastward,) are wild and romantic in the extreme; and one might imagine one's self transported, in winding along them, to the beautiful secluded valleys of Switzerland and Savoy. It is true, that, in the Cyrenaica, nature is on a less extended scale; but it appears in a form not less captivating on that account; and

we will venture to say, that if a person who had travelled in those countries should be suddenly dropped into the eastern valley of Ptolemeta, without being told where he was, he would certainly suspect himself to be in one of them. He would never for a moment dream of being in Africa,—that parched and barren region of desert monotony, so horrid in European estimation. For our own parts, we shall never forget the delight which we experienced at every new turn of the valley, as fresh objects of interest presented themselves to our view on either side of this enchanting retreat.....The eastern valley rises gradually from the sea, winding through forests of pines and flowering shrubs, which thicken as the sides of the mountain become higher and more abrupt; till it loses itself in the precipitous part of the range which bounds it to the southward, and which presents a dark barrier of thickly planted pines, shooting up into the blue sky. The windings of the valley greatly add to its beauty, and the scenery increases in interest at every turn, in tracing it up towards the mountains in which it loses itself. Sometimes the path is impeded by trees which throw their branches across it, leaving only a narrow passage beneath; and sometimes, on emerging from this dark and difficult approach, a broad sweep of verdant lawn will suddenly present itself, fenced in, apparently, on all sides, by high walls of various-coloured pines rising one above another, in all the grandeur of uniformity. On reaching the opposite end of this verdant amphitheatre, a new scene presents itself, before unsuspected; and the rambler, bewildered with variety, finds himself incapable of deciding which pleases him most. Among the trees which clothe the sides of the mountains, are many handsome stone sarcophagi of Greek and Roman work-

manship, all of which, however, had been opened; and among them, seats of the same material were occasionally observed to have been placed.....

"The position of the town was remarkably well chosen. In its front was the sea; and on either side, a ravine, along which are still seen traces of fortification, secured its flanks against any sudden attack; while the only passes by which it could be approached from the high ridge of mountains to the southward, were defended by strong barriers drawn completely across them. Two bridges appear to have been thrown across each of the ravines, one of which is tolerably perfect. The town sloped down gradually from the high ground which forms the foot of the mountains at its back, and which sheltered it from the southerly winds; and it must consequently have enjoyed the full benefit of the cool northern breezes. In fact, there is no place on the coast of Northern Africa, between Ptolemeta and Tripoly, which can be at all compared with the former, for beauty, convenience, and security of position, Lebida alone excepted. We are, however, informed, that the town suffered at one time so severely from want of water, that the inhabitants were obliged to relinquish their houses, and disperse themselves about the country in different directions.

"The greater part of the town, on our first visit to it, was thickly overgrown with wild marigolds and camomile, to a height of four and five feet; and patches of corn were here and there growing equally within the city walls. The solitude of the place was unbroken by animals of any description; except a small number of jackals and hyenas, which strayed down, after sunset, in search of water, and a few owls and bats, which started out from the ruins as we disturbed them by our approach.....The exuberant vegetation was

not less a source of inconvenience than of regret, for we were obliged to wade through it up to our armpits in making our way to the different buildings. A very different scene presented itself on our return from Cyrene, when the summer heat had begun to exert its influence. Not a leaf or a stalk remained, and the prevailing colour of the place which we had left a bright green, had been succeeded by a dusky brown. The corn had been cut and carried,* leaving scarcely any traces of its having been formerly growing; and the ruins were left exposed in all their naked desolation, glaring on the eye of the spectator."†

The party left Ptolemeta for Cyrene on the 27th of April, taking the route leading up to the high tableland of Merge. They soon began to ascend a most romantic ravine, a little to the westward of Ptolemeta, the craggy sides of which were thickly clothed with the pine, the olive, the myrtle, arbutus, and laurestinus, and many other handsome flowering shrubs, a variety of wild roses, white and red, clusters of the most luxuriant honeysuckle, diffusing a rich fragrance, and quantities of rosemary and juniper. The only road was a steep and narrow pathway, skirting the bed of the torrent below. In about an hour, they reached the summit of the first hill, where a wild-looking, dark-featured Arab, the first person they had met with, presented to them some honey in the comb from the neighbouring mountains. From the crest of the pass, a view was obtained of a broad sweep of open country, comprising a rich and varied succession of hill and valley, fading into the blue horizon. The open tracts

* "After sowing the corn, the Arabs leave it to enjoy the advantages of the winter rains, and never return to it till it comes to maturity, and is ready to be cut and carried away."

† Beechey, pp. 358—364; 382—385.

of pasture and cultivated land were most agreeably diversified with clumps and thickets of trees, and a still greater profusion of flowering shrubs and flowers than adorned the ravine. Every thing around was green and smiling. A little further on, they passed a Bedouin encampment, and then entered a most beautiful valley running N. E. and S. W. For three hours, the route continued to pass over hills and through valleys of a similar character; it then opened upon a long sweep of flat country, of mingled pasture and cultivation, stretching as far as the eye could reach towards the S. W., and bounded, on each side, by a range of wooded hills, about five miles distant from each other. This is the plain of Barca, now called *Merge* (the plain).*

The ancient city of Barca ranked, at one time, next to Cyrene among the cities of the Pentapolis.† Its

* "I discovered the ruins of Barca at a place now called Merge, among the hills, about two hours' walk from Ptolemeta, along a very steep path towards the south-east. These ruins consist of tombs, walls fallen down and scattered over a level space, and wells of very great depth, some of which still afford most excellent water."—Della Cella, p. 217. Captain Beechey (who is too unwilling to allow any merit to the Signor) leaves us in uncertainty whether he refers to the same site when he says;—"Near the centre of Merge is a ruin called Maraboot Sidi Arhooma; and a few miles to the S.E. of it are remains of an inconsiderable town which the Bey informed us had been built by a celebrated Shereef, but of which so little is now remaining, that the plan of the buildings could not be satisfactorily ascertained."—Beechey, p. 395. The thought that it might be the site of Barca, does not seem to have occurred to him at the time; and the way in which he expresses himself, makes it doubtful whether he visited the spot. He mentions no wells; but states, that "the water of Merge is collected in pools in different parts of the valley" or plain (p. 394); flowing from the mountains on either hand.

† According to Maj. Rennell, the five cities were Cyrene, Barce, Ptolemais, Berenice, and Tauchira. But, according to D'Anville, Darnis was one of the five; and if so, Barce must be excluded from the enumeration, or be identified with Ptolemais. We have the

importance, however, became eclipsed in that of its port under the Ptolemys, and it became confounded with Ptolemais itself. There was a city known to the [illegible]s, however, under the name of Barca, which [illegible]cribed by the Nubian Geographer as of mode[illegible]mensions and small importance. It was celebrated for an earth called by its name, which, when mixed with oil, was of great service in cutaneous diseases. It was of a reddish colour, and, on being thrown into the fire, emitted a strong fetid and sulphurous smell. The soil in the plain of Merge, is of a decidedly reddish colour, staining the clothes of those who lie down upon it; but no experiment appears to have been made of its alleged properties, which would render it invaluable to all travellers exposed to too inti-

authority, indeed, of both Strabo and Pliny, for considering them as the same city; and as Ptolemais must have had some name before it received that of the Egyptian sovereign, it seems not improbable that it succeeded to that of Barca, on the ruin of the original city of that name, by the Persico-Egyptian army in alliance with the Cyrenean Queen, when its inhabitants are said to have retired to the port. On the other hand, Ptolemy distinguishes Barca from Ptolemais; and Scylax describes the former as situated 100 *stadia* from the sea. But both may allude to the first city of that name. An Arabian writer, cited by M. Silvestre de Sacy, speaks of "the city of *Maka*," in a place dependant upon Barca, situated in a high mountain; and this city, he says, "was called in the Greek language *Bintablis* (Pentapolis), which means five cities." Could this confused statement be relied on, it would lead us to regard Pentapolis as a city of five quarters, rather than a district. See Beechey, pp. 396—400. In Calmet's Dictionary, the five cities are thus enumerated: Cyrene, Apollonia, Arsinoë, Berenice, and Ptolemais; and this we are disposed to deem the correct account. Barca had lost its consequence and independence, before the other cities (Cyrene excepted) had risen into importance. Barca is a Phenician name; it was that of Dido's brother who accompanied her into Africa; and the existence of a town and district of that name may be supposed, therefore, to have been prior to the arrival of the Greek colony.

mate a contact with the Arabs.* "The peculiarities ascribed to the territory of Barca, its numerous springs, its excellent soil, its large supplies of cattle, its various kinds of fruit-trees, are all of them," Beechey says, "observable in the mountainous di[illegible] of the Cyrenaica; and there can be no doubt [illegible]hese tracts are part of the country alluded to by Arabian writers as the territory of Barca.....In the age of Pindar, the Cyrenaica was celebrated for its excellent horses; and we find that it enjoyed the same reputation in the times of the Arabian historians. The breed has, however, from whatever cause, degenerated considerably from its original character, and the horses of Barca are not to be compared with those of Arabia and Egypt."†

The road to Cyrene, after crossing the plain, leads over a rugged hill, in which it has been cut; and the deep and continued marks of chariot-wheels soon indicate to the traveller that he is following an ancient track. It then descends into a beautiful valley named *Bogràta*, in the centre of which are some ancient wells upon a rising ground. A hilly country succeeds; and during the next day, the route led through other

* The greater number of the Arabs between Bengazi and Derna, Captain Beechey says, are afflicted with a well-known cutaneous disease, for which they have no effectual remedy. The chief alleviation is obtained by washing themselves in the pools from which they fill their water-skins. An Arab is not fastidious.

† Beechey, pp. 401, 402. The whole of the country between Mesurata and Alexandria, is described by Leo Africanus under the title of Barca; and it is from this Writer, apparently, Mr. Beechey remarks, that modern geographers and historians have derived the very unfavourable idea hitherto prevalent, of what is termed the district and desert of Barca, a tract which is made to include the whole of the fertile region of the Cyrenaica. Barca, under the Arabs, was a considerable province; and seems to have answered to the ancient Libya.

remarkably fine valleys, for the most part cultivated, and through copses and thickets of pine and cedar, laurel and laurestinus, carob, cypress, myrtle, box, arbutus, Arar and other trees and shrubs. Among these, the co is de us and the honeysuckle twined themselv rate d red and white roses,* marigolds, and other flowers, with a great variety of beautiful ferns, v very where scattered over the hills and valleys. The forms of the landscape were at the same time remarkably picturesque; and here and there, a ruin of some ancient fortress, towering above the wood on the summit of a hill, contributed to give character to the scene. The chief drawback on the pleasure of the journey arose from the difficulty and danger of the roads, on the hard, glassy surface of which the horses were continually slipping. A hot *scirocco* wind, moreover, rendered travelling extremely oppressive, especially during the heat of the day; but on the third afternoon, it changed to the N. W., and brought a smart and cooling shower. The same hilly country continued during the third day; but, on approaching Cyrene, it becomes more clear of wood; the valleys produce fine crops of barley, and the hills excellent pasturage.† A little to the N. W. of Margàd, the

* The flowers of the Cyrenaica were famous for their fragrance, and oil of roses was made at Cyrene. The roses which Capt. Beechey saw, had, however, no smell, probably from want of cultivation: the woodbine and other plants were remarkably fragrant.

† The day after leaving Merge, Capt. Beechey first noticed a plant, about three feet in height, very much resembling the hemlock or the wild carrot. In some parts of the route, he lost sight of it, but in others, it re-appeared in considerable quantity amid the pasturage, and about Cyrene, it was observed in great abundance. He was told, that it was usually fatal to the camels who ate of it, and that its juice was so acrid as to fester the flesh, if at all excoriated. He supposes it to be the *silphium* or *laser-*

second stage, the road branches off in two directions towards Cyrene. The lower, or more northward, is the ancient and proper road, and traces of [illegible] are every where discernible along the [illegible] Arab guide who escorted the party, took the [illegible] road. After passing the remains of some strong [illegible] they ascended some high ground, where [illegible] sight of innumerable tombs which [illegible] skirts of the ancient city; and the road, on [illegible] into the plain, continued to wind for more than a mile and a half through streets of ornamented tombs and sarcophagi, and along the edges of quarries full of sepulchral excavations. Occasionally, the road appeared to have been cut through the rock, and traces of chariot, wheels were evident in many parts of the stony surface.

CYRENE.

THE situation of Cyrene is equally singular and beautiful. It is built on the edge of a range of hills rising about 800 feet above a fine sweep of high table-land,

pitium of the ancients; a plant indigenous and peculiar to the Cyrenean soil, and deemed of sufficient value to be engraved on the coinage of the city. Della Cella describes, apparently, the same production as "an umbelliferous plant, with compound, indented leaves, fleshy, delicate, and shining, without any involucrum; the fruit somewhat flattened, surmounted by three ribs, and furnished all round with a membrane as glossy as silk." (p. 128.) The stem of the *silphium* was in request as an article of food, and was eaten, as well as the root, stewed or boiled. The juice or extract obtained from the root and stem, was a medicinal drug in high repute for its wonderful specific qualities, and under the name of *laser*, formed a lucrative branch of the export trade. Capt. Smyth succeeded in bringing over a specimen of the plant, which is said to be now thriving in Devonshire.—Beechey, pp. 410—420. M. Pacho says, that the Arabs call it *derias*; and he proposes to class the plant as a species of laserwort, under the name of *laserpitium derias*. It seems to resemble the *l. ferulaceum* of Linnæus.

forming the summit of a lower chain, to which it descends by a series of terraces. The elevation of the lower chain may be estimated at a thousand feet; so that Cyrene stands about 1800 feet above the level of the sea, of which it commands an extensive view over the Libyan sand, which extending east and west as far as the eye can reach, stretches about five miles to the northward, and then descends abruptly to the coast. The whole of the lower chain is thickly covered with wood, and intersected, as well as the upper range, with wild and romantic ravines, which assume grander features as they approach the sea. Tracts of barley and other corn, and meadows covered for a great part of the year with verdure, are scattered over the wooded plain. The view from the brow of the height, extending over the rocks and woods, and distant ocean, is described by Captain Beechey as almost unrivalled in magnificence. Advantage has been taken of the natural terraces of the declivity, to shape the ledges into practicable roads, leading along the face of the mountain, and communicating, in some instances, by narrow flights of steps cut in the rock. These roads, which may be supposed to have been the favourite drives of the citizens of Cyrene, are very plainly indented with the marks of chariot-wheels, deeply furrowing the smooth, stony surface. The rock, in most instances rising perpendicularly from these galleries, has been excavated into innumerable tombs, formed with great labour and taste, and generally adorned with architectural façades. When the rock would admit of it, the portico was wholly excavated; and if only a part would serve, the remainder was supplied by building. The outer sides of the roads, where they descended from one range to another, were ornamented with sarcophagi and monumental tombs; and

the whole sloping space between the galleries was completely filled up with similar structures. These, as well as the excavated tombs, exhibit works of inferior taste and execution; and the clusters of dark green furze and slender shrubs by which they are partially overgrown, heighten the effect by their contrast of forms and colour to the white monuments which spring up from the midst of the foliage.

Among the tombs which have been excavated on the northern face of the declivity, there are several on a much larger scale than the rest. Some of these appear to have been public vaults, and contain a number of *cellæ*; others seem to have been appropriated to single families; and in two instances, a single sarcophagus of white marble, ornamented with figures and wreaths of flowers in relief, of exquisite workmanship, was found in a large excavation.*

* These last, Mr. Beechey supposes to be Roman. The excavated tombs usually consist of a single chamber, at the end of which, opposite the doorway, is an elegant, highly-finished façade, almost always of the Doric order, cut in the smooth surface of the rock with great beauty of execution. It generally represents a portico. Between the columns are the *cellæ* for the reception of the ashes or the bodies of the deceased, cut far into the rock; sometimes with separate façades representing door-ways. The entrance to these *cellæ* was originally closed with a tablet of stone, on which there was probably an inscription; but in no case was one of these tablets found entire. The *cellæ* were sometimes sunk to a considerable depth below the level of the chamber, so as to contain ranges of bodies or cinerary urns, one above the other, the tiers being separated by a slab of stone resting on a projecting moulding. No remains, either of bodies or of urns, were discovered in any of the tombs, except one; in which a leg and foot, that appeared to have been dried, rather than embalmed, was found in a very perfect state. All the tombs, whether excavated or built, have been opened and emptied of their contents. When the lid of a sarcophagus was found too heavy to lift, a hole has been knocked in the side. The cinerary urns, it is easy to suppose, may have been carried off by the Arabs; but the absence of bones must be ascribed, one would think, to the hyenas.

In several of the excavated tombs, were discovered remains of paintings, representing historical, allegorical, and pastoral subjects, executed in the manner of those of Herculaneum and Pompeii; some of them were by no means inferior to the best of those which have been found in those cities. "It appears extremely probable," says Mr. Beechey, "that all the excavated tombs were originally adorned with paintings in body colour, representing either compositions of figures or animals, or, at any rate, devices and patterns. We ascertained very clearly, that the different members of the architecture have also, in many instances, been coloured; and these examples may be adduced in further confirmation of what has been inferred from the recent discoveries at Athens, that the Greeks, like the Egyptians, were in the habit of painting their buildings." The prevailing colours are blue and red. The triglyphs, and some other members of the façades, were invariably painted blue; the mouldings and other details, red; while the larger parts of the entablature seem to have been uniformly left plain. In an excavated tomb with a Doric portico, discovered in a valley to the westward of the city, there was found a series of beautiful little subjects, painted on the *zophorus* or frieze of an interior façade, each composition occupying one of the metopes. "The outline of these highly finished little groupes," continues Mr. Beechey, "has been very carefully put in with red: the local colour of the flesh and the draperies has then been filled in with body colour, and the lights touched on sharp, with a full and free pencil, which reminded us strongly of the beautiful execution of the paintings at Herculaneum and Pompeii. There is no other attempt at light and shadow in any of them, but that of deepening the local colour of the drapery in

two or three places, where the folds are intended to be more strongly marked than in others; the flesh being left (so far as can at present be ascertained) with no variation of the local colour produced either by light or shade. The colours employed are simply red, blue, and yellow; but, whatever may be their nature, they still are brilliant in the extreme, and appear to have stood remarkably well. There seem to have been two reds used in these pictures, (for so we may call the several groupes in question,) one a transparent colour resembling madder lake, and the other like that colour with a mixture of vermilion, or of some other bright, opaque red. These colours appear so rich and brilliant, when sprinkled with water, that one would imagine they had been passed over gold leaf, or some similar substance, as we observe to have been the case in pictures of Giotto and Cimabue, as well as in the earlier works of the Venetian and other schools. We are not, however, of opinion that this practice was adopted in the paintings now before us, although the brilliancy of their colours would suggest the employment of some such expedient. The yellow appears equally to have been of two kinds; an orange colour was first used to fill in the outline, and the lights were touched on with a brighter yellow over it; the whole together presenting that golden, sunny hue, so delightful to the eye both in nature and in art. The same process seems to have been adopted with respect to the blues; but the lights, in this instance, appear rather to have been made by a mixture of white with the local colour, than by a second blue of a lighter shade. The drawing of the figures is in excellent style, and the action at once expressive, easy, and graceful. The characters and features are what are usually called Grecian, and reminded us strongly of

the figures represented on some of the most highly finished Etruscan vases. The draperies are well arranged, and executed with great taste and freedom. It is singular, that all the figures appear to have been black, with the exception of an old man in the last groupe, which has certainly been red; yet, there is nothing Moorish or Ethiopian in the outlines. The several pieces appear to represent some connected story; yet, the same persons are not introduced in all, if, indeed, in any two of the compositions.....The date of this tomb would appear, from its architectural details, to be posterior to the time of the Ptolemys; but no degeneracy of style is observable in the paintings, which would not disgrace the best periods of Grecian art." *

"If the *excavated* tombs of Cyrene have been pointed out as objects of no trivial interest, those, also, which have been *built* in every part of its neighbourhood are no less entitled to our attention and admiration. Several months might be employed in making drawings and plans of the most conspicuous of these elegant structures; and the few examples which our short stay allowed us to secure, will give but an imperfect idea of the variety observable in their forms and details. Many of these are built in imitation of temples, although there are scarcely two of them exactly alike; and their effect on the

* Beechey, pp. 451—456. From the complexion of the figures, it might be inferred, that the persons they were meant to represent, were Egyptians, which seems far from improbable; and the expression attributed to the countenances might be styled Nubian. The custom of embellishing with paintings of allegorical and pastoral subjects the mansions of the dead, clearly originated with the Egyptians. See, for an account of similar sepulchral paintings, Mod. Trav. Egypt, vol. i. pp. 201, 311—316; vol. ii. pp. 27, 41, 58, 127, 174. The custom of burying the entire body, which prevailed in the Pentapolis, is also Egyptian, rather than Grecian.

high ground on which they mostly stand, as seen from different parts of the city and suburbs, is more beautiful than we can pretend to describe. A judicious observer might select from these monuments, as well as from the excavated tombs above-mentioned, examples of Grecian and Roman architecture through a long succession of interesting periods; and the progress of the art might thus be traced satisfactorily, from its early state among the first inhabitants of Cyrene, to its degeneracy and final decay under Roman colonists in the decline of the empire.

"The larger tombs were usually divided in the centre, by a wall along the whole length of the building; and several bodies were disposed one over the other, in each of the compartments thus obtained. Every place containing a body was covered with a slab of marble or stone, in the manner of those described in the excavated tombs: and there were sometimes two of these places abreast of each other, and the same number at their head or feet, according to the size of the tomb. Innumerable busts and statues originally adorned the constructed tombs, (as we have already observed to be the case in those which have been excavated in the mountain,) and many of these are still seen half buried beneath heaps of rubbish and soil, at the foot of the buildings they once surmounted. Those entirely above ground, we usually found broken in several pieces, or mutilated so as to be much disfigured; but we have not the least doubt that there are many of them still existing in a perfect state, within a few feet, and often a few inches of the surface, which might easily be obtained by excavation." *

To the westward of Cyrene, a highly picturesque

* Beechey, pp. 459, 460.

ravine affords a bed for a stream of excellent water: it deepens gradually in its course towards the sea, and is thickly overgrown with clusters of oleander and myrtle, blooming in the greatest luxuriance amid the impending rocks. On the western side of the ravine, galleries have been formed, similar to those on the northern face of the rock, and bordered in like manner with excavated tombs. Deep marks of wheels prove that these galleries also were used as roads; and there seems to have been a parapet, in the more dangerous parts, along the brink of the very abrupt descent to the bed of the torrent. The road between the perpendicular rock and the flowery precipice of the ravine is often not more than three feet wide; and the passage from one part of the gallery to another, is not quite so safe as to preclude all sense of danger. These galleries lead from the side of the ravine, round the cliff, into another valley, somewhat broader, in which are also excavated tombs.* On the brink of the ravine are remains of a portion of an aqueduct; and there is a great deal of building of excellent construction, about the stream that runs at the bottom, which Capt. Beechey supposes to have been in some way connected with the aqueduct. The water, he says, seems to have been inclosed and covered in, and, by lateral pressure, raised to a considerable height above its bed, so as to be distributed through the city. At something less than a quarter of a mile from the commencement of the ravine, the stream which flows down it, is joined by another, issuing from the rock on its western side, and a basin has been formed in the rock for its reception. In front of this fountain also, there are considerable traces of building amid the shrubs and

* In one of these was found some of the beautiful specimens of ancient painting above referred to.

vegetation. The spot is a favourite retreat for the sheep and cattle of the Bedouins who occasionally visit Cyrene.

The principal fountain in the place, however, and that which is supposed to be referred to by Herodotus as sacred to Apollo, issues from an excavated chamber at the foot of a perpendicular cliff, which has been adorned with a portico like a temple. A channel has been cut from this apartment far into the bowels of the rock, at the height of five feet from the level of the chamber; along this channel, the water flows rapidly from the interior, and precipitates itself in a little cascade, into a basin formed to receive it, on a level with the floor of the apartment; whence it passes out into an open level space in front of the mountain. Captain Beechey explored the passage for nearly a quarter of a mile. Its general height is between four and five feet, and it is from three to four in breadth. At the end of 1300 feet, it becomes so low that, to advance further, a person must creep upon his hands and knees through the water. Forty feet further, the channel ends in a small aperture scarcely a foot in diameter, beyond which it is, of course, impossible to penetrate. The sides and roof of the passage are flat; but the bed of the stream, which occupies the whole width of the passage, and flows with a strong current, is encumbered with stones, bedded fast in a quantity of clay, which has accumulated about the bottom and against the sides. In some places, where there appear to have been flaws or fissures in the rock, the passage widened to about six feet, and the roof was high enough to allow of a person standing upright; "of which," says Captain Beechey, "we very gladly availed ourselves, to the great relief of our knees." The water was extremely cold; and in order to com-

plète a plan of the passage, it was necessary to remain standing or kneeling in it for several hours; but the interest attaching to the undertaking reconciled the exploring party to the inconvenience and annoyance attending it.

They had prosecuted their subterranean course for some time, when they discovered that the clay washed down by the current, was occasionally plastered against the sides of the passage, and smoothed very carefully, as with the palm of the hand. In this, they thought they perceived that something like letters had been scratched. To their great surprise, they discovered, on a closer examination, that the walls were covered with Greek inscriptions, some of which, from their dates, must have remained on the wet clayfor more than 1500 years. "The preservation of these," continues Captain Beechey, "may certainly be accounted for by the dampness of the place and its extreme seclusion, which would conspire to prevent the clay from cracking and dropping off, and from being rubbed off by intruders; but we were not prepared to meet with inscriptions engraved on so yielding a substance, and, certainly, not to find that, having once been written, they should have remained on it down to the present day, as perfect as when they were left there by those whose visit they were intended to commemorate. They consist, of course, chiefly of a collection of names, many of which are Roman; and the earliest of the most conspicuous dates which we remarked and copied, (for it would take whole days to read and copy them all,) were those of the reign of Dioclesian. We could collect no other fact from those which we read, than that a priest appears to have officiated at the fountain, after Cyrene became a Roman colony, whose name and calling (in the form

επι ιερεος, &c.) are usually written after the name of the visiter. They are, in general, very rudely scratched, with a point of any kind, (a sword or knife, perhaps, or the stone of a ring,) and often with the point of the fingers. We observed a few Arabic inscriptions among the rest, but were so much occupied in reading over the Greek ones, in order to gain some intelligence respecting the fountain, which might serve to throw light upon the period at which the channel was excavated, or other questions of interest, that we neglected to copy them. There is an appearance, in one of the Greek inscriptions, of allusion to the name of Apollo, the deity to whom we suppose this fountain to have been sacred; but the letters are not sufficiently clear to establish the fact decidedly, although we do not see what other sense could be given to the words in question, with so much probability of being that which the writer intended; and it is plain that, as the sentence now stands, it is incomplete.* We could not succeed in finding any Greek dates of antiquity, although the Greek names are very numerous; but a person accustomed to the many negligent modes of writing the character, with plenty of time and light at his disposal, might probably succeed in finding Greek inscriptions of more interest than we were able to discover in the mass of writing here alluded to; a great portion of which, as might naturally be expected, consists of rude scrawls and hasty scratches,—mere apologies, in fact, for letters almost of any kind. That the fountain continued to be an object of curiosity, and probably of religious veneration, after the cession of the country to the Romans, may, however, be in-

* The words of the inscription are thus given: επι ιερεος του [μεγ]ιστου Απολλων[ος]. The letters between crotchets are obscure or wanting.

ferred from what we have stated; and a minimum may at least be established with respect to the date of the excavated channel, if we cannot ascertain the precise time of its formation, or whether it was cut at one, or at several periods."

On emerging from the channel, after the lapse of several hours, they found the Arabs of the place collected round the fountain to see the issue of their daring adventure; and "we really believe," says Captain Beechey, "that they were extremely disappointed to find that no accident had befallen any one of the party, in spite of the demons so confidently believed to haunt its dark and mysterious recesses."*

On one side of the cascade which is formed by the stream, there is an excavated chamber, divided into two compartments; and in the further division is a second basin, sunk below the level of the chamber, which appears to have originally communicated with the stream by means of a small aperture in the rock just above it. No water at present finds its way through this opening; and the basin would be dry,

* Beechey, pp. 554, 5. M. Pacho, who explored this channel in Feb. 1825, has given a description of it so different in many respects, as to be scarcely reconcileable with Mr. Beechey's account. He saw no Greek inscriptions, but, on one side of the channel, noticed the distinct prints left by the feet of hyenas and some smaller animals, the real magicians and spectres of the cave. In several places also were found bones of camels and other quadrupeds, the remains of the hyenas' feast. In one part, a subterranean torrent fell with a loud noise through a hollow chasm, into an abyss which seemed to go deep into the heart of the mountain. At length, at 150 metres from the entrance, the work of man finishes, and the channel presents an irregular opening, through which a person can pass only by crawling along flat in the water. By this means you arrive at a large grotto, not very high, and carpetted with stalactites, where the water rushes out from all parts, springing up from beneath, and falling from a thousand crevices of the crystallized cieling.—Pacho, *Voyage dans la Marmarique*, pp. 213—215.

were it not for the rain that washes into it from without during the rainy season. Capt. Beechey supposes this reservoir to have been devoted to the service of the priests of the fountain. Nearly opposite to it is what appears to have been the principal entrance. Here, fallen to the ground, and broken in two pieces, was found a tablet of sandstone, on which were sculptured three female figures joining hands as performing a dance, in a style apparently ancient. Near it was another tablet, of white marble and excellent workmanship, on which was represented a female figure crowning a terminal one. In front of the fountain, two porticoes appear to have been erected; (judging from the channels cut in the rock to receive the pediments;) and on a part of the cliff at right angles with the face of the rock, an inscription in Doric Greek records the name of Dionysius, a priest, as the builder of one of the porticoes. The front of the fountain, as well as the chambers within, is much encumbered with soil washed down by the winter rains; and it is possible that more interesting remains might be brought to light by excavation. The excavated chambers are occupied, in the summer, by flocks of sheep and goats; and the whole level space in front of the mountain is then thickly covered with flocks and herds of cattle, attracted by the water which now strays over its surface.

A few feet below the fountain, there are remains (consisting of little more than the ground-plan) of a peripteral temple, which, from the fragment of an inscription discovered among the ruins, appears to have been dedicated to Diana. On the north side, some columns are still in their places, although nearly buried beneath the soil: they are about 4½ feet in diameter. Some portions of a Doric entablature were perceived among the ruins; and close to the northern

wall was found a mutilated female figure, in a sitting attitude, which may have represented the sister of Apollo. Other remains of building were observed to the northward and westward, which it would have required excavation to make out. A little beyond the temple, the level tract stretching from the base of the cliff, is terminated by a strongly built wall, the top of which is even with the terrace, and which has been intended to keep the soil from being washed down or undermined by the rains. It would form at the same time an admirable defence against hostile approach from beneath. The waters of the fountain, now left to their natural course, fall down the face of this wall in a pretty cascade, amid the branches of trees which have grown up against the barrier. A few paces beyond, the ground again forms an abrupt descent, and is kept up by a second wall; and to this succeeds a series of rapid descents to the foot of the mountain.

The summit of the mountain on which Cyrene is built, is clear of wood; and a convenient place was easily found for the tents, near the centre of the ancient town. Here, for three weeks, Capt. Beechey and his party remained, busily employed in making plans and drawings of the scenery and ancient remains. The only obstruction they met with, arose from the luxuriant vegetation which covered the whole place, to the height of four or five feet, and through which the heavy dews rendered it impossible to make way, between sunset and mid-day, without being completely wet through. No Arabs made their appearance; and they rambled about the magnificent ruins of this city of the dead, without meeting a single living creature, besides those of their own party, except a few jackals and hyenas in the morning and evening, which always fled at their approach. The change

which they found had taken place in the course of about a fortnight, on their return from an excursion to Derna, was very striking. The hills were now covered with Arabs and their camels, flocks, and herds; the scarcity of water in the interior having by that time driven the Bedouins to the mountains. The corn was all cut; the high grass and luxuriant vegetation which they had found it so difficult to wade through, had been cropped to the roots by the cattle; and the whole face of the country, instead of the rich green it had worn on their first arrival, had assumed a deep brown and yellow tint. A hot wind was blowing, which had all the character of a *scirocco*, though coming from the N. W.; and the thermometer stood constantly at 97° in the shade; a heat they had not before experienced at Cyrene. The reflection of the sun's rays from the rocky ground and the masses of white stone, now became actually scorching, and very annoying to both their eyes and their lips. They were able, however, to walk about during the whole day, and to prosecute their researches without any more serious inconvenience. Very few serpents or scorpions were seen, even among the ruins; but the grass land is much infested by a dark-coloured centipede with red feelers and legs, singularly tenacious of life.*

One advantage attended this unpleasing change in the aspect of the place: they were now enabled to make out the ground-plans of the buildings, which had before been nearly concealed beneath the soil and

* "Any part which chanced to be separated from the rest of the body, would continue to run about as if nothing had happened; and were the reptile even divided into twenty pieces, each part would travel about, as if in search of the others, without any of them seeming to be the worse. The only mode by which we could kill them at once, was by crushing the head, which effectually destroyed life in every other part instantaneously."—Beechey, p. 519.

vegetation. Among these were two theatres, which were at first only detected by the semi-circular shape of the green masses which they presented. The largest of these, built against the side of the hill, like many of the Greek theatres, appeared, from the style of the architecture, to be Roman, of the time of Augustus or of Hadrian. The whole depth, including the seats, the orchestra, and the stage, was about 150 feet, and the length of the scene about the same. The porticoes at the back of the seats were 250 feet in length; and the space between these and the colonnade at the back of the scene, was of equal extent. The columns which once formed this colonnade, had been thrown down from their basement, and lay across the track in various places along the whole length of the range. Among them lay several statues, which appeared to have been portraits, executed with great freedom and taste. Their drapery resembled the *toga*. The Corinthian capitals of the columns had rolled, in their fall, to some distance from the shafts. These, as well as the bases, were of a fine white marble, the polish of which was still, in many cases, very perfect: the shafts were of coloured marble, formed of a single piece. The highest range of seats was on a level with the platform, from which it was approached at the back, through the porticoes; and the lower ranges were apparently reached from the top. This theatre is placed by the side of the road leading down to the fountain, and must, when perfect, have been a beautiful object.

The other theatre, which is smaller, differs materially from the one above described, in both its plan and its proportions. A larger space is allotted to the seats, which, instead of being approached from above, were reached by five *vomitoria*, arched with blocks of stone, ranged longitudinally, and of very good construc-

tion. These passages are now blocked up with the rubbish of the fallen roof, and could be only imperfectly explored. Some of the rows of seats were discovered to be hollow. No portion of the stage, except the lower part of a wall, (probably part of the proscenium,) is now remaining. The orchestra was not more than 60 feet in width, and about 30 in depth. The depth of the space occupied by the seats, was not more than 40 feet. There are extensive remains of building, which appear to have been attached to the theatre on its eastern side: they seem to have inclosed public walks, and to have been surrounded with porticoes and strong walls of considerable height, in one of which is a gate communicating with one of the principal roads. Near the theatre, there are still many statues above ground, in the best style of Grecian art, and many good examples of Roman sculpture, or, perhaps, Roman portraits executed by Greek artists.* Every part of the city, and indeed of the suburbs, must formerly have abounded with statues: and excavation might yet bring to light many admirable sculptures.

Without the walls, to the westward of the ancient city, there are remains of an amphitheatre, which must have been a very conspicuous object from the sea. "It has been constructed on the verge of a precipice, commanding a most extensive and beautiful view, and receiving, in all its purity, the freshness of the northern breeze, so grateful in an African climate. Part of it is built against the side of a hill, which formed the support of the ranges of seats fronting the pre-

* "One of these," Capt. Beechey says, "from the representation of the Ammon's head and the eagles which ornament the armour, is probably a statue of one of the Ptolemys; and near it is a female statue, one of the Cleopatras, Berenices, or Arsinoës, perhaps, of the family."

cipice; and that portion of it which bordered upon the verge of the descent, rose abruptly from the edge, like a stupendous wall, overlooking the country below. The foundations of this part of the amphitheatre were, it may be imagined, remarkably strong, and they still remain, to a great extent, very perfect; but all the seats which they supported, have been tumbled at once from their places, and lie in masses of ruin beneath. This appears to have been occasioned by a part of the substructure having given way; and as we imagine the whole side to have fallen at once, the crash must have been a tremendous one. On the opposite side, (that which rests against the hill,) nearly forty rows of seats are still remaining, one above the other; and as each of these is fifteen inches in height, the edge of the precipice appears from the upper seats to be close at the foot of the ranges, although the whole of the arena intervenes, and it often made us giddy to look down from them. As the lower ranges of seats are not in their places, it is difficult to ascertain the diameter of the arena, but it seems to have been more than a hundred feet across, and to have been, like that which we have mentioned at Ptolemeta, of a perfectly circular form. There is no appearance of any præcinctions, owing, probably, to the absence of interior communications, which are not to be found in this building; and it seems to have been chiefly approached from the top, which is equal in height with the level summit of the hill, against which the seats on this side are built. The arena seems to have been about 100 feet in diameter, and the seats to have occupied a space of about 80 feet in depth: if we reckon the platform inclosing the amphitheatre at 20 feet, the whole building will have stood upon 300 feet of ground. There are remains of a Doric colonnade along the edge of

the cliff forming the north side of one of the spaces walled in to the westward of the amphitheatre: the capitals are beautifully formed. Both these inclosures appear to have been appropriated to the amphitheatre; perhaps as public walks for the use of the audience.... In returning from the amphitheatre to the city, the road skirts the edge of the cliff, which descends everywhere abruptly; and the soil is kept up by strong walls along the brink of the descent. It is over a part of this wall, that the fountain of Apollo now precipitates itself, and finds its way to the sea. Near the end of this wall begin the ranges of tombs which skirt the northern face of the mountain below the city, descending in galleries to the level of the plain... From this portion of the mountain descend five large ravines, once thickly wooded, which have been cleared for the use of the town, and to disencumber the ground appropriated to the tombs. Some of the ravines are, however, still partially wooded, in many places very thickly; and springs of excellent water are found in various parts of them.

"The northern side of the town, from its present appearance, does not seem to have been ever much inhabited, and very few remains of dwelling-houses are observable there. The buildings which still exist, are, however, of an interesting character, and excavation would be particularly desirable in this part. Two eminences, which rise conspicuously above the general level of the summit, are occupied with the ruins of spacious temples; and close to the western wall of the city is all that remains of the Stadium. The largest of the temples (the *ædes* without the columns) is 169 feet in length, and its breadth 61 feet. It is of the Doric order in its early style; and the capitals, which, with the columns, are lying on the ground, still exhibit marks of excellent taste and execution, though

much defaced. The form of this building is peripteral.....The smaller temple, besides being built upon a rising ground, had the additional elevation of a very solid basement, raised considerably above the level of the summit of the hill, part of which has been left as a terrace round the building. The length of the *ædes* is 111 feet, and its breadth 50 feet. The capitals of some fluted columns lying at the foot of the hill on which the temple stands, are of no established order, and may, perhaps, be said to be a mixture of Greek and Egyptian; a coalition which we should certainly expect to meet with in Cyrene, but of which we recollect to have seen only a few instances. Close to this building, on its northern side, is the quarry from which the stone employed in its construction was probably taken, forming a deep trench at the foot of the hill.

"To the eastward of the larger temple are the remains of the Stadium, part of which is excavated in the rocky soil, those parts only being built which the rock could not supply. Its length is somewhat more than 700 feet, and its breadth about 250. The course is now overgrown with long grass and vegetation, and nearly all the constructed part has disappeared. There are two masses of building to the north-westward of the stadium, which appear to have had some connexion with it...The city walls approach closely to the southern extremity of the stadium, and are in this part very decided. They begin from the verge of a deep ravine, and continue in an unbroken line to some spacious reservoirs at the S. E. angle of the city.* Here

* "The water which fell at Cyrene during the rainy season, appears to have been collected and conveyed through various channels in the streets to spacious basins, excavated at no great distance on each side."—Della Cella, p. 143. These reservoirs, Mr. Beechey says, are three in number, one at right angles with the other two: they are partly built and partly excavated, and coated with a very

we lose traces of them; but they again make their appearance on the southern side of the buildings alluded to, and extend to the brink of the large ravine with which the aqueduct communicated. Beyond the aqueduct, a wall was unnecessary, for the mountain descends perpendicularly to the bed of the ravine, and renders all approach to the town in this direction impossible; and as the wall of the aqueduct has not been built with arches, but carried along the mountain in a solid mass, it would have been fully sufficient for the purpose of defence, and was probably built solid with this intention. Square towers were attached to the city wall, apparently not at regular intervals, but approaching each other more closely where the ground was low. Several parts of the wall have been excavated in the rocky soil; and building was employed only where the rock was not sufficiently high. The masses of rock were not of the nature of a cliff, but rise in irregular forms, as well from within as without the walls.

"The south-eastern part of the city appears to have been most thickly inhabited, and a number of small buildings were here crowded closely together. Those in the centre of the town are of much more importance, and the remains in the space between the theatres and the aqueduct, have very considerable interest.* Corn was now growing over a great part of the ground.....In fact, the whole of the existing remains of this ancient and once beautiful city, are, at present, little more than a mass of ruin; and the

hard cement, still perfect in many places. The roofs are arched with stone, and beautifully turned; and being built up on the sides, form long terraces, each more than 150 feet in length.

* Some extensive remains, with a very handsome colonnade, appeared to have belonged to a palace; and below them is a long range of quadrangular apartments, each about forty feet by twenty, which any groom or coachman, Captain Beechey says, would at once have pronounced to be the stabling of the palace.

tombs afford the most perfect examples of Grecian art now remaining in Cyrene.*

M. Pacho, who visited Cyrene in 1825, describes some excavations which, he says, differ from all the rest in not exhibiting the slightest indication of a sepulchral design. They are situated about half way between Cyrene and Apollonia (two hours from the latter place), on the first terraces of the mountain, at a place called *Magharenat*, which derives its appellation from the vast and deep grottoes that are found there. "You may enter on horseback into all these *hypogea* excavated in the mountain. Several are adorned in front with a species of monolithic portico, and with an open hall; others have either a straight or a winding avenue; and one of them is distinguished by a handsome and wide staircase, likewise cut in the hill, and covered, the whole of its length, with an arched roof of masonry. This roof was unquestionably intended to shelter from the intemperature of the air, the inhabitants of Cyrene, who came to inspect in this place, the merchandise sent from Apollonia; for doubtless these vast *hypogea* were magazines..... These subterranean apartments, situated far from the route followed by the caravans of Mecca, and even from the road leading from Derna to Benghazi, have for many years offered convenient habitations to the Arabs of Barca. Whole tribes have successively taken up their abode in them. Hordes of banditti have, however, now and then invaded these peaceful retreats, have driven away their occupants, and made them the repository of their plunder; but their residence has never been of long duration. The neighbouring tribes have united; the robbers have been dispersed; and

* Beechey, pp. 523—549.

the lawful proprietors have regained possession of their troglodytic town."*

Whatever may be thought of the notion, that these *hypogea* were intended for magazines or bazars, it deserves investigation, whether, as at Petra and at Thebes, some of the excavations at Cyrene were not originally designed for the use of the living. M. Pacho states, that by no means all the grottoes of the Necropolis are adorned with architectural façades: some are entered by a simple square doorway cut in the rock, and consist of vast subterranean apartments, of a very distinct character from the excavated mausolea, and probably of anterior date. In the tombs, generally, he says, the Doric style predominates; sometimes pure, sometimes modified by Egyptian details; and at other times it forms a peculiar style, which occurs also in the edifices of the Ammonian Oasis.† One remarkable grotto contains, instead of either niches or sarcophagus, a sepulchral well in the centre; and its four walls are covered with paintings which appear to represent funereal games. M. Pacho strangely supposes it to be a Jewish monument; observing, that, at one time, that nation enjoyed at Cyrene, under the Romans, almost a sovereign power. Improbable as is the conjecture, it recals the observation of Chateaubriand, respecting the manifest alliance of the Egyptian and the Grecian taste in the tombs of Jerusalem. In those of Petra also, there is a similar fantastical mixture of the Egyptian, Doric, and Roman styles.‡

At the western extremity of the Cyrenean necropolis, without the limits of the city, M. Pacho dis-

* Pacho, pp. 191—3.

† The *Kasr Roum* near Kamyseh, is probably referred to. See Mod. Trav. Egypt, vol. i. p. 211.

‡ See Mod. Trav. Palestine, p. 156; Arabia, p. 355.

covered an excavation, which he describes as the largest and most picturesque of all that he had seen in the Pentapolis. It is situated at the extremity of a grove, (the only one that is found on the plain, and the lively imagination of the Frenchman instantly identifies it with that which the founder of Cyrene consecrated to the gods,) and on the eastern side of the ravine by which it is bounded. "Paths cut with infinite care, enable you to descend to it from the plain of Cyrene, as well as to ascend from the bottom of the ravine....You penetrate the *hypogeum* by three grand approaches, and arrive at a vast quadrangle, surrounded with a wide and low bench. At the bottom is seen a square altar, above which is a large niche designed to receive the statue of the presiding deity. The walls are overgrown with vegetation, which it is necessary to tear down in order to be able to decipher the inscriptions with which they are covered. It may be seen at the first glance, that they belong to very different epochs. They bedaub in the most irregular manner every corner of the excavation. Some are deeply engraved in letters of five or six inches; others are in so small a character as to be scarcely perceptible; and they are all unconnected, consisting of a very short sentence. Besides which, here and there, occur a number of isolated names,—such as Aristocles, Alexander, Jason, Agathocles, &c.....It would seem that the place was an excavated temple, consecrated, probably, to one of the principal divinities of Cyrene; and that strangers came to visit it in the discharge of a sacred duty. Now the situation of this religious monument, near the only forest which is found upon the plain of Cyrene, appears to me perfectly to accord with the presumed object and origin

of this wood; which would, consequently, lead us back to the earliest period of the Greek colony in Libya. The majestic cypresses which compose it, will then be the descendants of the trees which the chief of the dynasty of the *Battiades* consecrated to the gods."*

If the fancy of the Traveller has not thrown an illusive character round the supposed sanctuary, it would certainly seem to favour the idea, that the earliest inhabitants of Cyrene were a troglodytic race, whose temples and dwellings were alike excavated in the solid rock. The Doric sculptures may be referred to a second period, the era at which the verse of Pindar celebrated the wealth and grandeur of Cyrene the magnificent. All the buildings, however, of which any traces remain, as well as a large proportion of the *mausolea*, M. Pacho refers decidedly to the Roman period. In fact, the city is said to have been destroyed by the Romans, on account of an insurrection, and to have been afterwards rebuilt. If the temples were spared, they would doubtless require to be repaired; and M. Pacho asserts, that some of these structures were evidently raised upon the ruins of more ancient edifices.† Among other remains besides those de-

* Pacho, pp. 230, 231.—Besides temples to Apollo and Bacchus, Cyrene contained one dedicated to Jupiter Olympius, and one to Esculapius. In one of the latter, the Cyreneans kept their treasure. To the east of the city was also a hill consecrated to the Lycean Jupiter. Other fanes were erected to Minerva, Rhea, and Saturn, and at that of Diana, were celebrated the festivals called *Artemisia*, instituted at Cyrene in honour of that goddess. These temples, Theophrastus says, were built with the wood of the *thym* (juniper); which may account for their complete destruction, although stone was, no doubt, used as well as timber.

† This is evidently the case, he says, with a *Cæsareum*, or temple of Cæsar, the ruins of which are identified by the inscription, *Porticus Cæsarei*, sculptured in large letters on a colossal cornice.

scribed by Mr. Beechey, this Traveller particularizes those of a bath, built of brick, and retaining several vaulted fragments; several castles or forts; and two small excavated temples* of the Roman period, with Christian emblems. What the emblems are, we are not told: the caves must originally have been appropriated to a different worship. One of the most remarkable excavations at Petra has, in like manner, evidently served as a Christian church; but such ecclesiastical monuments cannot be referred to a very high antiquity or to the purer ages of the church.

The foundation of Cyrene dates as far back as the thirty-seventh Olympiad (about B. C. 628), when, according to Herodotus, a colony of Greeks from the Egean Isles, under Battus, were conducted by the Libyan nomades to this delightful spot, then called *Irasa*.† Other migrations from Greece subsequently took place; and the colonists had become strong enough, under their third sovereign, to make war upon their Libyan neighbours, and even to defeat an army of Egyptian auxiliaries which Apries (Pharaoh Hophra) had sent to their assistance.‡ The state of Barca was founded by a division of the colonists, headed by the brothers of the king (Arcesilaus III.), who, having abjured his authority, left Cyrene with their followers. A civil war ensued, followed by the usual consequences; an application to the neighbouring states

Fragments of inverted inscriptions, and blocks of stone of different kinds, have been inserted in the courses.

* "*Deux petits temples hypogées.*" M. Pacho describes also a sepulchral grotto, which he considers as decidedly Christian, but apparently on very slender and doubtful evidence.

† An ancient site on the route to Bengazi, still bears the name of *Birasa*. Captain Beechey suggests, that the word may denote a summit or head, the meaning of the Arabic *Ras*.

‡ See Mod. Trav. Egypt, vol. i. p. 90.

for foreign aid, the eventual ruin of one party, and the loss of independence by the other. At first, the Barceans appear to have had the advantage; but, in the reign of a fourth Arcesilaus, who had married the daughter of the sovereign of Barca, a popular insurrection took place, in which both monarchs were assassinated. The mother of the Cyrenean king, Queen Pheretime, fled to Egypt, and invoked the aid of Aryander, the Persian viceroy under Darius Hystaspes, who readily espoused her cause. Barca, after a long siege, fell through treachery, and was plundered by the Persians; while the vengeance of the Queen was glutted in the massacre of all who had been concerned in the insurrection. After this, we hear no more of Barca as a separate state, and the city appears to have been abandoned for the port. In the time of Aristotle, Cyrene was a republic; and this appears to have been the form of government, at the era of the memorable dispute recorded by Sallust, between the Cyreneans and the Carthaginians, relative to their respective limits.*

* After frequent and bloody contests between the two states, Sallust tells us, it was agreed that certain deputies from each state should leave their home on a fixed day, and that the place where the parties met, should be considered as the mutual boundary. The two brothers Philæni, who were appointed on the part of Carthage, contrived to travel so much faster than the deputies from Cyrene, that they had advanced far into the Cyrenean territory before they were met; and they were accused by the other party of having set out before the appointed time. To terminate this fresh dispute, the Carthaginians desired the Greeks to name some terms of accommodation. "And when the latter proposed, that the deputies from Carthage should either be buried on the spot which they claimed as the boundary, or allow them to advance as far as they chose on the same conditions, the Philæni immediately accepted the terms, and giving themselves up to the service of their country, were buried alive on the spot where the dispute had occurred. On the same spot, two altars were consecrated to their memory by the people of Carthage." Improbable as the story seems, the Philæ-

The queen of Amasis, the enlightened monarch of Egypt who patronised Pythagoras and was visited by Solon, was a native of Cyrene; and in his reign, the Greeks were greatly favoured. Strabo states, that the Cyreneans continued to be governed by their own laws till the reduction of Egypt by the Macedonians. After the death of Alexander, Cyrene seems to have been comprised, with Egypt and Libya, in the vice-royalty of Ptolemy Lagus, whose brother, Magas, ruled Cyrene for fifty years. It continued to form part of the empire of the Ptolemys, some of whom at different periods made it their residence, till it was made over by Ptolemy Physcon to his illegitimate son, Apion. During a reign of twenty-one years, throughout which Egypt was a prey to intestine disturbances, Apion maintained peace and tranquillity in his dominions; and on his death, he bequeathed the Cyrenaica (as Nicomedes had done his kingdom of Bithynia) to the Romans. The Senate accepted the bequest, but allowed the cities to be governed by their own laws, which opened the way for fresh discord; and the anarchy was terminated, twenty years after the death of Apion (B. C. 76), by the reduction of the whole of the Cyrenaica to the condition of a Roman province. In the time of Strabo, it was united with Crete in one government.

The most flourishing period of Cyrene was probably that of the Ptolemaic dynasty, and of the preceding

nean altars, which were about seven-ninths of the way from Carthage towards Cyrene (according to Rennell), formed the eastern limit of the Carthaginian empire at the date of Hannibal's expedition into Italy, B. C. 217; but they had disappeared in the time of Strabo, when the Euphrata tower, which stood far to the westward, was the common boundary of Carthage and Egypt. The altars were probably *tumuli*, now covered with sand. See Beechey, pp. 218—220, Rennell, 640.

two or three centuries, when Grecian art was in the highest perfection; to which period we may assign the Doric temples and other monuments which are decidedly of an early style. The philosophy and literature of Greece were diligently cultivated at Cyrene; and this city gave birth to Aristippus, the founder of the licentious sect distinguished by the name of Cyrenaic. It was the birth-place also of the poet Callimachus, Eratosthenes the historian, and Carneades the sophist. Numbers of Jews appear to have settled in the Cyrenaica, even prior to the Christian era.* Cyrenean Jews were present at Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost; some of them took part with their Alexandrian brethren in disputing against the proto-martyr Stephen; and Christian Jews of Cyprus and Cyrene, fleeing from the persecution of their intolerant brethren, were the first preachers of Christianity to the Grecians of Antioch.† That Cyrene continued to flourish under the Romans, may be inferred as well from some Latin inscriptions, as from the style of many of the architectural remains.‡ To what circumstances its desertion is attributable, does not appear;

* It was a Jew of Cyrene, "Simon by name, the father of Alexander and Rufus," whom the Roman soldiers compelled to bear one end of our Saviour's cross. Matt. xxvii. 32.—Mark xv. 21.

† Acts ii. 10. vi. 9. xi. 20.

‡ Mr. Beechey says: "We never saw an ancient town in which fewer inscriptions are to be seen, than that of Cyrene, especially for a town in which literature and the fine arts were cultivated with so much success." M. Pacho, indeed, brought to France a large collection obtained from Cyrene. "On being examined, however, by the Commission of the Society of Geography, they were not found to be of much value. Only one belonged to the era of Cyrenean independence; two to that of the Ptolemys; all the others were Roman. The Society suspect, that the Romans, amid the scarcity of marble, took down the ancient edifices to obtain materials for the erection of their own." Edinburgh Review, No. xcv. p. 231. Yet, how could there be a scarcity of marble at Cyrene?

but in the fifth century it had become a mass of ruin;* and its wealth and honours were transferred to the episcopal city of Ptolemais. The final extirpation of the Greek colonies of Cyrene, however, dates from the destructive invasion of the Persian monarch, Chosroes (Khosrou Purveez), who, about A.D. 616, overran Syria and Egypt: he advanced as far westward as the neighbourhood of Tripoli, and "treading in the footsteps of Alexander, returned in triumph through the sands of the Libyan desert."† The Saracens completed the work of the Persians; and for seven centuries, this once fertile and populous region has been lost to civilization, to commerce, and even to geographical knowledge. For three parts of the year, Cyrene is untenanted except by jackals and hyenas; and during the fourth, the wandering Bedouins, too indolent to ascend the higher range of hills, pitch their tents chiefly on the low ground to the southward of the summit on which the city is built.

Cyrene is situated in lat. 32° 50′ N., long. 21° 49′E.‡ The rock on which it stands, appears to be a testaceous limestone, like all the mountains between Tunis and Algiers. Della Cella, describing this formation, remarks, that "the last beds of the conchylious, crumbling sandstone which is found in the country adjacent to the Gulf, cover the lowest hillocks of the Cyrenaica, inclining westward towards the sea. Beyond them, the crust of conglomerated sand ceases, and the heart of these mountains consists of a compact chalk, which has the usual hardness of all kinds of

* "We find it described as a mass of ruin," Mr. Beechey remarks, "by Synesius, who lived in the time of Theodosius the younger."

† Gibbon, ch. xlvi. Mod. Trav., Persia, vol. i. p. 117.

‡ Beechey, App. p. xlvii. The latitude of the Tents near the small theatre, was 32° 49′ 38″.

marble; and though of secondary formation, and bearing frequent traces of shells, its grain is fine, and often glitters like saline marble. It is of a yellowish colour, often porous, and, by long exposure to the air, acquires, like the Travertine, a reddish hue, which renders these remains peculiarly agreeable to the eye. Such is the nature of the rock which prevails through all that part of the Cyrenaica visited by me, and in which the industry of the ancient nation once settled there, excavated both tombs and habitations..... The surface of the country is scattered over with madrepores of very remote origin. They are neither adherent to the soil, nor fixed in the calcareous rock of which the hills are composed, but are spread about in detached pieces; and are probably the remains of that marine alluvial soil which entirely covers the skirts of these masses of testaceous chalk, and occasionally shews itself in isolated crusts, even upon the most elevated parts of the Cyrenaica.....Notwithstanding the summits of these mountains are 500 or 600 metres above the level of the Mediterranean, the rock is not less full of shells at the top, than at the base; and these are principally bivalves. Sometimes, it abounds with small shells of a lenticular shape, presenting in their fractures the character of Ammonites. In general, the shells which I observed scattered along the shore, or conglomerated in the crust of the testaceous sand, were of a different species from those I found upon these hills." *

In these, as in all calcareous districts, are several caverns, ornamented with stalactites. Della Cella visited one near Safsaf, he tells us, "which has ac-

* Della Cella, pp. 115, 136, 163.

quired great celebrity from the ignorance and superstition of the neighbouring inhabitants, who, in the stalactites, discover the images of petrified gods, men, and monsters, every one giving to each fantastical form the name which suits his fancy."* It might seem questionable, whether to these natural phenomena, or to the numerous statues found in some ancient sites, the prevailing rumours of a petrified city in this part of Africa are attributable. The first aspect of Cyrene, Della Cella remarks, may well have given rise to such an idea in the mind of some ignorant or visionary traveller. It is not improbable, indeed, that the marvellous story may have grown out of reports relating to both the natural petrifactions and the works of art, ingeniously or ignorantly confounded. The name given to the pretended petrified city by the informants of Shaw and Bruce, was *Ras Sem;* which name is given, in the modern charts, to a headland forming, with Cape *Ras El Hilal*, the bay in which Apollonia is situated. It is not at present known to the Arabs, however, under that name, Captain Beechey says; at least, not to any of whom they made the inquiry. Moreover, both Shaw and Bruce, he remarks, describe the supposed city of Ras Sem as situated in the Interior, five or six days' journey south of Bengazi. Yet, as the direct route from Tripoli to Cyrene diverges from the road to Bengazi, towards

* Safsaf, the name given by the Bedouins to the *nerium oleander*, is also the appellation given, this Author informs us, to a site occupied by vast and noble remains an hour's distance from Cyrene, where are also vestiges of a very capacious aqueduct, partly excavated, and partly built on arches. P. 137. At Sidy Mhamet Emeri's sepulchre, the road divides; one leading partly along the coast to Bengazi; the other in an easterly direction, across the most elevated part of the Cyrenaica, to Cyrene and Derna. The latter was the route pursued by the Bey to whose suite the Signor was attached.

the Interior, it might be erroneously supposed to be south of that place,* and further inland than it really is. The promontory to which the name has attached, may be unknown to the Bedouins; but this seems a very insufficient reason for rejecting the appellation applied to it, doubtless on native authority; and when its geographical connexion with the port of Cyrene is considered, † it seems no very violent supposition, that the ruins in the neighbourhood of Ras Sem, the vast necropolis of Cyrene, with its statues and paintings, gave rise to the current report in question of a petrified city.‡

The road which led from Cyrene to its ancient port, has been paved the whole way, excepting the parts which have been cut through the rock, where deep marks of chariot-wheels are still observable. It had tombs on both sides, extending the greater part of the way, and was defended by forts, the remains of which are visible near the edge of the lower range of hills. "The country through which it passes, is highly interesting and beautiful. Near Cyrene, it has been cleared from the wood which originally covered it, and appropriated to the cultivation of grain. This part is extremely fertile, and is succeeded by beautifully undulating ground overspread

* In fact, the Arabic for south, signifies simply *the right*.

† The stream supplied by the fountain of Cyrene, has its outlet at Ras Sem. M. Pacho calls this promontory *Razat*, and identifies it with the ancient *Phycus* or *Phœnicus*.—P. 169.

‡ Great stress was laid, in the story repeated to Shaw, on the *bluish* colour of the stone into which the figures were petrified. It may be thought fanciful to suppose, that the blue colour which prevails in the architectural embellishments of the tombs of Cyrene, gave rise to this idea. Captain Smyth was induced, by similar reports of a petrified city, to undertake a journey several days into the Interior, from Lebida; but the ruins and sculptures he found at Ghirza were contemptible.

with flowering shrubs, which thicken as they approach the top of the lower range, where they are lost in dark forests of pine, stretching down to the beach. "The intermediate space between the corn-land and the forest, has probably been laid out in villas; for we observed," says Captain Beechey, "many ground-plans of buildings scattered over it, which are not those of tombs or military works." In a ravine to the westward of the path, several excavated chambers were seen, many hundred feet above the level of the torrent, in places apparently inaccessible. On inquiry, it was ascertained that whole families reside in them, ascending and descending by means of ropes.* The origin of these caves and cells, with which the whole of the Gharian and Mesurata range also abounds, may probably be referred to a remote antiquity. Their modern occupants are too indolent to have formed these dwellings; and, indeed, traces of an ancient troglodytic nation are very widely scattered over the Libyan mountains.† The situation in which the caves occur, and their internal construction, forbid our confounding them with the quarries which, after furnishing the architect with his materials, were

* "At Sire, eleven hours' march from Zardes (towards Cyrene), I viewed with astonishment the number of cells into which an edifice of one entire piece, cut out of the body of the hill, had been divided. After another hour's march to Slanta, I remarked, in a very small compass, about two hundred cells excavated quite close to each other, and in the very heart of the mountain."—Della Cella, p. 115.

† All the eastern or Libyan bank of the Nile, between Rairamoon and Manfaloot, is perforated with excavations, now partially occupied by Coptic monks, the successors to the primitive disciples of St. Antony. But it is probable, that the rocks of the Thebaid had been made ready to their hand by an aboriginal race, before they were taken possession of by the holy anchorets. It is impossible, Dr. Richardson says, to view the rocky mansions still occupied by the inhabitants of Gornou and Medinat Habou, with-

shaped into sepulchres. The dwellers in the rocks appear to have been as distinct a race in their habits, as the dwellers in tents, who are represented by the modern Bedouins. The latter occasionally avail themselves of the shelter of caves for themselves and their flocks; but these caves could not have been the chosen dwelling of a nomade or pastoral tribe. Della Cella represents the modern inhabitants of the Cyrenean rocks, (whom he regards as the genuine descendants of the ancient *lotophagi*,) as a distinct people from the wandering Arabs. They have, he says, materially deviated from the practice of their forefathers, who subsisted principally on the lotus; "for the chief part of their food consists in honey of a delicious flavour,* which they collect upon the ridges of their rocks, whither great swarms of bees are attracted by the sweets of perpetual spring, and the little rivulets which trickle down the rocks. They exchange the surplus of their honey with the Bedouins for butter, barley-meal, and woollen garments; and it is said, that though the two people differ materially in their

out considering them as the dwellings of the first inhabitants of Thebes.—See MOD. TRAV., Egypt, vol. ii. pp. 37, 118, 123. Pomponius Mela gives a strange account of a troglodytic race of Ethiopians, who lived on serpents. Those who occupied the rocky caverns on the coasts of the Lesser Syrtis, are said to have derived their whole sustenance from the lotus-fruit (see p. 43); the nectareous juice of which whoso tasted, Homer tells us, (Odys. b. ix.)

"Nor other home, nor other care intends,
But quits his house, his country, and his friends."

Some of these troglodytes, however, (and probably the supposed serpent-eaters,) were *ichthyophagi*, like those which are still found on the Abyssinian coast. See Rennell, p. 624. This must, indeed, have been the case with the Nilotic troglodytes; and such a mode of life might well suit a race of piratical fishermen.

* This fact may serve to illustrate what we are told respecting the food of John the Baptist in the wilderness of Judea (Matt. iii. 4); i. he fared as a modern Arab.

customs and habits, this trading intercourse sometimes gives rise to intermarriages among them." *

APOLLONIA.

THE town of Apollonia now bears the name of *Suza Hammam*; (having acquired the latter epithet from the number of wild pigeons that frequent it;) and its port is called *Mersa Suza*,—evidently a corruption of *Sosuza*, the appellation of Apollonia when it succeeded to the episcopal honours of Ptolemais and Cyrene. The modern town stands close to the sea, upon a long, narrow slip of elevated ground, at the extremity of a fertile plain, a mile and a half in width between the coast and the mountains, and at the bottom of an open bay formed by the high promontories of *Ras El Hilal* and *Ras Sem*. The ancient city was surrounded with a very strong wall and towers, occupying an area nearly 3000 feet in length, but not exceeding 500 feet at its greatest breadth. On the northern and north-eastern sides, the sea has made considerable inroads, and few traces of the wall are now remaining. The eastern end of Apollonia appears to have been fortified as a citadel, standing

* Della Cella, p. 157.—Two servants of Capt. Beechey's party, who were sent in search of some camels belonging to the party, followed a track which was found to terminate abruptly at the foot of a high perpendicular cliff, closely hemmed in by thickets and brushwood. While they stood at a loss how to proceed, they heard from above the sound of a hand-mill; and looking up, were accosted by two very pretty young Arab girls, looking out of a square hole on the face of the precipice, at the height of above 150 feet, apparently inaccessible on all sides. In the parley which ensued, they were told by the girls, that their fathers were cutting corn. In reply to the request for water, they at first said they had none to give; but at last, they let down a long rope of twisted skins, to which they directed the men to make fast their water-skin, and it was soon returned to them nearly full of water.—Beechey, p. 486.

upon a cliff which rises perpendicularly from the lower part of the city, and defended by double walls. The quarries excavated about this and other parts of the walls, served the purpose of an excellent fosse, and must very materially have contributed to the strength and security of the city. A small island to the northward of the town, and a reef of rocks a little to the south-westward, (which might serve as the base of the ancient mole,) afford the only natural shelter of the harbour.* Extensive remains of building, apparently the foundations of a quay, are still visible, stretching out from the beach at the depth of a few feet under the water. Some quarries, which have been formed in the rock to the north-eastward of the town, are also now under water; and an insulated tomb which forms a striking object in the landscape, is always surrounded with the sea, when the wind sets in strong from the northward. Other tombs on the beach are likewise filled at such times, as well as some large cisterns to the north-eastward of the town, through which the water roars with a noise like thunder, dashing up through the apertures formed in them. The cisterns might have been kept filled with excellent water by means of an aqueduct, of which there are still remains. The spring by which it was supplied, is situated at the

* Capt. Beechey subsequently speaks of *two* islands opposite the town, on which there are excavations and remains of building; but, as the neighbourhood did not afford a boat, (Apollonia not being used in modern times as a port,) they could not explore them. "The islands are very small, but the town receives great protection from them in northerly gales; although the shelter which they afford is not sufficient, we should imagine, for vessels, even if there should be water enough inside them."—Beechey, p. 516. Yet, the fort of Apollonia is mentioned by Scylax as being secure against all weathers.

extremity of a ravine, about four miles from the town.

Owing to the encroachments of the sea, portions of the elevated ground upon which the town has been built, are continually falling in; and the scene of the principal theatre, situated without the wall to the eastward, has been wholly swept away by the waves, although the quarry in front of it must greatly have contributed to break the force of the sea in that quarter. Part of this theatre has been built against the wall of the citadel, and part against the high ground behind the *subsellia*. Like the similar structures at Cyrene and Ptolemeta, it has no interior communications, the seats being approached, apparently, from above. The greater number of the ranges are still very perfect, and the effect of the whole is that of a magnificent flight of steps.

Within the walls, in the southern quarter of the town, there are remains of a small circular theatre, sunk below the level of the soil, probably an *odeum:* there are traces of several ranges of seats, but the whole is overgrown with grass. The ground-plans of two Christian churches are very decided, as are the remains of a noble building of a similar form (probably a *basilica*) at the western extremity of the city. The handsome marble columns which once adorned these structures, now encumbering the soil, afford, Mr. Beechey remarks, evident proofs, that no expense had been spared in the erection of these magnificent buildings; as the material of which the shafts are composed, is not found in that part of the coast, and must have been transported, at great labour and cost, from distant quarries.* On the centre of the shaft

* The shafts are of a species of coloured marble, "somewhat resembling Tripoline;" the capitals are of white marble, of the

of some of these columns, the figure of a large cross is sculptured. The discovery of these splendid monuments of Christianity in a country from which its light has long been withdrawn, must have been very striking to a contemplative traveller. "They recalled," says Mr. Beechey, "the active times of Cyprian and Anastasius, of the philosophic Synesius, himself a Cyrenean, and other distinguished actors in those memorable scenes which Northern Africa, from Carthage to Alexandria, once presented. But the grass is now growing over the altar-stone, and the munificence which gave birth to these structures, is visible only in their ruins." *

In the quarries which have been mentioned as serving for trenches to the walls, there are a great many excavated tombs; but they are all in a state of great dilapidation, some of them being filled with sand washed in by the sea. It is evident, that the town has been purposely destroyed. Della Cella mentions the flesh-coloured sand found upon the beach; which appearance, he says, upon close examination, he ascertained to be occasioned by a species of the minutest coral, forming about a third of the whole quantity of sand. Sometimes it appeared in irregular fragments; sometimes in small knotty lumps not larger than a grain of millet, in which were distinguishable short, twisted branches, looking as if they had been perforated with a fine instrument. Besides the coral, the sand greatly consisted of the most minute testaceous productions, both univalve and bivalve, perfectly entire, and of forms so decided as to appear to have arrived at their complete development. The sand

Corinthian order. They are probably of no higher antiquity than the time of Justinian.

* Beechey, pp. 494—500.

became almost wholly decomposed on being put into some nitric acid. *

The mountains which form the southern boundary of the plain of Apollonia, terminate in the point of *Ras El Hilal*, where are obscure remains of the naval station and town placed there by Cellarius. Two ancient forts are seen in ruins on the cliff; and close to a ravine is an excavated tomb retaining a very handsome façade. Three miles further eastward, are some others, also in ruins, and the remains of strong walls in the neighbourhood of some quarries. This is the only part of the coast that can be seen from Cyrene, from which it is distant about fourteen miles. The road along the coast now skirts the foot of the mountains, through a country well cultivated in some parts; in others, overrun with pine-trees; and intersected, at every mile, by a ravine, the beauty of which ill compensates to the traveller for the serious impediments it presents. Eight miles to the westward of Cape *Bujebara*, there is a deep ravine called *Wady Elthroon*, through which flowed the largest body of water which Capt. Beechey had hitherto seen in Africa. "The sides of this ravine, which proceeds from an immense fissure in the mountains, were thickly clothed with pine, cypress, and olive trees; and the river, which ran with rapidity, was studded with small islands, covered with oleanders in full bloom. Along the brink of the stream was spread a beautiful turf, which opened in little plots, broader or narrower according to the nature of the ground. The spot was delightful; and to meet with such a scene in an African climate, rendered the view doubly grateful." Some ruins, very much dilapidated, apparently

* Della Cella, pp. 161, 2.

of an ancient town of small dimensions, on the western side of the ravine, are supposed by Captain Beechey to be those of the *Erythron* of Ptolemy.

Near *Bujebara*, the mountains come down close to the sea, and terminate in perpendicular cliffs, along the edge of which, for some distance, the track lies. Further on, they again leave a stony plain, from a mile to a mile and a half wide, broken by deep ravines. The rich vegetation which clothes their declivities near Apollonia, gradually decreases in luxuriance on approaching Derna, till, at length, the mountains become wholly devoid of vegetation, their face being occasionally polished like glass.

DERNA.

THE town of Derna (supposed to occupy the site of the ancient Darnis) is well situated at the mouth of a large ravine (*fiamura*), along part of which it is built: the rest of the town stands on a low point of land running out from the foot of the barren range, there distant about a mile from the coast. "The houses," Capt. Beechey says, "are much better than those at Bengazi,* and are surrounded with gardens produc-

* "The exterior of Derna," says Della Cella, "displays itself to great advantage; but, though its streets are unusually regular, the houses, which are very low, small, and built of pebbles cemented with clay, but full of chinks on every side, convey no other idea than that of perfect wretchedness. These habitations are so many proofs of the extreme ignorance and inertness of the people; for the environs of the town abound with limestone, and the neighbouring hills are well provided with wood for burning it. The fortress in the centre of the town, though of considerable extent, is not less wretched and dilapidated than the dwellings of the inhabitants. *Two* very abundant springs of excellent water issue from the rocks which slope towards Derna. One, collected in an aqueduct, supplies the town, and serves to irrigate the plain: the other is conveyed to Bemensura, a village about a mile from Derna."—pp. 175, 6.

ing abundance of grapes, melons, figs, bananas, oranges, greengages, and other fruits. They have also the advantage of being well sheltered by thick groves of date-trees, which give a very pleasing appearance to the town, and contribute materially to the comfort of the inhabitants by forming a perpetual shade. A delightful stream of water gushes out from the rock above the town, passing through several streets in its course, and irrigating the gardens, and even the corn-fields in its neighbourhood. In short, the actual resources of Derna give it a very decided advantage (in point of comfort) over every other town in the Bashaw's dominions. A very pleasant wine (we were told) is made from the grapes of this place, all of which is consumed by the natives themselves, in spite of the prophet's injunctions.

"The ravine, at the mouth of which the town is situated, is of considerable depth and extent, winding up far into the mountains: some of the gardens are formed upon its sides, and about them a few trees occasionally appear, where the soil has been able to lodge. In the rainy season, a considerable body of water rushes down from the mountains to the sea, and it is sometimes so deep and so rapid as to become wholly impassable: at such times, it separates one half the town from the other, and occasions a consequent inconvenience. In the summer, however, it is dry, and the market is held upon its shining bed.....The water which flows from the spring, was conveyed through the streets, the people informed us, by one of their former Beys, a native of Egypt, who is said to have expended a considerable sum of money in beautifying and improving the place, and to have erected a large and handsome mosque which stands in the centre of the town.

"The streets of Derna are for the most part narrow and irregular, and not without that quantity of rubbish and dirt which may be supposed indispensable to Arab towns and tastes; the luxuriance of its gardens and groves is, however, quite sufficient to balance these objections; and the abundance of grapes which overhang the walls and houses, the terraces, covered walks, and every part of the town, give it a highly pleasing and picturesque appearance.

"On the eastern bank of the ravine is the principal burying-ground of the place, distinguished in particular by a lofty and handsome tomb raised on four arches, under which the body is placed, with its usual simple covering of snow-white cement, and the stone carved turban at its head. The town is undefended both by sea and land, and may at any time be destroyed by no greater force than could be brought to bear against it by a brig of war. Upon a hill at the back of it are the remains of a castle, built some years ago by the Americans; but the guns are now thrown down, and the castle itself is little more than a mere heap of ruins. As this is a conspicuous object in sailing along the coast, the observations for latitude and longitude were reduced to it. Some large building-stones and fragments of columns bedded in the walls of the Arab houses, are all that we could perceive of ancient remains in Derna. Above the town there are a few tombs extant, but in a very mutilated state, excavated in the side of the mountain. What is called the port affords some protection for small vessels with the wind from north-west to south-east; but even these cannot remain with a northerly or north-east wind: during the fine weather, however, some few anchor in it, and load with corn, wool, and manteca, the produce of the inland country.

"The plague has made dreadful ravages at Derna, as is evident by the number of deserted houses on its outskirts. The year previous to our arrival, it was brought (we were told) from Alexandria, and the mortality which it occasioned was very considerable: the prompt measures of the Bey, however, subdued it, who ordered the clothes of all persons attacked with it to be burnt, their houses to be properly ventilated, and the streets to be cleared of everything that was likely to communicate the infection. These exertions were probably assisted by the general healthiness of the place, and the constant change of atmosphere produced by the passage of water through the town: the only remedy we heard of for the disease, was the favourite application of a hot iron to the tumours, which we understood to have been peculiarly successful in many cases.

"Derna is the residence of Bey Mahommed, eldest son to the Bashaw of Tripoly, who commands the whole district extending from the frontiers of Egypt (the eastern part of Bomba) to Sidi Arâfi, one short day west from Grenna. Mahommed Bey is well known for his active and turbulent spirit, and for his rebellion against the Bashaw's authority, which once obliged him to seek refuge in Egypt. His bold and enterprising measures succeeded in quelling the marauding tribes of Arabs who infested the country and levied contributions on the peaceful inhabitants of the towns; but his courage and conduct were sullied by cruelties which we do not feel inclined to justify from their necessity, however well we might probably succeed in attempting to do so before an Arab or Turkish tribunal. Indeed, so many acts of cruelty and extravagance are related of this prince, that we should

scarcely know how to reconcile them with the noble qualities which many allow him to possess, if we did not know from experience, that such inconsistencies are common in barbarous countries; and that it is possible for the same man to be cruel and forgiving, avaricious to extortion, and liberal to profusion, generous and mean, open and intriguing, sincere and deceitful, temperate and dissipated, in short, anything but cowardly and brave." *

The description of this place, given by M. Pacho, who visited it in 1825, is more minute, if not more accurate than the above account. Five villages, separated from each other by short distances, and irregularly placed, some of them upon the lower undulations of the mountain, and the others in the plain, form collectively the town of Derna; but each of them is distinguished by a special denomination descriptive of its situation. The most considerable, which is environed with a wall, is called *El Medineh*, the city, or *Belled el Sour*, the fortified town. *El Magharah*, the village of the grotto, (so named from an ancient well in the middle of the village,) is to the westward, and on a somewhat higher level. *El Djebeli*, near the sea, owes its name to its deserted state, more than to its insulated situation. *Mansour el Fokhani*, and *Mansour el Tahatani*, are separated from the three above-mentioned by a ravine, forming in winter a considerable torrent. The former, to the south of *Belled el Sour*, is situated upon the point of the southern bank of the ravine; and the latter, almost on the level of the plain, is consequently lower, but further eastward. Opposite the latter village is the port of Derna, an

* Beechey, pp. 471—475.

indifferent and small road-stead, offering but an insecure station to vessels.*.....

"Two of these villages, *El Djebeli* and *Mansour el Fokhani*, are built near or immediately over ancient sepulchral grottoes. This departure from the customs of Mussulmans, arises from the great utility of such excavations in the rock in this rainy country. Thus, without concerning themselves whether these caves might formerly contain the carcases of infidels, they have availed themselves of them as the granaries of their houses, or as workshops for their humble manufactures. None of these grottoes are subdivided into more than three apartments; and the greater part consist of a single one. They receive all their light from the square entrance placed horizontally. As objects of art, they present nothing remarkable, being devoid of inscriptions or any species of ornament. In general, they are of rude workmanship. Arched niches, intended to serve as sarcophagi, are seen in the walls of all of them. The inhabitants of *Djebeli* construct their houses so that these caves are found within the enclosure. This village is now almost entirely abandoned, owing to the plague, and the dissensions of the inhabitants.

* "Besides that this bay offers no convenient or secure asylum for shipping, the road itself is intersected by sharp and rocky calcareous *strata*, which project far into it under the water, and, from their cutting or tearing the cables that rub against them, are by mariners denominated saws. But, towards the point of Cape Bon Andrea, the sea forms a capacious bay, where even large vessels may ride in safety during blowing weather. Its situation convinces me that it must have been the ancient *Naustadmos*, the naval station of the Cyreneans."—Della Cella, p. 178. Capt. Beechey says, that there is a good road-stead at Derna, a mile and a half off shore, as well as some shelter for small craft close in shore with the wind from N.N.W. to S.E.—Beechey, App. p. xv. See p. 162.

"The caves of *Mansour el Fokhani* are hewn in the sides of the mountain, the rocky surface of which is sometimes bare, sometimes covered with verdure. The largest have been converted into manufactories, containing one or several looms, perfectly resembling those of the hamlets of Provence. Their situation, overlooking the valley and the other villages of Derna, renders the *coup d'œil* very pleasing.*

"In the environs, there are other excavations of a nearly similar description. From this number we must, however, except those which are found ten minutes east of the city. These, which are called *Kennissiah* (the churches), are situated at the summit of the steep rocks which border this part of the shore, and against which dash the waves of the sea. The ancients have formed steps up to them, which are still found at intervals; but the water which issues from the clefts of the rock, and a carpeting of hepatica and moss, render the pathway slippery and even dangerous. Tufts of ligneous plants, however, assist us to accomplish the ascent, and you arrive at a little semi-circular esplanade, round which runs a low bench, designed as a resting-place to the families of Derna, who repair hither to perform their funereal duties. This long bench is interrupted by the entrance to the grottoes. It encompasses only the interior of the largest, an ancient sanctuary subsequently transformed into a Christian chapel. All the others were tombs: the irregularity of their position, and the inequality of the rocks render their appearance picturesque. Arches and niches are to be seen in them, of every form and dimension, from the full Roman arch to the perfect

* The Author tells us, that he often used to stop before these work-rooms, to see both sexes engaged in weaving the wool or hemp, while the echoes resounded to their wild songs.

ogive of the middle age. There, as in other parts of the Pentapolis, the labours of Christianity are seen grafted on those of idolatry.....But these vaults, once sombre and mournful, now broken into by time, are for the most part laid open to the sun. Nature has banished from these places every image of mourning; has hung garlands of green maidenhair where once were suspended funereal hangings; has carpeted with moss the stone worn by the knees of the devout, and has covered the rocky walls with beautiful bunches of saxatile plants incessantly agitated by the sea breezes." *

Darnis (or Dardanis), which Ptolemy places at the western extremity of the Cyrenaica, is not noticed by either Herodotus, Strabo, or Scylax, and was probably founded at a later period. It occurs in the Periplus, under the corrupted name of Zarina. It is mentioned in the Itinerary of Antoninus, and Ammianus Marcellinus ranks it among the most considerable cities of the Cyrenaica. It became at length the capital of *Libya Inferior*, and Synesius mentions it as an episcopal city of the first rank. Yet, M. Pacho observes, the character of its sepulchres proves that it never attained a high degree of prosperity; that it only rose into importance with the decline of the Pentapolis; and that when it became a city in population, it remained a mere town as to the style of its edifices. Being the seat of government, it may now be considered as the capital of the province.

Derna is situated in latitude 32° 46′ 18″, longitude 22° 40′ 48″. This was the extreme point of the British survey; and we here take leave, with regret, of Mr. Beechey, whose recal prevented his completing the

* Pacho, pp. 95—103.

survey of this interesting region. Della Cella has started the idea of colonizing the Cyrenaica; and it is not a little remarkable, that no European power, since the fall of the Roman empire, should have made the attempt to establish settlements on a coast which, in ancient times, could boast of so many flourishing commercial cities. "The Italian mariner who now traverses the Mediterranean," says the Signor, "trembles at the sight of every distant sail, in the uncertainty of its being friendly or piratical; and shudders whenever the wind blows from the north, at the idea of being driven upon these inhospitable shores, there to terminate his existence in captivity."* "The want of a good harbour is probably the reason," the learned Author remarks, "why no power desirous of having a stable footing in that part of the Mediterranean, has established itself at Derna. The United States of America were at one period desirous of forming an establishment at Derna, which they offered to purchase of the Bashaw of Tripoli; but, their offer being rejected, and some misunderstanding having taken place upon other grounds, they forcibly seized it. Not long afterwards, from what motives I could not learn, they suddenly desisted from their enterprise, and quitted the place; leaving behind them a battery with six pieces of cannon, and a water-mill, which is still in use, and gives rise to much stupid wonder in such of the barbarians as happen to approach it."†

* Della Cella, p. 119. "The great trade almost exclusively carried on here by the Genoese in the early times of that Republic, was one of the richest sources of its prosperity."—*Ib.* p. 169.

† Della Cella, p. 178. M. Pacho, after mentioning the fortress built by the Americans, adds with mysterious emphasis: "Ce n'est point ici le lieu de parler de cette conquête ephémère, qui eût changé les destinées de toute la contrée, si elle avait été conçue sur un plan plus vaste." p. 97. Mr. Blaquiere places the whole

The first Grecian settlers, however, though islanders, appear to have been an agricultural colony, not a maritime people; and the fertility of the soil, its triple harvest (mentioned by Herodotus), and the amenity of the climate, appear to have been the chief attractions. Accordingly, their principal cities were built upon the table-land, at some distance from the sea; a measure dictated by prudence, as well as recommended by the superior advantages of the more elevated site.* The enemies they had chiefly to dread, were the pirates who infested the coast. With the Libyans, they had entered into amicable relations, which, though interrupted by subsequent jealousies, appear to have been cemented by the common interests of trade. From agriculturists, the Cyreneans gradually became merchants and manufacturers; and the rapid aggrandisement of the colony was owing to their command of the inland trade. "It was doubtless from the Interior of Africa," remarks M. Pacho, "that the Cyreneans drew the gold and silver and precious stones, of which they formed the jewellery and numismatic works in which they excelled. The situation of the Oasis of Ammon and that of

enterprise in a contemptible light. "Sidi Hamet, after he was driven from the government, was appointed to a command at Derna, whence he was seduced by the fair promises of the Americans, then at war with the reigning Bashaw. Their object was, to hold up this man as a bugbear to frighten his Highness into terms. These Transatlantic heroes were, however, after various ineffectual attempts, obliged to pay for a peace with Tripoli, and most shamefully abandoned poor Sidi Hamet to his fate, by only stipulating for his return to Derna....He was soon obliged to flee from the vengeance of his brother."—Blaquiere, vol. ii. p. 102.

* M. Pacho refers us to the eulogy which Isocrates pronounced upon the Cyreneans, for having the prudence to construct their city in a situation which placed them out of the reach of hostile invasion.

Augila afforded convenient stations for that trade; and the relations which the Cyreneans had with the former, are the more undeniable, inasmuch as they seem to have been maintained at all times. The votive columns ornamented with dolphins, which are found on the route leading from Cyrene to Ammon; the similarity in the architecture of the monuments of both countries; and the journey of the Cyreneans who acted as guides to Alexander in his visit to the temple of the Libyan deity, prove that, in fact, those relations were established long before the reign of the Macedonian hero, since, at that epoch, the Cyreneans appear to have become masters of the Oasis. On the other hand, we know that, at a later period, the Ptolemys declared themselves its protectors; that, under the Romans, it formed part of the Libyan nome, and that it was still dependent on that nome in the reign of Justinian.* The extent of this Oasis, the excellence of its thermal waters, the fertility of its territory, and its advantageous position for commerce in the centre of Libya, explain the constant interest which it awakened in the civilized nations who occupied the coast. It will be the case again, should civilization ever revisit the regions which it has so long abandoned.

"As for the Oasis of Augila, deprived of most of the advantages enjoyed by the Ammonian, it can never have served but as a simple caravan-station. Placed nearer to Cyrene than to Ammon, it offered to the Cyreneans a point of direct communication with the country of the Garamantes; a communication which appears to have been pretty active, chiefly owing to the great trade in hides and goat-skins

* See MOD. TRAV., Egypt, vol. i. p. 232. See also, for a description of the Oases, *Ib.* pp. 199—215.

which existed anciently, as it still exists, between the inhabitants of Phazan and those of the Cyrenaica.

"Charax, on the borders of the Great Syrtis, was the *entrepôt* of the trade with Carthage, of which the *silphium* was the chief article. It is more than probable, that Cyrene had also active commercial relations with Egypt; either by Parætonium with Alexandria, or by Ammon with the Thebaid. The maritime commerce of the Cyreneans consisted, besides the *silphium*, horses, and skins, chiefly in the export of wine and oil. Herodotus and Diodorus praise the excellence of the wine of Cyrene, which was transported to Sicily and different parts of Greece; and we know from Strabo, that the Carthaginians came to exchange, on the Cyrenean frontier, their merchandise against its wine. The same may be said of its oil, the quality of which has been praised by different writers at far distant periods; and the great number of olive-woods still met with in this country, induce the belief, that this production of the Cyrenean soil must have contributed not a little to augment the wealth of the inhabitants." *

Unlike the Carthaginians, M. Pacho remarks, the "white Cyreneans" (the epithet applied to them by Stratonicus of Rhodes) declined any close political alliance with the indigenous race, with whom they were perpetually at war; and to this mistaken policy, the instability of their government may, he suggests, be partly attributable. So long, indeed, as they maintained their proud independence, they had nothing to fear from the more barbarous natives whom they had forced to retire southward. "But, as soon as they fell before the power of Rome, whether through the

* Pacho, pp. 200—262.

negligence of the prætors, or the weakness which ordinarily ensues on the loss of freedom, it was no longer from maritime invasion that they had most to fear: they saw themselves reduced to act on the defensive, on the very territory on which they had previously triumphed. Civilization had then to fall back upon itself; had to seek the shelter of ramparts; and the plains having become fatal to it, deep ravines and abrupt precipices were rendered necessary to its security, and castles were required for its defence. Then it was that the Libyans, who had formerly been plundered, became, in their turn, the spoliators. They attacked the Cyreneans within the very enclosures of their towns, carried sword and fire through their fields, bore away their crops and their flocks, and finally reduced to so low a state of humiliation the usurpers of the soil of their ancestors, that the Cyreneans fled at their approach, like flocks of sheep, into fortified chapels, and opposed no other weapons to their attacks, than tears and timid prayers. Independently of the historic testimony which attests these two leading phases of the splendour and the decline, the strength and the weakness of the Cyreneans, the ruins which remain present in themselves the most unquestionable evidence. All the castles situated in the interior of the territories bear, without exception, a Roman character; and the only two of anterior construction, those of Lemshidi and Lemlez, which command the Gulf of *Naustathmus*, were certainly designed, from their position, to defend that important part of the coast against maritime invasion." * The sea-shore became at length the only position of security; and the ports of the Cyrenaica, which com-

* Pacho, p. 259.

merce had transformed into cities, were the last retreat from which civilization and Christianity were driven by the returning tide of barbarism.

From Derna, M. Pacho (who began his observations on the Egyptian side) proceeded to explore the country between that place and Grenna. About four hours S. of Derna, he entered a slight hollow which the plain describes towards the west, about two hours and a half in extent; at the extremity of which stands a large fortress, rudely constructed with more ancient materials; and at an hour further northward are the vestiges of an ancient town. Some scattered and feeble shoots of olive-trees in the neighbourhood of the castle, have procured for the place the name of *Zeitoun* (olive); as some clumps of fig-tree have given that of *Kouroumous* to the ruined village. In both places are found the disfigured remains of many ancient tombs. M. Pacho supposes Zeitoun to be the ancient *Hydrax*; and an ancient tower with some obscure vestiges, five hours to the west, (now called *Bou-Hassan*, from an Arab chief who long resided there,) he conjectures to be *Palœbisca*; places dependent upon the episcopal city of Erythra. *Bou-Hassan* is at the entrance of a spacious valley, called Harden, which gradually contracts to a very narrow gorge, and assumes the name of *Betkaát*. This pass has been strongly fortified by posts on both banks at intervals. Its general direction is from N. to S., but it winds very much, sometimes forming dark and narrow defiles thickly wooded, and at other times widening into semi-circular tracts of rich pasture. At the highest point, about two-thirds up the valley, immediately below two square forts, there are two excavations in the rock; (probably reservoirs or granaries;) not far from which a beautiful spring jets out from the side of the rock,

giving birth to several rivulets. The defile opens (northward) into the spacious valley of *Koubbeh* (the cupola);* from which a thickly wooded ravine (called *Tarakenet*) runs eastward towards Derna. This pass has also its castle, called *Maârah*, seated on the northern bank of the ravine, near an ancient site. The present structure appeared to M. Pacho to be Saracen; but a large fosse excavated in the rock, which surrounds three sides of the castle, is evidently of anterior date. In the opposite face of the rock are seen a great number of sepulchral grottoes, forming a subterranean gallery, now tenanted by Arab families. Proceeding towards the west, you arrive at another Saracen castle, called *El Haramè* (Thieves' castle), not far from which are some antient vestiges called *Kash-Moursek;* and at six hours W. of *Maârah* are more considerable ruins, bearing the name of *Massakhit* (the town of statues), which are thus described.

"The northern point of the plateau is, in this place, cut down to the depth of from twenty to thirty feet, and forms a sort of cliff hewn in all parts into tombs. This long sepulchral wall served as a base to the ancient city, the ruins of which are scattered here and there, offering no other distinguishable monument

* This must be the *Goobba* of Captain Beechey, and the *Gobba* of Delia Cella; "a welcome halting-place to travellers from Cyrene to Derna, on account of a never-failing spring of excellent water, which runs into a basin surrounded with a small portico,—a work executed during the prosperous days of Cyrene." Near it are several excavated sepulchres with architectural façades. M. Pacho gives a picturesque description of the fountain (if it be the same), which, he says, though not thermal, has a strong sulphurous taste. A stair leads up to the grotto, carpeted with ferns (*capillaires*), in which it issues from the rock, precipitating itself with a loud murmur by a subterranean conduit, through which it finds its way under the gallery, and with great force gushes forth without.—(p. 117.)

than a castle of the Roman epoch. Nevertheless, the fragments of marble and of statues found here, and especially the great number of ancient tombs, sufficiently indicate that this little town must once have been very flourishing. The excavations are remarkable for the prodigious quantity of niches which are seen on their entries, and even on the rude masses of the rock. There is a Doric façade strangely studded with niches great and small, elliptic and square, united or single, from the summit to the base, in the metopes and intercolumniations. No doubt these singular decorations belong to the middle age. The most spacious of these grottoes appear to have been transformed into chapels; and the others, which present in their details many points of analogy to the Egyptian catacombs, continued to serve as tombs. Statues and funereal lamps were doubtless placed in these holes of various sizes, hewn by the piety or regrets of bereaved families. Eventually, the images of saints, confounded in the fields with the mutilated remains of the pagan idols, concurred in accrediting, both among the Arabs and certain Europeans not less credulous, the singular tradition of a petrified city."*

"Independently of these niches, the residence of Christians at *Massakhit*, M. Pacho adds, is still more unequivocally attested by the sculptures in the interior of a grotto at the western extremity of the town. In

* Pacho, pp. 111, 112.—*Massakhit*, we are told, is the plural of *masskoutah*, a statue; and many ruins in the Cyrenaica bear the same name. But, if the word in Arabic means statue, it is plain that the Arabs must be aware of the nature of such images; and they could not give this name to petrified men. In fact, *Ensana* (men) is the word employed in reference to the petrified city. M. Pacho affirms, however, that some of his guides, pointing to the broken statues, said: "These are the men who, by Divine punishment, have been changed to stone."

these is seen a cross surrounded by two serpents within a wreath of laurel; and this symbol of Christianity has been sculptured upon two other faces of the frieze, but has evidently been designedly defaced by the Mussulmans. The vine occurs among the other ornaments, which our Traveller regards as also a Christian emblem, as well as fish, "the habitual offering of the Christians of the Cyrenaica." To what times such emblems are referrible, is evident. He offers the conjecture, that this may possibly be the site of the episcopal city of Olbia.

Within sight of Massakhit, to the southward, is a mound crowned with ruins of an imposing aspect. They are those of a quadrangular edifice, forty-three metres on each side, built with large blocks of free-stone. A Doric cornice and four marble capitals adorned with acanthus leaves and grapes, have alone escaped the general destruction of the interior. M. Pacho, finding that a temple of Venus stood somewhere in this direction, giving name to the port or island *Aphrodisias*, concludes, that these ruins can be no other than those of a fane erected to that goddess; an idea which transports him into a sentimental ecstacy. The place is now called *Beit-Tamer* (or *Thiarma*); a corruption, possibly, of *Thermæ*, for, in its vicinity, there is a sulphurous spring, with apparent vestiges of ancient baths.*

Two hours to the west of *Massakhit*, at a place called *Debek*, there is another castle, *Shenedireh*, surrounded, like that of Maârah, with a fosse, in the

* At *Beit Thiarma*, Mr. Beechey says, "there is a spring of fresh water built round; and upon a hill close to it are remains of an ancient fort." (p. 468.) This fort must be M. Pacho's temple. The spring is distinct from that at Goobba; yet his account of it seems to apply to the latter; and he mentions only one spring, that at Koubbeh, described in a preceding note.

sides of which are numerous excavations, tombs, and reservoirs. A few miles to the S.W., on the declivity of an insulated hill pierced with caverns, are some ruins called *Lameloudeh*; supposed by M. Pacho to be the Limniade of Christian times. The excavations are, for the most part, without either inscriptions or architectural decoration; but, in one very spacious cave, divided into three compartments, there occurs, rudely sculptured, the cross between two serpentine lines. An ancient castle surmounts the ruined town, with which a subterranean passage, now blocked up with rubbish, is said to communicate: it appears to have led down to the reservoirs hewn in the rock below. All the neighbouring eminences are surmounted with similar castles, which can be referred to no other period than the decline of the Roman power: they were evidently intended as places of refuge for a defenceless population on the alarm of hostile incursions. Ruins of a considerable town, with forts, reservoirs, and numerous sarcophagi, are found at a place called *Tereth*, to the west of Lamloudeh; and still further west, are remains of a small ancient town, which now bears the name of *Gherne*: here are some ancient baths with vaulted roofs, in tolerable preservation. In fact, the whole northern declivity of the Cyrenean plateau appears, from M. Pacho's account, to be studded with ruined towns, and villages, and castles, while the rock is in all parts pierced with caverns, natural or artificial, which have served for dwellings, reservoirs, or sepulchres, to the ancient inhabitants. Every where, the numerous tombs, excavated or built, exhibit unequivocal proofs that these fertile tracts, now silent and deserted, once teemed with a busy, thriving population, instructed in all the arts of civilized life.

To the east of Derna, the coast, as far as the confines of Egypt, is that of the ancient Marmarica, a region much less highly favoured by nature than the Cyrenaica. Della Cella, who had the opportunity of attending the Bey at the head of his army to the frontier, thus describes the tract of country which they traversed. "Our march was hurried and uninteresting. There were no Marabout churches (tombs?) to visit; there was no tribute to collect, to induce us to halt. The nature and features of the country are, in general, similar to those in the Cyrenaica; and frequent vestiges of ancient habitations threw an additional gloom over these deserted and melancholy regions. We wound our way among wild and rugged mountains, frequently enlivened by groupes of evergreens; among which, the cypress, arbutus, Phenician juniper, gigantic myrtle, carob, and laurel were most abundant; and, as they form no long and uniform woods, but are scattered about in a variety of forms and groupes among the rocks, they are very picturesque ornaments of the scenery. The ground is throughout broken and irregular, and does not slope down into pastures, as in the Cyrenaica; but the privation of that agreeable feature has its compensation, for the want of grass lands secures this district from the incursions of the vagabond hordes in its neighbourhood. The woody and elevated nature of this country affords frequent and copious springs of clear and most delicious water. Upon the eighth day of our march, we emerged from the hills, and found ourselves within sight of the Mediterranean and the Gulf of Bomba; a vast bay bounded, to the west, by the lofty, precipitous mountains which form Cape Razat, and gently slope down, towards the east, into low hills, having, at a distance, the appearance

of an extensive plain. Three vast and craggy rocks rise out of the water beneath Cape Razat, and stretch out like islands towards the east part of the Gulf. In this bay, geographers recognize the harbour of Menelaus. We were now upon the frontiers of Tripoli and Egypt, the respective boundaries of which are, however, perfectly unsettled. Thus, this tract of border-country is, as in former times, the resort of all the thieves, miscreants, and malcontents of both governments. Pitching their tents in the neighbourhood of the Gulf of Bomba, they make incursions into the adjacent districts, and pillage all who have the misfortune to fall in their way. They are ever on the watch for the caravans and pilgrims who traverse this country on their way to Mecca; and this is the only route used by the people of Morocco, above all others the most fervently devoted to their Prophet." *

M. Pacho speaks of the general aspect of Marmarica in still less favourable terms. The soil, he says, is rocky, of a yellowish grey colour, and depends for its fertility solely on the copious rains. The country

* Della Cella, pp. 182—185. "Port Bomba is formed by a cluster of small islands, seven leagues east of Cape Razatin, (the *Ras Iathuc* of antiquity,) possessing all the attributes of a safe and capacious harbour, capable of affording shelter to any number of ships, and surrounded with a fine country. Bomba is utterly destitute of inhabitants, and is seldom frequented, except by the coasting vessels of the country and the Bashaw's cruizers. The *Paliurus* of Pliny discharges itself into the sea a little to the eastward of Bomba, but is now only an inconsiderable stream."—Blaquiere, vol. ii. p. 5. The mountain referred to by Della Cella appears to be the *Jebel Gebir* of Dr. Ehrenberg; described by the latter Traveller as forming the northern terrace-like slope of an elevated plain, and supposed to be the *Katabathmus Major* of the ancients, which divided Cyrenaica from Egypt. *Gasser Eshtabi* at the N.E. foot of this mountain, was the extreme point which was reached by the unfortunate Traveller.—See Mod. Trav. Egypt, vol. i. p. 198, *note*.

presents none of those verdant groves of laurel and myrtle which crown the mountains, and overshadow the valleys of the Pentapolis.* The singing-birds, vainly seeking foliage and shelter, flee from this naked region: only birds of prey, the eagle, the hawk, and the vulture, appear in numerous flights, their sinister screams rendering the solitude more frightful. The jackal, the hyena, the jerboa, the hare, and the gazelle are the wild animals which chiefly abound; and the existence of man is indicated only by the bleating of distant flocks and the dark tent of the Arab. Yet, this country also exhibits traces of having once been occupied by a civilized and even numerous population; and there are marks of the extraordinary exertions which were made to supply the deficiency of water. Canals of irrigation cross the plain in every direction, and even wind up the sides of the hills. The ancient cisterns are numerous: they are frequently divided into several chambers, adorned with pillars, and coated with a cement harder than stone. But the monuments of Marmarica possess none of the elegant and classic character of those of Cyrene, being ruder and more in the Egyptian style. The noted ports of *Apis* and *Parætonium*† are now only miserable villages, their roadsteads being half blocked up with sand.

The inhabitants of this region are entirely Bedouin, chiefly of the great tribe of Welled Ali; and are sup-

* On reaching the first steps of the mountains of the Pentapolis, some thinly scattered olives and other shrubs, foreign to Marmarica, give the first indication of a change of soil. At length, on reaching the summit of the plateau, "the earth, constantly yellowish or sandy in the preceding cantons, is coloured with an ochrish red, and small streams of water, flowing in all directions, nourish a beautiful vegetation."—Pacho, p. 83.

† Still called *Al Baratoun*.

posed by M. Pacho not to exceed 38,000. Those of Cyrenaica, who style themselves *Harabi* (warriors), are estimated by him at about 40,000. So that, if these calculations make any approach to accuracy, the whole population of this immense range of coast cannot now be above 100,000 souls.

The descriptions given of the manners and dispositions of these wandering tribes, by the several Travellers, somewhat differ in the tone of the colouring, but accord as to the main facts. Signor Della Cella, by virtue of his professional character, was freely admitted to their tents. "Some cures which I had performed," he says, "so spread my good name among the tribes, that, when I approached their tents, they gathered round me, and eagerly testified their gratitude by every action and expression in their power. The women seated me among them, which is the highest honour they can shew to a stranger; and while I partook of the milk they brought me in a bowl, they sang songs expressive of their wishes for the perfect happiness of their guest.* Many of their

* The Arab women, Capt. Lyon says, "generally lighten their labour with songs." The Arab songs, however, appear from Capt. Beechey's account, to be little more than a dull iteration of a few words. (See p. 78.) Very different are the songs of the negro slaves, as described by the former Traveller. "I was amused," says this Traveller, "by the songs of the Negresses, while pounding wheat. They sang all their country airs in chorus, and there was in their wildness much beauty. Their *boori*, or songs used in sorcery, were particularly striking; and they kept time to the music with their wooden pestles and glass amulets, which sounded like cymbals. One of the songs was thus explained to me. The three girls who sang it, were pounding in the same mortar, and regulated their beating according to the circumstances of which they sang. At first, they pounded slowly; one telling the other two, that they must keep up their spirits, as the warriors would soon be at home, and their lovers would bring more trophies than any one else. They then increased their time, and sang a song of

chiefs were desirous that I should settle among them." This reputation, however, brought with it some attendant inconveniences. The Arabs required remedies not only for the diseases with which they were actually afflicted, but for those also with which they had any apprehension of being visited. "They one and all asked for a recipe to prevent diseases of the eye, which are very common among them, arising from the damp vapours to which their mode of life, either in the open air or under ill-conditioned tents, particularly exposes them. The limbs of many were full of inveterate sores, produced by the improper treatment of wounds.* .....The excessive and habitual filth of these Arabs, was a severe penalty upon my curiosity and intercourse with them. A thick crust of dirt was the varnish of their furniture; and so entirely were their bodies covered with it, that the colour of the skin was perfectly undistinguishable.†.....The men pass their

triumph, the warriors being supposed to have returned; when suddenly they beat without measure, singing in a very shrill and rapid manner, as for one who was dead. They then ceased beating altogether, and sang a trio, in which two endeavoured to comfort the girl who had lost her lover, she appearing inconsolable. At length, they agreed to have recourse to sorcery, to ascertain if he died nobly. A goat was supposed to be killed, each of them examining its entrails, and singing several incantations, until a happy sign was discovered; when they resumed their pestles, winding up with a very beautiful chorus. The master of the girls forbade their singing any more, even though I earnestly requested that they might be suffered to continue. He said it was unholy, and that they were as great *kaffirs* now, as before they acknowledged our Lord Mohammed to be the Prophet of God."—Lyon, pp. 336, 7.

* "A disease propagated by libertinism is so prevalent among them, that many bear upon their countenances the disgusting traces of its ravages."

† On one occasion, Della Cella says, while among a crowd of them and near a well, he inquired why they abstained from the luxury of washing their bodies, or at least their hands and faces.

lives in the most complete idleness, stretched out in their tents, or seated with their heads between their knees, incessantly chewing tobacco and small bits of natron, which they procure from the Interior." *

"The fare of these Arabs might be greatly improved by the game with which the mountains of the Cyrenaica abound; but pastoral life does not seem to be in unison with field-sports; and the only one they follow is the chase of the ostrich, to which they are allured by the hopes of profit. This giant of the feathered tribe wanders over the deserts which extend towards the extreme and eastern boundary of the Lesser Atlas; a tract which the mounted Bedouin of the Cyrenaica traverses in a few days, carrying in his wallet the small stock of provisions for which he has occasion. The feathers dropped by the ostrich in the places it has frequented, serve as guides to the pursuer. If the bird can discover him before he has time to fire, it flees with great speed, often enveloped in a cloud of sand, until it can hide itself among some bushes. The Arab follows at full speed, marks the

"They replied, that their flocks would no longer follow them, if they did so; a sufficient proof of the potent odours they send forth!"

* The natron, which is a carbonate of soda, is said to be found two days' journey from Fezzan, whence it is brought in large quantities to Tripoli, as well as conveyed into the interior, and forms a considerable branch of trade. The valley of Natron, from which it is probably obtained, is in the Egyptian territory. See Egypt, vol. i. p. 14. Della Cella remarks, that the carbonate of soda is used in like manner, mixed with tobacco, as a masticatory, by the natives of Venezuela; as well as in the preparation of the extract from tobacco, called *mò* or *chimò*. Does the natron act as a stimulant on the salivary glands? or is it thought to make the tobacco yield a fuller flavour? or is it used as a simple absorbent, like the *chunam* mixed with betel, used by the Hindoos and Burmese, and the powdered lime which the Peruvians mix with the leaves of the *erythroxylon peruvianum*?

spot where it is concealed, and remains upon the watch, secure of his prey; it being that bird's peculiar custom, constantly to come out of its hiding-place at the very spot where it went in. As soon as it is killed, it is fastened by its feet to the horse, and drawn for several hours along the ground; it being a received opinion, that, during that operation, the fat of the bird acquires some marvellous medical qualities, upon which account it is preserved and used in every sort of ailment. The skin of the ostrich, with the feathers on, is carried to Bengazi for sale, and forms a considerable branch of the trade of that place.

"Spinning and weaving camlets are the ordinary occupations of the women, who are very awkward at their work. The stuff which is woven, looks more like matting than cloth; but, owing to the excellent quality of the materials, it is extremely soft, and feels like plush. They are equally backward and ignorant in the art of spinning and preparing the wool. Seated upon the ground, they put a heap of wool under their feet; and seizing a tuft of it, they pass it between their toes, pulling and tearing it upwards till they fasten it to a sort of spindle, round which they wind the coarse, thick yarn which they have procured by thus drawing the wool between their toes."

Signor Della Cella speaks of the women as completely ugly and living in filth. Their usual dress is a camlet cloak, with a large hood, fastened round the body with a belt. Their heads are enveloped in a black woollen kerchief, resembling a turban; "leaving upon the forehead several locks of hair, which meet the eye-brows, and are ornamented with glass beads. The more opulent wear silver bracelets upon their arms and feet, and four large ear-rings of the same metal. The arms, legs, and chins of both men

and women are covered with the most whimsical and grotesque figures, indelibly painted in black. The women are also for the most part accustomed to give a yellowish tinge to their nails with the juice of the *Lawsonia inermis* (henna); and the lower eye-lashes are coloured black with the powder of antimony.* Many, especially children, wear gold rings, set with pearls or glass beads, suspended from the nostrils; and their beautiful white teeth project over the bronze surface of their skin, which borders upon yellow. They are slim and meagre; their gestures are very animated; and their countenances are enlivened by black and sparkling eyes." †

"With regard to the present inhabitants of the district of Barca," says Mr. Beechey, "we mean the part of it comprehended in the Syrtis and Cyrenaica, we should certainly call them a healthy and good-looking race, and not at all the ugly, meagre, grim-visaged people which they have been described to be in some of our best-received accounts of them. We allude in particular to the Bedouin tribes, who are generally a finer people, both in character and appearance, than what are termed the more civilized inhabitants of Arab cities. Whatever may be the descent of the present inhabitants of this part of Africa, they appear to lead exactly the same kind of life, and to have as nearly as possible the same resources, as the early possessors of the regions they occupy." ‡

Capt. Lyon, who had still better opportunities of

* This practice is alike prevalent in Barbary and in Egypt. See Mod. Trav., Egypt, vol. i. p. 173.

† Della Cella, pp. 102—109.

‡ Beechey, p. 266. See also this Writer's favourable account of the hospitality of the Bedouins of Sert, at p. 80 of this volume.

seeing the Arabs among their own tribes, and of familiarizing himself with them, gives the following detailed account of this original race.

"The Arabs are, generally speaking, tall, straight, and well-formed, and inclined, from their manner of living, to be strong and muscular. Their countenances are expressive and handsome; their form of face, oval; and their noses, aquiline. Although naturally white, their complexion becomes dark from continual exposure to the sun, and from not being very particular in their ablutions. They are active; capable of undergoing great fatigue and abstinence from food; lively in their manners; daring and possessed of much cunning; though generous, they are great beggars; revengeful and unforgiving. The general costume of the men is a large, loose shirt and trowsers of cotton, with sandals or tight half-boots of red leather, which lace in front, fit close round the ankle, and rise as high as the calf of the leg. On their heads they wear a red cap, which is long enough to hang down a little on one side: from the top of it falls a tassel of blue silk. A wrapper of woollen, from 20 to 25 feet in length, and 5 or 6 in breadth, woven rather more compactly than flannel, is thrown round the body in folds; part being placed over the head in the manner of a hood, while the end is thrown over the left shoulder, and hangs down behind the back. This article of dress has several names, according to its texture. The most coarse and heavy is called *aba*. That between this and the finest (called *jereed*), is named *kholi*. In Tripoli, all three are known under the appellation of *barracan*.* A large cloak having a hood and no

* See, respecting these articles of costume, Mod. Trav., Palestine, pp. 8—10.

sleeves, and composed of closely and well woven wool, without a seam, is used in rainy and cold weather over the *barracan*, and is called *bornouse*. The dress of the females differs but little from that of the men in materials, but is put on in a different manner. The poorest class wear only the *barracan*, which is passed over the head and fastened at the waist: others have a shirt in addition to this. Young women wear their hair in tresses, to which they attach beads, pieces of coral, silver, or any other gaudy thing which they can procure; and they have one or two large silver ornaments, in the form of crescents, fastened on the right side of the head, on which they also frequently wear a large woollen turban of blue, wrapped carelessly round. From their ears are suspended a multitude of silver rings, and round their necks they hang rows of beads of various colours. The old women frizzle their hair over the forehead so as to make it project to some distance; and they dye it of a dull red with the leaves of henna, which gives it the appearance of red wool. All the females have a practice of tattooing their chins, the tips of their noses, and between the eye-brows. Their necks and arms are also frequently marked. The favourite figure is that of a hand, which is intended to avert the *evil eye*. They wear red, lacing boots in the same manner as the men. When young, (that is to say, fifteen or sixteen,) they have fine figures, and are exceedingly handsome; but they soon lose their good looks and pleasing form, and become as ugly as they were before beautiful. Their eyes are black and large; their noses straight and well-proportioned; they have small lips, and their teeth are exquisitely white. Nothing, in fact, can exceed in prettiness an Arab girl; but the old women are, without exception, the most disgust-

ing and hideous creatures I ever beheld. Both sexes blacken their eye-lids with *kohol* (lead ore powdered), which adds much to the brilliancy of the eye, and makes it appear larger than it really is. They all wear an immense quantity of *ajebs* or charms against all disorders and misfortunes.*

"The Arabs are generous to their own kinsmen; and should a stranger come among them, they never deny him the rights of hospitality, provided they are themselves eating; but, should that not be the case, they make no attempt to prepare food expressly for him. An acquaintance, however, is always sure of a good reception.

"The Bedouins of Barbary are not to be compared with those of Egypt, either for enterprise, ingenuity, or good qualities; since, whatever they may have

* These charms are procured from the Maraboots. "It is not enough that the man should be defended by these little prayers sewed up in leather, and attached to his arms or body; but his horse, gun, sword, and red cap must be equally protected with himself." The figure of an open hand, which is the favourite counter-charm, is sometimes tattooed on the skin, sometimes tached to the clothes as an ornament, or hung round the neck of children: both Turks and Moors also paint it upon their ships and houses. "For five is with them," says Shaw, "an unlucky number; and five (meaning their fingers) in your eyes, is their proverb of cursing and defiance." The scrolls which they wear, (as the Jews did their phylacterjes,) to prevent fascination, usually contain some passage of the Koran; and they even suspend these upon the necks of their cattle and beasts of burthen. The custom of hanging counter-charms about the neck, is evidently of high antiquity, and was common to many nations. Of this nature were the *præbia, fascinum* and *bulla* of the Romans.—Shaw, p. 243. For a stranger to express particular admiration of a child, a horse, or any other valuable, is deemed highly ominous; but the misfortune may be averted by passing over the object a finger wetted by saliva. No Arab will take a knife or scissars from the hands of any one, as such an action would be considered as highly unfortunate; but they will take up the instrument without fear if laid on the ground.

been, they are now, by the tyranny of their masters, fallen from their once high character, and are not in any respect better than slaves. One or two tribes are yet independent, but are likely soon to fall. Each tribe, or even set of tents, is governed by a sheikh, who, being an old man, or one appointed by the Bashaw, is looked up to as a superior; though his business is chiefly to collect the requisite sums of money from his people. Some years back, these sheikhs commanded their tribes in the wars of plunder, or in defence of their liberties, and were then chosen by the voice of the people for their courage and military skill; but, all offensive or defensive wars being now at an end, in consequence of their repeated and bloody overthrows by the Bashaw, the name of sheikh has no honour attached to it. In some cases, indeed, individuals refuse to undertake the office, lest the Bashaw should make them responsible for any faults committed by their followers.

"In their religion, the Arabs are great bigots, very superstitious, and easily alarmed about the enchantments and wiles of Iblis (the devil), to whom they attribute many of their misfortunes and illnesses. To the prayers enjoined by the Koran, they are very attentive, and, unless in travelling, never omit repeating them at the appointed periods. Of the name and attributes of God, they never speak without reverence; and they have a profound respect for idiots, whom they consider as beloved of Heaven.

"An Arab family on its march, presents a very extraordinary appearance, the camels being laden with tents, cooking utensils, women, and children. The men walk, driving their flocks before them, or ride their horses, frequently without bridle or saddle. Should the journey exceed one day, a temporary tent

is erected at night; and at the dawn of morning, all is again placed on the camels. The operation of erecting or taking down one of their hair-houses* does not occupy much time, as the women always assist the men on these occasions. The dogs guard the flock during the night, and are very fierce. In colour they are white, resembling wolves in form, and having long bushy tails; they howl, rather than bark, and with great apparent courage attack every stranger who approaches them; though, when threatened with a stick or stone, they run yelping away. It frequently happens, that the spot fixed on as a temporary residence is far distant from any well, sometimes even three days of the ordinary march of flocks; yet, this does not dishearten the persevering Arab, who, notwithstanding, drives his sheep once a week to drink. They feed as they go and come, and therefore do not suffer much on their long journey. The wants of the people are easily supplied; a few skins of water being brought at stated times by a camel, and economised with great care.†.....The Bedouins sow their scanty

* The tents of the Arabs are called by their inhabitants, *beit el shaar* (hair houses) and *nejja*; also *al wibar* and *khymas*. They are made of woollen or goats' hair, coarsely woven in long pieces, and sewed together. They spread to a great width, but are not high. They are so divided by means of mats or carpets, that the women have a separate place from the men, and can be hidden from the gaze of strangers: they, however, manage to see without being themselves observed.

† "I have remarked," says Captain L., "that not only the Arabs and their camels, but all animals in this country, have the power of remaining a great length of time without water. Sheep, provided they have tolerable herbage, will pass even a month without drinking. Antelopes and buffaloes, I should conceive, in some cases, never taste water, none being found on the surface of the desert, and they are unable to obtain that which is in the wells. On the other hand, wolves, hyenas, foxes, and jackals are less

stock of corn, after turning up the earth with a rude plough, or more generally with a hoe. These cultivated spots are respected by other wanderers, and the corn is rarely stolen. Should the Bashaw, indeed, be at war with the Arabs, he never fails to destroy their crops. When a sufficient time has elapsed to allow of the grain being in a state of maturity, those to whom it belongs, come and gather in the harvest; sometimes before it is perfectly ripe, lest the Bashaw should (by his emissaries) deprive them of a larger portion than they can afford. To avoid such taxes, they sometimes gather it so prematurely, that it will not serve as seed for the ensuing year....The domestic animals consist of poultry, sheep, goats, camels, horses, and dogs: these all live under the same canopy as their masters, and are on good terms among themselves. The horses are perfectly quiet, being brought up with the children of the family.

"The Arabs have few amusements beyond dancing and a game called *helga*, which resembles draughts, and is played with camels' dung or date-stones, in holes made in the sand. The noise uttered by these people at their festivals, or on any joyful occasion, is most extraordinary; and being very shrill, it may be heard at a great distance, particularly if several persons join in chorus: it is a piercing cry from the throat, (the mouth being quite open,) to which a tremulous sound is given by a rapid motion of the tongue from side to side; it is very enlivening, and, when it

capable of enduring thirst. They descend such wells (or more properly pits) as are not deep; and the vicinity of one of these places is frequently ascertained from observing the tracks of animals which during the night go there to drink." See, respecting the power of the camel to endure thirst, note at p. 78.

becomes familiar, far from disagreeable. The manner of salutation used among the Arabs is particularly striking, and certainly not ungraceful. Friends, on meeting, seize each the right hand of the other, then loosen and apply the tips of their fingers to their mouths; afterwards, laying the open hand on the heart, they press it, and gently incline the head at the same time. Very intimate acquaintances mutually lift their joined right hands in such a manner that each kisses the back of the other's hand, repeating, with the greatest rapidity, 'How are you? Well, how are you? Thank God, how are you? God bless you, how are you?' which compliments, in a well-bred man, never last less than ten minutes; and whatever may be the conversation afterwards, it is a mark of great good breeding occasionally to interrupt it, bowing solemnly, and asking, 'How are you?'—though an answer to the question is by no means considered necessary, as he who asks it is perhaps looking another way, and thinking of something else.*

"The men seldom work while in their tents, and their time seems to hang much heavier on their hands than that of the women, who, with cooking and other domestic employments, are generally pretty well oc-

* "Upon meeting one another, they (the Bedoweens) still use the primitive salutation of *Salem alekum*, Peace be unto you: (See Gen. xlii. 23.; Judg. vi. 23.; xix. 20. John xx. 19.) though, by their wit or superstition, they have made it a religious compliment, as if they said, 'Be in a state of salvation.' Before the Mahometan conquests, the expression was, *Allah heekha*, God prolong your life; the same with *havo adoni*, the Punic compliment in Plautus. The posture they observe in giving one another the *asslem-mah* (compliment of peace), is, to lay their right hand upon their breast, whilst others, who are more intimately acquainted, or are of equal age and dignity, mutually kiss the hand, the head, or the shoulder of each other."—Shaw, p. 237.

cupied. No woman eats in the presence of a man, and wives always wait on their husbands." *

The diet of the Bedouins admits of a tolerable variety. Their meat is either stewed, boiled, or baked; but, for journeys, they have a very good way of preserving it, by cutting it into thin slices, drying it in the sun, and afterwards stewing it in fat. In addition to their usual fare, wolves, young dogs, cats, and hedgehogs are not unfrequently eaten by sick persons, from a belief that their flesh is *doua* or medicinal. Bread is made, as in Europe, of leavened flour, or with a preparation of dates, and moulded into little cakes shaped like buns. The ovens are generally formed in the ground. A hole is made, about two feet in depth, in the shape of a large jar, and incrusted with clay. Wood is then thrown in and burned, until a thick layer of glowing ashes is collected at the bottom. The loaves are then put in, being dexterously stuck against the side: when baked enough, if not speedily taken off, they fall into the embers. Sometimes meat is dressed in these ovens. A kind of crumpet also, called *fetaat*, made without leaven, is slightly baked in them, and served

* Lyon, pp. 38—53. "While the lazy husband reposes himself under some neighbouring shade, and the young men and maidens (as we read of Rachel, Gen. xxix. 9.) attend the flocks, the wives are all the day taken up, as the custom was likewise in ancient Greece, either in attending their looms, or in grinding at the mill, or in making of bread, *cuscasowe*, *dweeda*, and such like farinaceous food; so far corresponding to the γυναῖκες σιτοποιοῦσαι, or σιτοποιοί. Neither is this all; for, to finish the day, 'at the time of the evening, even the time that the women go out to draw water,' (Gen. xxiv. 11. Homer, Od. x. 105), they are still to fit themselves out with a pitcher or a goat's skin, and, tying their sucking children behind them, trudge it in this manner two or three miles to fetch water. Yet, in the midst of all these labours and incumbrances, not one of these country ladies will lay aside any of her ornaments."—Shaw, pp. 240, 1.

up in a bowl with soup and vegetables. The other messes made with flour are, *cuscussoo*,* *bazeen* (in Fezzan called *aseeda*, a sort of hasty pudding), *dweeda* and *atila* (crumbs of stiff dough dried and then boiled), *mogatta* (a sort of sun-baked biscuit made into a thick porridge), and *zumgeta* (made of barley a little malted, then ground into flour, with which dates are sometimes pounded, and made into dough, in which shape it is eaten, each mouthful being dipped in oil.) Dates stoned and kneaded, and preserved in skins, form, however, together with the milk of their sheep and camels, the chief support of the Arabs. The milk of the camel is thin and bluish, (resembling cow's milk mixed with water,) and rather salt to the taste; it throws up no cream, but soon coagulates like new curds. The ewe's milk is excellent, but is never drunk fresh, the Arabs preferring it in the shape of butter-milk.† Cheese is procured by turning the

* "The corn for *cuscussou* is ground expressly to the state which is called *semolina* in Italy, and used also under that name in England. The hand being clean washed, and a large wooden bowl prepared, a portion of *semolina* is thrown into it with the right hand; it is turned quickly round under the palm, while, from the left, water is occasionally sprinkled upon the mass, together with dry *semolina*. In a short time, by turning it constantly the same way, the flour adheres in little granules, like bread-crumbs; and by a dexterous motion of the hand, is prevented from forming into large lumps. When finished, the grains resemble small shot in size, and stick closely together, without danger of again falling into flour on being dried. They will keep good in this state nearly as long as corn. When *cuscussou* is to be prepared for eating, it is put into a basket, or tin vessel having holes in the bottom, and steamed over meat or boiling water, care being taken to stir it occasionally, so as to prevent its caking. When sufficiently done, meat is poured on it with its gravy, or a little butter and grease mixed with it: should meat be wanting, a good quantity of red pepper and salt are frequently all its auxiliaries."—Lyon, p. 48.

† The butter-milk is called *leban*. See p. 81. Capt. Lyon thus describes the mode of preparing it. A sufficient quantity having

milk with a certain herb; and the curds, being salted, are spread out to dry in the sun; after which they resemble little crumbs, and are very pleasant to the taste. This sort of cheese was the only one that Capt. Lyon met with among them. It is rather scarce, and used as a luxury in many of their little messes. Sometimes it is toasted, and has a very agreeable flavour: it is called *jibn*. The fat of sheep, boiled into lard, is also a great article of commerce, being put into almost every mess eaten by the Arabs: it is called *shahm*. "Though not very savoury," says Capt. Lyon, "we soon became accustomed to the taste."

These details are the more curious and deserving of attention, inasmuch, as, in the simple, yet varied messes of the African Bedouin, we have, in all probability, the exact dishes of their Syrian and Arabian progenitors, in patriarchal times. Their oven and their mill, their forge and their anvil* are equally pri-

been collected in large bowls, it is poured into skins, without much attention to their cleanliness. By shaking and rolling it about, butter is procured, which generally attaches itself to the sides of the skin. The milk, being then strained off into other vessels, is allowed to grow sour; and a quantity of butter being produced, it is boiled with a little salt until it becomes like oil; it is then poured into goat-skins, and is fit for use or for market.

* The mill is composed of two circular stones. The upper one, which lies flat on the other, is fixed by a pivot from the lower one: it has a hole in the centre, through which it is supplied with grain, and is turned by a small handle.

"The Arabs' forge is simple, and almost every man is his own blacksmith. A small mud or clay wall is built to the height of a foot or eighteen inches; a hole is then made even with the ground, and an iron pipe is introduced. To this are attached two skins, which open at the upper end by means of two sticks, having a small leather handle on each: the thumb is passed through one of these, and the fingers through the other, so that the hand easily opens and shuts the skin. The mouth being closed, the skin is pressed down, and throws a strong blast through the pipe. It is

mitive; and in their rude pastoral habits, they exhibit an exact picture of the state of society which was witnessed and described more than two thousand years ago by the father of profane history,—the same that meets us, fifteen centuries earlier, in the matchless narrative of the sacred historian.

With regard to the moral character of the Bedouin, Shaw remarks, that he is naturally false, thievish, and treacherous;* "and it sometimes happens, that those very persons are overtaken and pillaged in the morning, who were entertained the night before with the greatest hospitality." Their tribes are perpetually at variance with each other; and they are as prone to discord, contention, and turbulence as in the days of old. This representation is amply confirmed by the testimony of more recent Travellers. Nothing can exceed the ingenuity of the manœuvres which Arabs of all classes are adepts in practising, when there is any prospect of their being able to extort money. Of this Captain Beechey had repeated proofs. "And the good-humour with which the Arab will bear his disappointment, when nothing after all is gained by his stratagem, is," he adds, "another very prominent feature in his character. He never appears to regret the trouble he has taken, though it may have cost

again opened and lifted up, when it is once more ready. Thus, alternately with each hand, the current of air is kept up to the fire which lies over the pipe. Camels' dung is used when charcoal cannot be procured, and gives a very strong heat."—Lyon, p. 48.

"The anvil is a small square-ended piece of iron, which is sunk in a log of wood and partly buried in the sand. An ordinary hammer, and a pair or two of pincers, complete the apparatus."—*Ib.* p. 48.

* "Like their predecessors the Carthaginians," says Shaw, "who are called by Tully, *fraudulenti et mendaces.*" The prophet Jeremiah has well described them, ch. iii. v. 2.

him whole days to plan his manœuvre, and a great deal of personal exertion to put it in execution. He bears no ill-will to the persons who may have detected him; but will relate the whole thing as an excellent plot, immediately after its failure, and commend the penetration of those who have baffled his best efforts to deceive them." * In other words, he has no sense of vice as attaching to dishonesty, and therefore has neither the shame nor the fear attendant upon the detection of crime. The only social law he respects, is that of usage, the code of honour which necessity has imposed even upon the lawless hordes of the desert. In obedience to that law, he respects the unguarded property of his countrymen, and refrains from injuring the crop which has been sown and left to spring up in some of the recesses of the wilderness. The same law teaches him to be hospitable, and even generous; knowing that his own turn may come, to stand in need of hospitality. In some of their commercial transactions, also, with the barbarous tribes of the south, the Arabs are said to observe a scrupulous good faith in adhering to the unwritten charter which from time immemorial has regulated such dealings.†

* Beechey, p. 207.

† "It must be mentioned to the honour of the western Moors, that they still continue to carry on a trade with some barbarous nations bordering on the Niger, without seeing the persons they trade with. At a certain time in the year, they make this journey in a numerous caravan, carrying with them coral and glass-beads, bracelets of horn, knives, scissars, and such like trinkets. When they arrive at the place appointed, which is on such a day of the moon, they find several heaps of gold dust, against which the Moors place so many of their trinkets as they judge will be taken in exchange for them. If the Nigritians, the next morning, approve of the bargain, they take up the trinkets, and leave the gold dust; or else make some deductions from the latter. In this manner, they transact their exchange without seeing one another, or without the least instance of dishonesty or perfidiousness on either

This character, however, for hospitality, good faith, and good nature, varies, as might be expected, not merely as modified by the temper and disposition of the individual, but as the different tribes have their respective standards of social obligation, and are distinguished by their more or less amiable qualities. Thus, though all are alike thieves and plunderers, true Ishmaelites, their hand against every man and every man's hand against them,* and though cunning, extortion, and licentiousness may be without injustice set down among their general characteristics, yet, treachery, cruelty, avarice, and revenge are mentioned as prominent traits only of those tribes who are by their own countrymen regarded as sustaining a disreputable character.†

It appears from the testimony of Herodotus, that the Libyans, or Africans, who, in his time, inhabited the southern shores of the Mediterranean, were divided into pastoral or agricultural tribes; and this distinction is still perpetuated. "The Kabyles," we are told by Shaw, "usually live upon the mountains in little villages called *daskrahs*, made up of mud-walled hovels (or *gurbies*); whereas the Arabs, being commonly the inhabitants of the plains, are therefore called Bedoweens, living, as the *nomades* and *scenitæ* did of old, in tents; a collection whereof, pitched

side. In like manner, the *Seres* are said never to see or speak with the people they traded with. Eustathius likewise, upon the faith of Herodotus, relates, that the Carthaginians traded after the same manner with some people beyond Hercules's pillars."—Shaw, p. 239. For a similar instance of trading by barter without personal intercourse, see MOD. TRAV., India, vol. iv. p. 255.

* Gen. xvi. 12.

† See, for an account of the Ababde, Bisharein, and other Bedouin tribes, MOD. TRAV., Egypt, vol. ii. pp. 248—253. Subsequent illustrations will occur in the course of our description.

usually in a circle with their doors opening towards Mecca, is called a *douwar*." * Both the Kabyles and the Bedouin tribes are generally distinguished by the names of their respective ancestors, but with this distinction: the former have generally the appellation of *Beni* prefixed to the patronymic, as *Beni Rashid*, the sons of Rashid; the latter are distinguished by the appellation *Welled*, as *Welled Suliman*, the sons of Suliman. Among the Kabyles, however, are comprehended tribes of very different nations; some of the Berber race, and others who are supposed to be remains of the Vaudals, or some other northern colony. The wide diffusion of the Arabic language among both the nomade and agricultural tribes, is not adequately explained by referring it to the Saracen conquests or the diffusion of the Mohammedan faith. The Bedouins have certainly adopted no new language, but speak, with merely the variations of dialect, that which was common to the Chaldean or Syrian shepherds of ancient Mesopotamia, Palestine, and Arabia; which spread itself, with the descendants of Ishmael and Edom, from the Euphrates to the shores of the Mediterranean and the Erythrean sea; and which, under different modifications, as Chaldee, Phenician, Hebrew, Syriac, or Arabic, seems to form the connecting link between the various branches of the great Semitic family.†

* Shaw, pref., p. viii.

† Herodotus is supposed to refer to the Jews as Phenicians, and he represents them as speaking the Phenician tongue. See Josephus against Apion, b. i. § 22. If the languages were really cognate dialects, we may suppose that the Punic or Carthaginian colonists spoke a language not very different from the Moorish. If the etymology of the word Libya is really to be found in the Hebrew or Arabic, this would afford an additional proof, that at least the pastoral tribes of Northern Africa, in the earliest times, were Arabs.

But we must now take leave for awhile of the Bedouins, and, before prosecuting our journey into the Interior, complete our description of the Moorish principalities which occupy the maritime region. To the west of Tripoli is the more powerful kingdom of

TUNIS.

"WITH respect to its amazing resources, and the natural beauty of the country, few places," says Mr. Blaquiere, "can be compared to Tunis. The sea-coast, commencing at Cape Roux, in lat. 37° 0′ N., long. 9° 30′ E., extends eastward towards Cape Bon; thence, taking a south-eastern direction, it terminates at the fertile and populous island of Jerbi (the *Meninx Insula* of Pliny); the whole forming an irregular line nearly five hundred miles in length. The Interior is inhabited from one to two hundred and fifty miles southward, until you arrive at the mountains which separate Tunis from the *Biled ul Jerid*, or Country of Dates.

"Although the Regency is watered by various

The received derivation has already been mentioned at p. 5. Dr. Hyde deduces both Barca and Libya from Arabic words denoting resplendency, in supposed allusion to the mirage or the refulgent sands. (See Shaw, p. 440.) Herodotus derives Libya from the name of a female native of Africa, affording a presumption that he was not aware of its real meaning or origin. Mr. Beechey remarks, that *Libya* (or rather *Labeia*) is a term used in the Hebrew Scriptures to denote a lion or lioness (Job, iv. 11); and Libya was the country of lions. He might have supported this conjecture by referring to a district of Nubia, which actually bears the name of *Wady Seboua* (*Leboua ?*) Lion's Valley.—See Egypt, vol. ii. p. 237. He seems to think that Libya and Nubia may be the same words differently pronounced; but, though the *Nobatæ* were a Libyan tribe, there seems little affinity between Liboua and Nouba; and they are distinct countries.

streams of minor importance, the only rivers of any consequence are the Mejerdah and the Wad el Quibir. The first of these, so celebrated as the *Bagrada* of antiquity, empties itself into the sea between Cape Carthage and Porto Farina. There are many considerable towns and villages on its banks, containing from five to fifteen thousand inhabitants. The source of this river is entirely unknown to the Tunisians: they have merely discovered, that, winding through a most productive and picturesque country, it extends several hundred miles in a south-west direction, passing one hundred S. of Constantina.* The whole country in the vicinity of Mejerdah is very well cultivated, and produces large quantities of corn, olives, wax, and honey, together with cattle in the greatest

* Shaw says: "The most fruitful district, as well as the most extensive, of *Numidia*, lies betwixt the rivers *Hameese* and *Myskianah*; the latter the most southern, the first the most northern branch of the Me-jerdah. There is scarce an acre of it, but what is watered by some choice fountain or rivulet; and there are few of these conveniences without having had some city or village built either upon or in the neighbourhood of them; which are now so miserably defaced, that a heap of rubbish, without either name or inscription, is all that remains of them.....The river *Melagge* runs a little to the northward of Tipasa, being a continuation of the Myskianah, which has its sources at *Ain Thyllah*, in the western confines of the (country of the) Henneishah. A little further, the Melagge, still directing its course to the N.E., assumes the name of *Serrat*, and is the eastern boundary of this kingdom. This, when joined, a little further, with the *Sugerass*, which comes from Mtilah, Hameese, and Tiffesh to the westward, assumes the name of Me-jerdah, the ancient *Bagradas*."—Shaw, p. 64. This river, which, the learned Traveller says, is equal to the Isis united with the Cherwell, "is of the same complexion with the Nile," being saturated with the rich soil through which it flows, "and has the same property of making encroachments upon the sea," and shifting its channel. An open creek, into which, a century before, it discharged itself, had become circumscribed by the mud, so as to be changed into "a large navigable pond, the ante-harbour to Port Farina."—*Ib.* p. 77.

abundance. The Wad el Quibir rises in the neighbourhood of El Keif, and joins the sea near Tabarca. An extensive tract of country, situated between this river and Constantina, though equal in fertility to any part of the Regency, is but thinly inhabited, being usually the seat of war when any real hostility takes place with Algiers. The country eastward of the above river is by far the most populous and best cultivated of the Regency; there are also several large towns and villages there, besides innumerable hordes of Arabs. The chief productions consist of wheat, barley, oil, wool, bees' wax, and tallow, besides a variety of other articles, which form the exports.*

"The mountains near Tunis abound in silver, copper, and lead mines; there is also one of quicksilver near Porto Farina. Jealousy and indolence are the causes why these sources of national wealth are not turned to account. Among the exports of the Carthaginians were enumerated copper, tin, and lead."†

"The Gulf of Tunis, one of the safest in the Mediterranean, is bounded, on the west, by Cape Farinas (*Apollonis Promont.*), and Cape Bon (*Hermæum Promont.*) on the east. There is capital anchorage in every part of it from two to five miles

* The *Wad el Quibir* (*Wed el Kibeer*, or *Guadalquiver*, i. e. great river) of Mr. Blaquiere, appears to be the river Zaine of Shaw, the ancient *Tusca*, and the *Guadilbarbar* of Leo, which seems to have no pretensions to the name of Great River. The *Wed el Kibeer* of Shaw is the ancient *Ampsaga*, which falls into the sea ten leagues E. of Jigel.—Shaw, pp. 45, 49. Mr. Blaquiere seems to have confounded them. He complains at the same time, that we have no correct maps of either the coast or the interior of this part of Barbary. That prefixed to Shaw's work, he says, is replete with errors. "Cape Bon is placed 40 miles out of its latitude; the longitude is nearly as incorrect;" and, "in the interior arrangement, many towns are misplaced."

† Blaquiere, vol. ii. pp. 135—137.

off the shore: including the bay, its circumference is about 120 miles. Fleets of any magnitude can always find shelter in the latter throughout the year. Anchorage for large ships is found between Cape Carthage and the opposite Cape which bounds the bay. Five miles S. of Cape Carthage, you arrive at the Goletta, the greatest commercial and military depôt of his Highness. It is strongly fortified against a naval attack, but is commanded by a hill towards the ruins of Carthage, not more than 3500 yards off, whence the castle might easily be assailed with mortars. A very large basin has been formed to receive all the men of war and merchant vessels of Tunis at this place; and considerable quantities of timber are brought from Tabarca, for the purpose of building ships of various dimensions.* A large lake, above 30 miles in circumference,† and separated from the bay only by a very narrow isthmus, extends from the Goletta to the walls of Tunis, which is six miles from it. Many boats are continually employed on the lake in conveying goods and passengers to and from the capital. The utmost depth of water found in this lake, is not more than 6 or 7 feet; and, from the

* "Guletta, as the Italian geographers have translated *Ha'ck el Wed*, i. e. the throat of the river,—is the channel of communication betwixt the lake of Tunis and the sea."—Shaw, p. 84. "The canal, if distinguished from the Goletta, is an artificial continuation of this channel, and forms a small port of about 40 feet in width, and deep enough for vessels of small burthen to enter with their cargoes.... There are two forts at the Goletta, and a third at the distance of a mile or less, on the neck of land which divides the sea from the lake. Those at the Goletta, judging from the number and size of the cannon, appear to me to be strong; but they are in bad repair, and many of the guns, from the decayed state of the carriages, would probably be unmanageable after the first discharge."—Greaves in Jowett, pp. 462, 3.

† Mr. M'Gill says, about 20 miles round.

circumstance of several ruins having been discovered on the northern side, that part must have been dry formerly." *

With this latter statement, the account given by Dr. Shaw is somewhat at variance. "This lake," he says, "was formerly, as Procopius informs us, a deep and extensive port, capacious enough to take in the largest navy; but at present, by receiving all the common sewers from Tunis,† the deepest part of it does not exceed 6 or 7 feet; while the rest, for the space of a mile or more within the banks, is generally dry and nauseous. However, the prospect of this large piece of water receives no small beauty from the many flocks of the *flamant* or *phœnicopterus* that sometimes frequent it; and from the castle *Shickley*, which is built within it, and frequently visited by the Tuniseens and Christian merchants as a place of pleasure and recreation.‡ Neither is this lake less famous for the number and largeness of its mullets,§ which are accounted the sweetest upon the coast of Barbary; the roes whereof, after they are pressed and dried, are ac-

* Blaquiere, vol. ii. pp. 159, 160. Mr. Greaves (a gentleman connected with the Church Missionary Society, who visited Tunis in 1824, and to whose Journal we shall have repeated occasion to refer) was told, that the general depth does not exceed 3 or 4 feet. "This," he says, "would appear improbable; but I can readily give credit to the statement, as the boat (*sandâli*) touched the ground (loose ground, not rock or stone) several times during the two or three tacks which, the wind being contrary, we had to make in crossing."

† Mr. M'Gill says, that the lake is daily filling up with the filth of the city which runs into it.

‡ This building is now used as a lazaretto: the island upon which it stands, is less than half a mile in circumference.

§ M'Gill says, the few fish found in the lake are of a coarse quality, and the birds on its surface are common sea-fowl, *except* the flamingoes. These are pretty birds, the size of a swan, and inhabit the lake in great numbers and during all seasons.

counted a great delicacy, and known by the name of *Botargo*." * The fact is, that this lake is formed wholly by the sea. No river or rivulet of any kind falls into it, the evaporation being supplied by a current at the Goletta from the sea. It may possibly vary in extent at different seasons; but, if it has gained on any part, it is probably owing to the bottom having been raised, as it has evidently lost in depth. It was at one time contemplated to drain the lake and form a navigable channel to the town; but this "princely design," Mr. M'Gill says, was abandoned on account of the expense.

"Tunis, the Tunes of the ancients, and the capital of this kingdom, is situated upon a rising ground, along the western banks of this lake; in a full prospect (as the ancients have described it) of Carthage and the island *Ægimurus*. Diodorus Siculus calls it Λευκον Τυνητα, White Tunis; perhaps from the chalky cliffs that lie round about it, when we view it from the sea. The many lakes and marshes that surround it, might probably render the situation less healthy, were not these inconveniences in a great measure corrected by the great quantity of mastic, myrtle, rosemary, and other gummy and aromatic plants, which frequently communicate a sensible fragrancy to the air, whilst they are heating their ovens and bagnios with them. The want of water is another complaint of the Tuniseens, who, from the brackishness of their well water and the scarcity of cisterns,† are obliged to

* Shaw, p. 84.

† How are we to reconcile this with Mr. Blaquiere's statement, that "the city is very well supplied with water, from a spring near the town, conveyed by a very fine aqueduct built in Charles the Fifth's time?" Mr. M'Gill, on the other hand, tells us, that "the water used at Tunis is that which is collected during the

fetch the greatest part of what they drink from Bardo, *Beer el Kelp*, and other places at a mile's distance." Such is Shaw's general description of the city; to which he adds, that, taking in the suburbs, *Belled el Hadrah* and *Bab el Swaiky*, Tunis may be three miles or more in circuit. The houses are computed at 12,000; they are neither so lofty nor so magnificent as those of Algiers, nor is the city, for its size, so populous.

Mr. Blaquiere says: The city "could not have been built upon a more unfavourable spot, the adjacent country presenting a variety of situations much more eligible. The hills which surround it on the land side, must add considerably to the heat experienced in summer. Although large sums have been expended in building forts and throwing a high wall round the city, it is by no means a strong place. The citadel, called *El Gaspa*, begun by Charles the Fifth and finished by John of Austria, is much out of repair, and is commanded by the neighbouring heights. There is also a rising ground near the town on the north, which commands both it and *El Bardo*, the fortified palace of his Highness, two miles west of Tunis."

Tunis stands in latitude 36° 44′ N., longitude 10° 20′ E. Mr. M'Gill thus describes the general appearance of the city about twenty years ago. "It is surrounded with a miserable wall of mud and stone, neither fitted for ornament nor for use. The buildings in the town are of stone, but of very mean architecture. In the whole city, there is not to be found one building worthy of description. The Bey

winter in cisterns. With one of these every house is provided, and the houses being flat-roofed, every drop of rain is collected."—Shaw refers, probably, to public reservoirs.

is erecting a palace, which, when finished, may perhaps be handsome; but it is buried in a dirty, narrow street; and, that nothing may be lost, the ground floor is intended for shops. The streets are narrow, dirty, and unpaved; the bazaars are of the poorest appearance, and but indifferently stocked with merchandize. The inhabitants who crowd these miserable alleys, present the picture of poverty and oppression.....The population of the city has been computed to amount to upwards of 150,000 souls; and it has been supposed, that, before the great plague, which was said to have carried off about 130,000, its population amounted to 300,000. But it is impossible to form a just estimate. Judging from other Turkish towns, Tunis, I should suppose, cannot contain more than 100,000 inhabitants." * Mr. Blaquiere, however, states, that the number of inhabitants is known to exceed 130,000, of whom 30,000 are Jews, and the resident Christians may amount to about 1500. Mr. Tulin, the British Pro-consul in 1824, considered 130,000 as a fair estimate of the population of the town and suburbs, including 30,000 Jews.† From this gentleman chiefly, Mr. Greaves obtained the following details.

"The native or Tunisine Jews are distinguished from Mohammedans by their dress, not being allowed to wear the red scull-cap under the turban: it must be black or dark blue. They are sometimes very ill-treated, but are not liable to greater exactions than

* M'Gill, pp. 56; 61.

† Shaw says:—"They boast of more than 300,000 inhabitants." The Danish vice-consul stated it as his opinion to Mr. Greaves, that the population amounts to 150,000 souls; while an English merchant, who had been resident three or four years in Tunis, told him, he thought it did not exceed 70,000. So varying and uncertain are such conjectural estimates.

the Moors. The European Jews wear hats, and speak chiefly Spanish or Italian; their number does not exceed 2000 at the most: they have considerable connexions in Leghorn. The native Jews speak the Arabic of the country, but their books are in Hebrew. There is not much cordiality between the two classes; rather, I am informed, division and animosity. A few of the Tunisine Jews, by purchase, and others through interest, enjoy the privilege of wearing the European dress.

"There is a Roman Catholic convent and church in Tunis, and there is also a chapel in the French consulate. The Christians of this communion (not exceeding 800) are, for the most part, under the superintendence of the *Padre Prefetto*, an aged Capuchin friar. There are upwards of forty *Carbonari* in Tunis, who have been exiled from Naples in consequence of their political opinions. Two or three of them are priests.

"The Protestant Christians are few in number. They consist of the family of the English Vice-Consul, those of the Danish, Swedish, and American Consuls, and two or three other individuals; in all, fewer than thirty souls. Some of them receive the sacrament in the Greek church, and avail themselves of the services of the Greek Papas for marriages, baptisms, and burials. There are, however, many things in the Greek church, in which a Protestant cannot unite..... The Greeks amount to about 200; namely, 40 British, and 160 Ottoman subjects. Their church is under British protection. The English, Danish, and Swedish Consuls attend on particular festivals, such as Christmas day and Easter. The Ottoman Greeks are much oppressed, and are not suffered to leave the precincts of the city. There are several women and

children at Bardo (the residence of the Bey), who have been compelled to turn Mohammedans.*

"The town is situated about half a mile from the lake. Including the suburbs, it is from four to five miles in circumference. From an unfinished palace of the Bey, I counted nineteen minarets; but the largest mosque and some minor ones are without them. Part of the town is built on rising ground, but the ascent is very gradual, and in most parts almost imperceptible. The streets are narrow, generally unpaved, and very dirty. The houses are built of narrow bricks or flat tiles, and plastered. A considerable part of the town is in a very dilapidated condition. The exterior of the houses, however, is not a fair criterion of their internal comfort, in countries where it is a sin to be thought rich. The principal trades, such as those of shoe-makers, tailors, gunsmiths, venders of oil of roses, and manufacturers of the scull-cap, are carried on in bazars. Adjoining one of these is *the slave-market*, about 30 feet long by 20: there is an elevated stage in the centre, about 2 feet high, with a railing round it. There are generally some slaves in the market every day in the week, except Friday, the Mohammedan sabbath.....About twenty females, from fifteen to thirty years of age, were sitting on one side of the market and round the raised platform: two of them had infants. I could with difficulty overcome my feelings on seeing these poor creatures successively taken by the hand and led about the market by two hard-looking men who acted as auctioneers, calling out continually the last price offered. They were occasionally stopped both by men and women, and made to shew their arms, tongues, and teeth; but

* "Neither Christians nor Jews can become proprietors of either houses or lands."

there seemed to be few purchasers, and none were sold during the half hour I remained. Some were thoughtless; others appeared dejected.*

"The Tunisines are at present poor: they were much impoverished by a famine with which the country was visited some years back, when they had to purchase corn at a very high rate. The manufactures of Tunis are chiefly woollen, such as shawls, cloaks, mantles, and coverlets, and are principally used by the natives and residents. The red scull-cap was formerly a very considerable article of exportation to the Levant: shipments are still made, but not so frequently as heretofore."†

This last manufacture alone is stated by Mr. M'Gill to have furnished employment formerly to upwards of 50,000 persons; and 3000 bales of Spanish wool were annually used in it. At present, it is reduced to scarcely one-third of its original extent. Tunis was, till of late years, almost the only place where these caps were manufactured, which are worn by all

* The Vice-consul stated it as his opinion, that 300 slaves is about the number annually imported. But an Italian resident, who had been in the habit of doing business with the *Gadamsi* (or inhabitants of Gadamis), the great mart for slaves, said, that 1500 would be a fair estimate of the average number annually brought to Tunis. A caravan was expected to bring about 800 slaves in the January following. "He corroborated information received from other sources, relative to the fact, that the price of these poor creatures has been greatly reduced during late years: probably, not solely on account of the present war between the Turks and the Greeks, but in consequence also of the determination manifested by Great Britain to use her utmost efforts for the extinction of all slavery."—p. 515. "All black slaves are made Mohammedans, and many think it is better for them; because Mohammedans by their law are obliged to treat them well. Slaves, 'if dissatisfied with their masters, can require to be re-sold."—p. 477.

† Greaves's Journal in Jowett, pp. 467, 469, 470, 473.

Mussulmans, as well as by Greeks, Armenians, and Jews. Marseilles and Leghorn now furnish an imitation of the article; and the quantity thus manufactured, and the low price at which they have been brought into the market, have considerably lessened the demand for those of Tunis, without, however, lessening the reputation of the latter; for those made in Europe, we are told, are far inferior both in colour and in texture.*

The woollens manufactured in the Regency, chiefly at Jerba, are of a thin texture, resembling a soft serge. The manufacture of Morocco leather is also considerable, and great quantities of dyed skins are annually exported. The trade of Tunis, though it had considerably declined, was still, in 1808, the most respectable of any on the coast of Barbary. Formerly, says Mr. M'Gill, "it was not uncommon to see hundreds of ships lying in the roads of Tunis and at the Goletta; also great numbers at all her out-ports, loading with the rich productions of her soil, to satisfy the wants of Spain, Italy, and France. Spain, in particular, drew from the states of Barbary a great proportion of the grain which she used. Italy and France drew from them, oil, hides, and wool, both for the consumption of the inhabitants and the supply of their manufactures; but particularly from Tunis, where these articles are better and more abundant than in any of the other states. This traffic has for some years entirely ceased. It is rare to see, now, more than half a dozen vessels at Tunis, or more than one at a time at any of the out-ports, and these are of

* M'Gill, pp. 124—152. Further details with regard to the manner of making these caps, and the different kinds, are given by this Writer.

a very small burthen."* Grain was formerly a chief article of export, but the famine of 1805 induced the Bey to prohibit its exportation; a measure which could not fail to discourage its growth. In a plentiful year, the State of Tunis was computed to produce 480,000 *caffis* (about 900,000 quarters English) of wheat of excellent quality, and an equal quantity of barley; also, about 12,000 *caffis* of beans; half that quantity of Indian corn; and 1,000,000 *metals* (above 5,000,000 gallons English) of olive oil. Of wool, about 20,000 *cantars* were, in time of peace, exported to France and Italy: one kind is said to be little inferior to that of Spain. The other exports are hides, bees' wax, soap, dates, senna, madder-root, coral, oil of roses, and ostrich-feathers. The imports (supplied almost exclusively till of late years by Marseilles and Leghorn) consist of cloths, British muslins, linens, Irish and German, serges and druggets, coffee, sugar, spices, alum, vitriol, tin, lead, iron, silk, Spanish wool, wine and spirits, cochineal, vermilion, and dye woods, gum-lac, and cutlery.†

The climate of Tunis is pronounced by Mr. M'Gill to be one of the finest in the world. "In fact," says Mr. Blaquiere, "nothing but the most salubrious climate on earth could prevent the prevalence of con-

* M'Gill, pp. 120, 1.

† M'Gill, ch. xviii. xx. xxii. The long continental war, the ruinous contest between Tunis and Algiers, the system of monopoly adopted by the Bey, the check given to both industry and commerce by the famine of 1805, and the prohibition of the export of grain, are assigned as the chief causes of the decline of the commerce of this state. An extensive and lucrative commerce was formerly carried on with the Interior; particularly with Constantina and Ghadamis. But the Bey's impolitic mode of governing the Arabs, Mr. Blaquiere says, had caused the interruption of this advantageous trade.

tagious diseases here, as the manners of the people, added to a want of precaution, are calculated to produce the most serious consequences." The summer, however, is said to be much hotter than at Malta.

The manners and customs of the Tunisines differ in no material respect from those of Tripoli. The police is strict. "Not more than ten years ago," says Mr. Blaquiere, (writing in 1811,) "a Christian could scarcely walk through the streets, much less the country, without being insulted. This very seldom occurs now; and although the hatred of the natives towards Jews and Christians has not subsided in the least, the fear and certainty of punishment are sufficient bars to their insolence. His Highness has been the first sovereign for many years, who dared to punish a Turk with the same impartiality that he would a Moor." A spirit of toleration was evinced by the Government to a greater extent than even at Tripoli; "forming a pleasing contrast to that savage ferocity which usually distinguished the Tunisian character." *

The reigning Bey, to whom reference is made by the Travellers above cited, was born about the year 1752, and succeeded his father, Ali Bey, in 1782, under the title of Hamooda Pasha Bey.† He is described by Mr. M'Gill as a man of handsome and

* Blaquiere, vol. ii. p. 163. "The Tuniseens," says Shaw, "are the most civilized nation of Barbary. They have very little of that insolent and haughty behaviour which is too common at Algiers. This nation has for many years been more intent upon trade and the improvement of its manufactures, than upon plunder and cruising."—Shaw, p. 85.

† For an account of the rise of the present dynasty of beys, and the petty revolutions of the last two centuries, the reader is referred to M'Gill, ch. i., Blaquiere, vol. ii. letter 6, and Chateaubriand's Itinerary. The present Bey, Sidi Hassan, succeeded to the viceroyalty in 1824. Of the intermediate period, we have no account.

penetrating countenance, possessed of very good natural talents, and, considering his limited education, of tolerably enlightened judgement. He could read, write, and speak both the Arabic and the Turkish, as well as converse in the *lingua franca* of the country. "Considering him in the light of a barbaresque prince, we must give him," says this Writer, "the praise of ability; for he certainly holds a tight rein of government, and acts with such a degree of firmness as to keep under all intrigues or civil broils in his country. The State of Tunis never was on so respectable a footing as it is at present; and the subject never before enjoyed such independence and protection from external enemies. The troops of Hamooda, such as they are, are better paid than those of any former prince; and though they are more like a band of freebooters, than a regular army, yet, they are sufficient to keep in check his enemy, the Algerines, who are certainly no better." *

In early life, Hamooda was much addicted to the use of wine, and his slaves were his companions in revelry. But, about ten years after his accession, a circumstance occurred, which had the salutary effect of curing him of the practice. In one of his debauches, he gave orders that some people of the Dey of Algiers, who were rather too noisy in their mirth, should be

* M'Gill, pp. 16, 17. "The Bey has about 10,000 troops in his pay, consisting of 4000 Turks, or Levantines, and 6000 *Zwowahs*, natives of the country, to keep the others in check."—Greaves, p. 471. The latter, who are enlisted from various mountain tribes, are entirely undisciplined. The Bey's naval force, Mr. Blaquiere says, consisted, in 1811, of nine xebecs (equal to our sloops of war) miserably equipped, with a few rotten galleys, and about fifteen old gun-boats. The merchant-vessels might amount to thirty of from three to one hundred tons. The coasting trade is all carried on by *sandals*, which never exceed forty tons.—Blaquiere, vol. ii. pp. 197—199.

strangled. The prudent minister contented himself with putting the poor fellows in prison; and the next day, he received the thanks of his sovereign for his disobedience. From that time, the Bey never tasted wine or strong drink. "From avarice and a mistaken idea in the art of governing," continues Mr. M'Gill, "it must be confessed that Hamooda oppresses his subjects, and that, by engaging himself in commercial pursuits, he prevents them from trading with that spirit which they would display, if they had not to contend with their prince. Wherever his interest is not concerned, whether in public or in private disputes, the Bey decides with wisdom and equity. Formerly, the governors of districts oppressed the people with impunity. At present, the peasantry have free access to their prince, and receive ample satisfaction from his justice. Formerly, all posts were filled with Turks. The Bey acts on a different principle; he gives up his power of governing to none, holds the reins in his own hands, rewards and chastises from the highest to the lowest. Those about him who have any influence, are either renegadoes or slaves; but, though they apparently have power, yet, in reality, their influence over him is very limited." * The two individuals who possessed the greatest influence in the State, were, the *Sapatapa* (master of the seals, who is prime minister), and the state secretary and interpreter; the former a Georgian, the latter a Neapolitan slave. "These two persons," says Mr. Blaquiere, "are declared enemies, which they are encouraged by the Bey to continue. Their riches are immense, and by sharing them *à propos* with his Highness, and

* M'Gill, p. 21. Mr. Blaquiere draws a similar portrait of the Bey, although he is evidently disposed to take the most unfavourable view of his character and government.

repeating daily that the whole is at his disposal, they have contrived, notwithstanding the series of cruelties and oppressions which have marked their progress to wealth, to secure not only his forgiveness, but his support. The principal trade of Tunis is monopolized by these vultures, whose authority is never to be disputed." *

The Mohammedan inhabitants of Tunis are described by Mr. M'Gill, as exhibiting the usual character attributed to the Moors, who are stigmatised as "proud, ignorant, cunning, deceitful, avaricious, and ungrateful;" moreover, very bigoted and superstitious. The Tunisines, however, Chateaubriand says, "are less cruel and more civilized than the people of Algiers. They received among them the Moors of Andalusia, who inhabit the village of Tuburbo, six leagues from Tunis, on the Mejerdah."† The mention of the Andalusian Moors will serve to remind the reader, how little fairness there is in any estimate of the national character of the Moors, taken from their present degraded condition. The Moors of Tunis, Mr. Greaves informs us, have schools, although they do not use printed books. "Some of the better classes are becoming less bigoted in this respect; and a few of them have received copies of the Holy Scriptures from curiosity." "There are generally about 600 students in the principal Mahomedan college of Tunis: they study theology and jurisprudence. There are a few other seminaries of minor importance, and individuals may also enjoy the means of receiving private instruction."‡ Of the four leading orthodox sects, the *Hanafy* and the *Maleky* § only are found in Barbary; but there is

* Blaquiere, vol. ii. p. 201. † Chateaubriand, vol. ii. p. 241.
‡ Greaves in Jowett, 468, 513.
§ See Mod. Trav. Palestine, p. 116. "The *Hanafis* (a generic

another sect, inconsiderable in point of numbers, and confined almost entirely to the Island of Jerba, whose distinguishing tenet is said to be, that God never pardons a crime. On account of the rigidness of this doctrine, they are much disliked by the other sects.

The Moors of Tunis, Mr. M'Gill tells us, are much less jealous of their wives, than the Turks are. "They are served by Christian slaves, and, which is curious, they fear less to be seen by Christians, than by Mussulmans. It is quite uncommon for a Moorish lady to cover herself either before a Christian or a Jew." This may be owing less to contempt, as this Writer supposes, than to their knowledge of European customs.* "The Tunisines," he adds, "have a curious custom of fattening up their young ladies for marriage. A girl, after she is betrothed, is cooped up in a small room. Shackles of silver and gold are put upon her ancles and wrists, as a piece of dress. If she is married to a man who has discharged, despatched, or lost a former wife, the shackles which the former wife wore, are put upon the new bride's limbs; and she is fed until they are filled up to the proper thickness. The food used for this custom is a seed called *drough*, which

term applied to the Turks and Mamelukes) who die without children, are allowed by law to dispose of one-third of their property, and the Treasury claims the rest. It is also heir to all the *Melkies* (who are Moors) that leave no male issue; but, if they have daughters, the Treasury divides the property with them according to law."—Chateaubriand, vol. ii. App. p. 365.

* Signor Pananti, however, seems to concur with this Writer. "The Christian slaves (at Algiers) are looked upon with so much contempt, that they are considered as domestic animals, rather than otherwise, and on this account never want for opportunities of seeing their master's wives." But this feeling of contempt cannot be shared in by the women, if the rest of the Signor's statement be true; and we must therefore seek a different explanation of the fact.—See Pananti's Algiers, p. 241.

is of an extraordinary fattening quality, and famous also for rendering the milk of nurses abundant. With this seed and their national dish, *cuscussu*, the bride is literally crammed; and many actually die under the *spoon*.*.....It seldom happens that a Moor has more than two wives at the same time; but the ceremony of divorcing them is so simple, that he may change as often as he finds convenient.

"The Moors shew great respect to their dead relations. On holidays, they are to be seen praying at their tombs, which are kept clean and whitewashed; and any infidel who should dare to pass over them, would certainly suffer a severe punishment from the enraged enthusiasts. Their tombs are not adorned with the solemn cypress, like those of the Mahomedans in Turkey; but small temples for prayer are often built over them.....The Moorish saints are the unfortunate part of the human species, whom it has pleased the Almighty to deprive of the use of their senses. Many outrages are, with impunity, committed by them; and, as may be easily supposed, many crafty people feign madness to enjoy this privilege.† Great miracles are said to be wrought by these saints; and

* "To be fat and corpulent is the readiest way an African fair can take to obtain conquests. Women are, in fact, esteemed by their weight. It is on this account that infinite pains are taken to fatten up Moorish ladies. Enclosed in a small room, they are fed like the pigeons and doves in Italy. One part of their diet consists of little paste balls dipped in oil; great quantities of these are swallowed and washed down with water, while the mother is constantly in attendance, to enforce their being devoured, *bon-gré, mal-gré*; nor is the bastinado spared, if they refuse the nauseating portion."—Pananti's Algiers, p. 233.

† "Under the gates of the city, you find people styled *Siddi* or Saints, who are blacks of both sexes, stark naked, devoured by vermin, wallowing in their own excrements, and insolently eating the bread of charity. These filthy wretches are under the immediate protection of Mahomed."—Chateaubriand, vol. ii. p. 240.

it would be esteemed impiety to doubt their supernatural powers. To one of them who died some years since, was ascribed the power of visiting the tomb of the Prophet at Mecca, and of returning within the space of half an hour; and the advice and information which he gave on these occasions, received the most submissive attention. Another was sent for during this spring, by the *Sapatapa*, to accompany the army. This famous saint is said to possess the power of passing, during the silence of night, over to Europe, and of killing sometimes from two to three hundred infidels: before day-break, he regularly returns to Barbary."*

The credulity of the Moor, however, is by no means carried to a greater extent than that of the Sicilian or Neapolitan Catholic: it is peculiar neither to the country nor to the creed. The superstition respecting the *evil-eye*, is common also to Moors, Arabs, Turks, and Franks. The unlucky omen of thirteen at table, is another superstition which prevails equally among ignorant Moslems and ignorant Christians. And the belief in astrology, which still maintains itself in Barbary, has not been so long exploded among European nations as to allow of our regarding it as a proof of Moorish barbarism.

The country round Tunis is pleasant, exhibiting extensive plains cultivated with corn, and bordered by hills studded with olive and carob-trees. "To the east," says Chateaubriand, "you discover the mountains of *Mamelife*, singularly rent and of the strangest shapes, at the foot of which are situated the hot springs known to the ancients."† Many of the opu-

* M'Gill, pp. 90, 1; 85, 6.

† The springs referred to are those of *Hammam Leef*, which will be noticed hereafter. This is the word which either the Author or the printer has turned into Mamelife. The mountain is the *Jebel Reass*.

lent natives, and almost all the European consuls, have handsome villas, surrounded with extensive gardens, which are scattered over the country from Tunis to a delightful spot called *La Marza*, close to Cape Carthage, which is much frequented in summer. Extensive tracts in the vicinity of this watering-place are wholly laid out in rose-plantations, which load the air with their fragrance. But to form any idea of the landscape which surrounds Tunis, Mr. Blaquiere says, you must visit the *

RUINS OF CARTHAGE.

"THIS once celebrated capital of a great country is now distinguished only by its cisterns, the remains of some amphitheatres, and an aqueduct; the whole a melancholy emblem of the instability of human greatness. We cannot, however, help being struck with admiration on a view of the place which was chosen as the site of the city. It was built on a high promontory forming the western extremity of Tunis Bay, now called Cape Carthage; and a more magnificent *coup-d'œil* cannot be conceived, than is presented to the spectator in the scene before him. The eye, wandering over extensive plains, sometimes interrupted by hills that form a semicircle of more than one hundred miles, is at length gratified by a range of lofty mountains that bound the horizon on each side. Among these, Zowan is the most conspicuous, and is celebrated for having supplied Carthage with water. The aqueduct constructed for its conveyance was equal to any of the most stupendous works of antiquity. The remains of it have been traced for seventy miles over a very irregular and hilly country: indeed, several hundred arches are still to be seen. The plain of Zama, remarkable for the sanguinary battle fought there between Hannibal and

Scipio Africanus, which decided the fate of Carthage, is seen on the right, and is now covered with corn and groves of olive-trees.....As a military position, Carthage possesses every advantage, and may be considered as unassailable, if properly fortified. The cisterns must certainly have been either within the former citadel, or under its immediate protection; and such is their present state of preservation, that, during the winter, they are generally more than half full of good water. The whole promontory is highly cultivated, and produces large crops of wheat. Two or three hundred pipes of good wine are made annually in the vicinity of a small town built on the outer part of the Cape. The best materials for throwing up works are to be found every where in the greatest abundance. And with respect to climate and purity of atmosphere, Cape Carthage is, I believe, unequalled."*

The learned pen of Dr. Shaw has supplied a more distinct illustration of the topography of this most interesting site; which claims insertion, although exception has been taken to part of his representation.

"Carthage was built upon three hills or eminences, inferior, indeed, to those upon which its rival, Rome, was erected. Upon that which overlooks the S. E. shore, there is the area of a spacious room, with smaller ones hard by it, some of which have tesselated pavements; though neither the design nor the materials of them are worthy of our notice. The *Byrsa* probably had this situation.† In rowing along the

* Blaquiere, vol. ii. p. 168—176. The heights connected with the Cape have an entire command of the works at the Goletta and its arsenal; so that all of these, this Writer says, might be destroyed in four hours.

† To this spot, apparently, Chateaubriand alludes in the following description. "A rugged road leads from the public cisterns to the hill of Byrsa. At the foot of the hill, you find a cemetery and

sea-shore, the common sewers are frequently discovered, which, being well built and cemented together, length of time has not been able to impair. The cisterns are other structures which have very little suffered; for, besides those appertaining to particular houses; which are very numerous, there were two sets of them belonging to the public; the greater whereof, which was the grand reservoir for the famous aqueduct, lay near the western wall of the city, and consisted of more than twenty contiguous cisterns, each of them at least 100 feet long and 30 broad. The lesser is in a higher situation, near the *Cothon* and the *Byrsa*; being contrived to collect the rain water which fell as well upon the top of it as upon some adjacent pavements made for that purpose. This reservoir might be repaired with little expense; the small earthen pipes through which the rain-water was conducted from the roof, wanting only to be cleansed and opened. Besides these, there are no other tokens left us of the grandeur and magnificence of this famous place. We meet with no triumphal arches or sumptuous pieces of architecture; here are no granite pillars or curious entablatures; but the broken walls and structures that remain, are built either in the Gothic taste, or according to that of the later inhabitants."*

To look for any traces of the Carthage of Dido on a site where, in after times, successive cities have flou-

a miserable village. The summit exhibits a level space, bestrewed with small pieces of marble, and which is visibly the area of a palace or of a temple. If you suppose the former, it shall be the palace of Dido: if you prefer the latter, it must have been the temple of Esculapius."—Chateaubriand, vol. ii. p. 298. The former supposition is mere romance; and the latter is scarcely less absurd. It is, probably, the remains of some edifice of the time of Justinian.

* Shaw, p. 81.

rished and sunk to ruin, would be to indulge a vain delusion. In its neighbourhood, if the statements of the learned Traveller may be depended upon, the sea, the land, and the rivers are changed almost as much as the works of man. "The isthmus or neck of the city is now confounded with the continent; the harbour is a dry plain; and the lake or *stagnum*, no more than a morass with six or seven feet water in the mid channel."* M. Chateaubriand, however, adduces strong reasons for rejecting the hypothesis of the English Traveller; supporting his opinion by the authority of the commandant engineer at the Goletta, M. Humberg. He denies that the *Bagrada* can have choked up the ancient port of Carthage, as Shaw supposes; affirming, that the elevated land to the N. and N. W. of the Isthmus of Carthage, has not, either along the sea or in the *El Mersa*, the smallest sinuosity capable of affording shelter to a vessel. "On the other hand," he adds, "along the sea on the S. E., you find long dikes, vaults which may have served for storehouses, or even for the reception of galleys; you see canals excavated by the hand of man, an inner basin sufficiently capacious to hold the barks of the ancients, and, in the midst of this basin, a small island."† Shaw

* We cite the words of Gibbon, in a note, in which he refers to the authorities of D'Anville, Shaw, Marmol, and Thuanus.

† The historical facts adduced by the French Traveller, in support of his view, are these. "1. Scipio Africanus was engaged in fortifying Tunis, when he perceived the ships leaving Carthage, to attack the Roman fleet at Utica. Had the port of Carthage been to the N., on the other side of the isthmus, Scipio, stationed at Tunis, could not have seen the Carthaginian galleys; for the land, in that part, intercepts the view of the Gulf of Utica. But, if we place the port to the S. W., Scipio must have seen his enemies standing out of the harbour. 2. When Scipio Æmilianus undertook to block up the entrance to the outer port, he began the jetty at

supposed, that, upon the S.E. side of the Peninsula, Carthage has been a loser by the sea; "inasmuch as in that direction, for the space of nearly three furlongs in length, and half a furlong or more in breadth, it lies entirely under water." These ruins, however, would seem to be connected with the ancient port. "Setting out from the Goletta," Chateaubriand says, "and riding along the shore in an E.N.E. direction, you come in about half an hour to some salt-pits, which extend westward as far as a fragment of wall very near to the Great Reservoirs. Passing between these salt-pits and the sea, you begin to discover jetties running out to a considerable distance under water. The sea and the jetties are on your right; on your left, you perceive a great quantity of ruins, upon eminences of unequal height; and below these ruins is a basin of a circular form and of considerable depth, which formerly communicated with the sea, by means of a canal, traces of which are still to be seen. This basin must, in my opinion, be the *Cothon*, or inner port of Carthage. The remains of the immense works discernible in the sea, would, in this case, indicate the site of the outer mole. If I am not mistaken, some piles of the dam constructed by Scipio for the purpose of blocking up the port, may still be distinguished. I

the point of Cape Carthage. Appian adds, that this point of land was near the port; which is correct, if the port lies to the S.E., but false, if situated to the N. W. It would be the height of absurdity, to suppose a dike carried from the longest point of the Isthmus of Carthage for the purpose of enclosing what is termed *El Mersa* on the N. W. 3. Lastly, after he had taken the Cothon, Scipio attacked Byrsa, or the citadel; the Cothon was consequently below the citadel. Now, the latter stood on the highest hill of Carthage, a hill which is seen between the S. and E. The Cothon, if situated on the N.W., would have been too far distant from Byrsa; whereas the basin where I place it, lies exactly at the foot of the hill to the S. E."—Chateaubriand, vol. ii. p. 280.

also observed a second inner canal, which shall be, if you please, the cut made by the Carthaginians, when they opened a new passage for the fleet." *

In further confirmation of Chateaubriand's opinion, it may be remarked, that there appears to have been always a morass to the west of the city,† which was divided from the sea by a long neck of land half a *stadium* in breadth. The harbour, if on the western side, must, therefore, have been to the north of this isthmus, the morass being to the south. But any protection afforded to vessels in that situation must have been by an artificial mole; whereas, on the eastern side, the Cape forms a natural harbour. It is to be regretted, however, that we have at present no very accurate description of this part of the coast; and we must dismiss the subject with Chateaubriand's pertinent reflection. "Is it not singular, that, in a city so celebrated as Carthage, we should have to seek the very site of her ports; and that the circumstance which constituted her principal glory, is precisely that which is now most completely forgotten?" ‡

The foundation of Carthage by the first Tyrian colony, is supposed to have taken place 98 years be-

* Chateaubriand, vol. ii. p. 286.

† Rollin thus combines the descriptions of the city given by Appian and Strabo. "It stood at the bottom of a gulf, surrounded with the sea, and in the form of a peninsula, whose neck or isthmus was 25 *stadia* in breadth. The peninsula was 360 *stadia* or 18 leagues round. On the west side, there projected from it a long neck of land half a *stadium* broad, which, advancing into the sea, *divided it from a morass*, and was fenced on all sides with rocks and a single wall."—Rollin, book ii. part ii. § 2.

‡ The name of *El Marsa* (the port), now applied to a delightful plain, seems to yield some support to Shaw's theory; although it is difficult to believe that the place would, on that account, have been so called by the Moors. But may not the word be a corruption of *El Margé*, the plain?

fore the building of Rome, and 846 years before the Christian era. Queen Dido is said to have been the great grand-daughter of Ithobal (or Ethbaal), king of Tyre, the father of the equally famous Queen Jezebel. The town consisted of three parts; the *Cothon* or port, which was probably first built; the lower city, called *Megara*; and the *Byrsa* or citadel. It is supposed to have been in reference to the first settlement on the shores of the harbour, that the city of Dido received the name of Carthage (*Kertha Hadath*) the new city.* An inconsiderable village, containing about fifty inhabitants, not far from the smaller cisterns, now bears the name of *Malga*, in which we seem to have a corruption of the ancient name of the lower town;† while in that of *Sidi Buseid*, a village on the most elevated part of Cape Carthage, about an hour's distance from the ruins, we might fancy some trace of the ancient Bursa.

For more than 600 years, this famous Republic enjoyed the empire of the seas, extending its conquests into Sardinia, Sicily, and Spain, and disputing pre-eminence with Rome itself. At the beginning of the

* *Cartha* or *Carta*, a word common, with some modification, to many languages, appears to imply a walled town. Thus we have Kiriath, Cirta, Tigranocerta, Gardiki, Stuttgard, Novgrad, &c.

† Magara is possibly related to *magalia*, hovels, of which, before the time of Dido, Carthage is said to have consisted:

"*Miratur molem Æneas, magalia quondam.*"

Æn. i. 425.

"*Magalia dicta quasi magaria, quod magar Punici novam villam dicunt.*"—Isidor. in Shaw, p. 222. The word *magûr* is found in Hebrew, in the sense of a dwelling or place of sojourning. Byrsa is clearly the same as the Hebrew *Busra*, a citadel, corresponding to the acropolis of the Greeks and the *gurh* of the Hindoos; as the *pettah* of an Indian city seems to answer to the *magara*. Chateaubriand says: "The only name by which Carthage is known in the country, is *Bersach*; apparently a corruption of Byrsa."

first Punic war (B. C. 280.), Carthage is said to have contained 700,000 inhabitants. The third war with Rome was terminated by the destruction of the city, B. C. 145. "We may guess," Rollin remarks, "at the dimensions of this famous city, by what Florus says, *viz.* that it was seventeen days on fire, before it could be all consumed." What escaped the conflagration was demolished by order of the Roman senate. "Rome," says Velleius Paterculus, "already mistress of the world, thought herself not safe so long as even the name of Carthage remained." The most dreadful imprecations were denounced against any persons who should attempt to rebuild the devoted city. Yet, in less than 30 years, and during the life-time of Scipio, one of the Gracchi conducted thither a colony of 6000 citizens; and in spite of inauspicious omens and terrific presages, the foundations were laid of a new town. The project, however, could not have succeeded, as Marius, when he fled from his more powerful rival, found a gloomy consolation amid the ruins of Carthage.* According to Strabo, the second founder of the city was Julius Cæsar; † and in the time of that Geographer, it had already become one of the largest cities in Africa.‡ New Carthage suffered greatly from a conflagration

* —— "*Solatia fati*
Carthago Mariusque tulit, pariterque jacentes
Ignovere Deis."—Lucan. de bell. civ. lib. ii. p. 91.

† Plutarch ascribes to Julius Cæsar the establishment of colonies both at Carthage and at Corinth, remarking, that, as both cities had been taken and destroyed together, so both were re-built and re-peopled at the same time. Appian ascribes the re-building of Carthage to Augustus, asserting, that he chose a spot *near* the former city, to evade the imprecation denounced on those who should restore it.

‡ The Roman Carthage, however, appears to have been far inferior in extent to the ancient city. Pliny says, "*Colonia Carthago magnæ in vestigiis Carthaginis.*"

during the reign of Marcus Aurelius; and to that emperor, the colony was indebted for the reparation of its losses. During the transient reign of the two Gordians, Carthage became the imperial capital; and from the writings of the Latin fathers and the canons of the councils of Carthage, we learn that, in the third century, this city contained temples, theatres, porticoes, and baths. The aqueduct is probably to be assigned to this period, although the cisterns, Chateaubriand thinks, may be remains of the first city. Carthage shared in the persecutions of the Christians in the reign of Valerian; and in A.D. 258, Cyprian, the most illustrious of its bishops, suffered martyrdom. On the establishment of Christianity as the religion of the empire, Carthage ranked the second, in dignity and opulence, among the ecclesiastical thrones of the West; and a double election to the African primacy was the origin of that memorable schism which afflicted the provinces of Africa above three hundred years, and was extinguished only with Christianity itself.* The temple of the Celestial Venus at Carthage, whose sacred precincts formed a circumference of two miles, had been shut for some time, and the access to it was overgrown with brambles, when, in the reign of Theodosius, it was converted into a Christian church.† Of Colonial Carthage, as it

* That of the Donatists; so called from Donatus, the primate to whom the dissidents, supported by the Numidian bishops, attached themselves.—See Gibbon, ch. xxi.

† Gibbon, ch. xxviii. The deities to whom the Carthaginians paid more especial worship, were, the goddess Cælestis, the same as Astarte, the Tyrian Isis, Juno, Venus, or Dian; and Saturn, the Syrian Baal and Moloch, to whom human sacrifices were offered in Africa so late as the times of Tertullian. The Carthaginians were distinguished by the horrid nature of their religious rites, worthy of Ashantee.

flourished in the fourth and fifth centuries, the pen of Gibbon has supplied an imposing description.

" Though Carthage might yield to the royal prerogatives of Constantinople, and perhaps to the trade of Alexandria, or the splendour of Antioch, she still maintained the second rank in the West; as the *Rome* (if we may use the style of contemporaries) of the African world. That wealthy and opulent metropolis displayed, in a dependent condition, the image of a flourishing republic. Carthage contained the manufactures, the arms, and the treasuries of the six provinces. A regular subordination of civil honours gradually ascended from the procurators of the streets and quarters of the city, to the tribunal of the supreme magistrate; who, with the title of proconsul, represented the state and dignity of a consul of ancient Rome. Schools and *gymnasia* were instituted for the education of the African youth; and the liberal arts and manners, grammar, rhetoric, and philosophy, were publicly taught in the Greek and Latin languages. The buildings of Carthage were uniform and magnificent. A shady grove was planted in the midst of the capital; the *new* port, a secure and capacious harbour, was subservient to the commercial industry of citizens and strangers; and the splendid games of the circus and the theatre were exhibited almost in the presence of the barbarians. The reputation of the Carthaginians was not equal to that of their country, and the reproach of Punic faith still adhered to their subtle and faithless character." * Salvian, the preacher of the age, declared, that the peculiar vices of every country were collected in the sink of Carthage.

* Gibbon, ch. xxxiii.

The vices of a voluptuous people were doomed to be "severely reformed" by barbarous invaders. The city was surprised by Genseric, A.D. 439; 585 years after the destruction of the city and republic by the younger Scipio. After he had permitted his licentious troops to satiate their rage and avarice, the Vandal conqueror instituted a regular system of rapine; commanding all persons, upon pain of death, to deliver up all their gold, silver, and other valuables. Its nobles and senators were reduced to the most abject poverty; and Italy and the provinces of the East, were filled with Carthaginian exiles, fugitives, and captives. The "Arian tyrant" is charged, moreover, with having overthrown the churches and theatres; and some Pagan edifices, which were yet standing, are said to have been demolished by his command.* The former assertion is improbable. When the lieutenant of Justinian rescued the city from the Vandal yoke, the trade of Carthage, we are told, was not interrupted, and the shops continued open and busy, while Africa changed her master and her government. "The Arians, conscious that their reign had expired, resigned the metropolitan temple to the Catholics, who loudly proclaimed the creed of Athanasius and Justinian." † The fortifications alone had been suffered to decay by the thoughtless or indolent Vandals; and these, Belisarius restored with incredible despatch. All that was left for Justinian to do, that might deserve the panegyric of Procopius, was to embellish the city with new porticoes, *thermæ*, and

* Chateaubriand does not give his authority for the assertion, but adds: "Mention is made, among others, of the temple of Memory and the street of the Celestial Goddess, which was lined with splendid structures."

† Gibbon, ch. xli.

monasteries. At length, the Saracens came; and the second Carthage, scarcely less polluted with crimes than the first, met with the same fate, and was delivered to the expiating flames. This was in A.D. 698. "It is asserted," says Chateaubriand, "that the new masters of Carthage razed it to the very foundations; yet, considerable remains of it must have existed at the beginning of the ninth century, *if it be true* that Charlemagne's ambassadors discovered there the body of St. Cyprian. Towards the conclusion of the same century, the Infidels formed a league against the Christians; and at their head, we are told, were the Saracens of Carthage." Edrisi, however, the Arabian geographer, describes the site of the ancient city as exhibiting, in the twelfth century, only a scene of splendid ruins. The passage is curious, as affording the only light which the Mohammedan annals throw upon its history.

"At the period in which Carthage flourished, this city was one of the most famous in the world, on account of its astonishing edifices and the greatness of its power, which is attested by these monuments. There are still to be seen remarkable vestiges of Roman buildings; for instance, the theatre, which has not its equal in the world. This edifice is of a circular form, and is composed of about fifty arches yet remaining. Each of these arches embraces a space of about 23 feet. Between every two arches is a pillar of equal dimensions, the two pilasters of which are about 3 feet 4 inches in breadth. Above each of them rise five rows of arches, one above the other, of similar form and dimensions, constructed of stone of incomparable fineness. On the top of each arch is a frieze, on which are seen divers figures and curious

representations of men, animals, and ships, sculptured with exquisite art. In general, it may be said, that the other ruins, and the finest edifices of this description, are nothing in comparison with this. It was anciently designed, we are informed, for games and public spectacles.

"Among the curiosities of Carthage are the cisterns, of which there are as many as four-and-twenty in a line. The length of each of them is 130 paces by 26 in breadth. They are surmounted with cupolas; and in the intervals which separate them, openings and conduits have been made for the passage of the waters. The whole is disposed geometrically, with much art. The waters were brought to these cisterns from a place called the fountain of Shoukar (Shon-kar or Zon-gar?), situated in the neighbourhood of Kairowan. The aqueduct extends from this fountain to the cisterns, along an infinite number of bridges, where the water flowed in an equal and regular manner. These bridges are composed of arches, which are low or of moderate height in the plain, but of great elevation in the valleys and hollows. This aqueduct is one of the most curious works any where to be seen. In the present day, it is quite dry, the water having ceased to flow, in consequence of the depopulation of Carthage, and because, from the time of the fall of the city till now, there has been constantly carried on a rummaging among its ruins, and even under the foundations of its ancient edifices. Marbles have been discovered there of so many different species that it would be impossible to describe them. An eye-witness reports having seen taken out blocks 30 feet high and 63 inches in diameter. These spoliations have not been discontinued. The marbles are transported far away to all

countries; and nobody leaves Carthage without carrying off considerable quantities, either in vessels or by other means: it is a notorious fact. Sometimes, marble columns have been found, 30 feet in circumference." *

This account is the more valuable as serving to explain the strange disappearance of almost all traces of the architectural magnificence of the Roman city. The description of the aqueduct is in exact accordance with that which is given by Shaw. The remains of this celebrated structure,† he says, "may be traced all along from the greater set of cisterns, as far as Zow-wan, and from thence to Zung-gar, which is at the distance of at least fifty miles from them. The whole has been a work of extraordinary labour and expense; and that portion of it in particular which runs along the Peninsula, was all of it elegantly built of hewn stone. We see at Arrjana, a little village two leagues to the northward of Tunis, a long range of its arches, all of them entire, 70 feet high, supported by columns 16 feet square. The channel that conveyed the water, lies upon these arches, being high and broad enough for a person to walk in. It is vaulted above, and plastered on the inside with a strong cement; which, by the stream running through it, is discoloured to the height of about three feet. This will sufficiently shew the capacity of the channel; but, as there are

* We are indebted for this passage, translated from the original Arabic, to M. Amédée Jaubert.—Journal Asiat. May, 1828. pp. 376—8.

† Styled by Procopius ὁ ὀχυρὸς ἀξιοθεατος. The Emperor Charles V. caused a drawing to be made of it, and the design was arranged by Titian, to serve as a model for some tapestry to be executed for the Austrian court.

several breaches in the aqueduct, sometimes for three or four miles together, I had no method to determine the velocity or angle of descent, so as to ascertain the quantity of water that might be daily conveyed through it to Carthage. Both at Zow-wan and at Zung-gar, there was a temple erected over the fountains which supplied this aqueduct with water. That at Zung-gar appears, by the remaining monuments, to have been of the Corinthian order; where there is a beautiful dome, adorned with three niches, placed immediately over the fountain. These might, probably, receive so many statues of the deities presiding over water. Upon the frieze of the portal, we have a broken inscription." *

At the time that St. Louis, the French monarch, entered the Bay of Tunis (A.D. 1270), in the prosecution of the eighth crusade, a Moorish prince had begun to rebuild Carthage. "Several new edifices were already erected among the ruins, and a castle appeared on the hill of Byrsa. The Crusaders were struck with the beauty of the country, covered with woods of olive-trees. St. Louis resolved to reduce Carthage, before he laid siege to Tunis, then an opulent, commercial, and fortified city. He dislodged the Saracens from a tower which defended the cisterns: the castle was carried by assault, and the city followed the fate of the fortress. But no sooner had Louis crossed the seas, than prosperity seemed to forsake him. He could not attack Tunis till he had received the reinforcements with which his brother, the king of Sicily, had promised to join him. Being obliged to entrench himself on the isthmus, the

* Shaw, p. 83. The inscription runs thus; "....*rorisii totiusque divinæ domus ejus civitas Zucchara fecit et dedicavit.*"

army was attacked by a contagious disease, which, in a few days, swept away half of his troops. To increase the sufferings of the Crusaders, the Moors raised the burning sand by means of machines, and scattering it before the southern breeze, they exposed the Christians, by this fiery shower, to the effects of the *kamsin*, the terrible wind of the desert; an ingenious and terrific invention. The living were, at length, not sufficient to bury the dead: their bodies were thrown into the ditches of the camp, which were soon completely filled with them. The Counts of Nemours, Montmorency, and Vendôme were already no more; and the King had seen his favourite son, the Count of Nevers, expire in his arms. He felt himself the attacks of the disease, and was sensible, from the first moment, that it would terminate fatally.....On the 25th of August, feeling his end approaching, he desired to be placed upon a bed of ashes, where he lay surrounded by his weeping family, the dismayed princes, and their fainting consorts.....The trumpets of the Sicilian Crusaders sounded, and their fleet arrived, full of joy, and bringing useless succours. Their signal was not answered. Charles of Anjou was astonished, and began to fear some disaster. He landed; he beheld the sentinels with their pikes reversed; he flew to the tent of his brother, and found him extended lifeless." * With the death of this canonized monarch, Chateaubriand chooses to conclude the history of Carthage. We may add, however, in the words of Gibbon, that, "in the beginning of the sixteenth century, the second capital of the West was represented by a mosch, a college without students,

* Chateaubriand, vol. ii. pp. 297–304. We have divested his narrative of much of its sentimental rhetoric.

twenty-five or thirty shops, and the huts of five hundred peasants, who, in their abject poverty, displayed the arrogance of the Punic senators. Even that paltry village was swept away by the Spaniards whom Charles the Fifth had stationed in the fortress of the Goletta. The ruins of Carthage have perished." *

FROM TUNIS TO JERBA.

WE must now briefly describe the tract of coast eastward of Tunis; for our knowledge of which, we are indebted almost exclusively to Shaw. Two leagues to the E.S.E. of Tunis, is the town of Rhades, situated upon a rising ground between the lake of Tunis and the sea. "This," says Shaw, "is the ancient *Ades*, so much inquired after by Cellarius and others, where M. Regulus defeated the Carthaginians. Hard by it on the right hand, are those hills where Hanno very unskilfully placed his elephants to oppose him. As the road from Clypea to Tunis lies through a narrow defile at a little distance from Ades, the Carthaginian general (pardoning that one mistake) could not have pitched upon a more convenient place for the security of this pass; neither could the Romans have carried it without their usual bravery. Not far from Rhades is the river Miliana, the *Catada* of Ptolemy; and about a league further is *Hammam Leef*, a noted hot-bath very much resorted to by the citizens of Tunis.†

* Gibbon, ch. li.

† "To the valetudinarian," says Mr. Blaquiere, "perhaps no part of Europe would be so beneficial as the mineral baths of Hamam Leef. These waters, very celebrated in ancient times, are situated at the declivity of a mountain, close to the sea, at the southern extremity of the Bay of Tunis. Their virtues in the cure of rheumatic, and indeed all chronic disorders, are wonderfully

Behind these baths, on the right hand, is *Jibbel Resass* (the mountain of lead), whose mines are plentifully stored with that metal; and two leagues on the left, near the bottom of the Gulf, is the small town of Solyman, situated upon the skirts of a fine plain, with a river at two miles' distance on each side of it. This place is chiefly inhabited by Andalusian Moors, who, being more civilized than their brethren, are very courteous to Christians, and still retain the Spanish language. Two leagues to the N.E. of Solyman, is Mo-raisah, the *Maxula* of Ptolemy. Here are several broken cisterns, besides a small harbour. The sea-shore, which, from the Goletta, all along by Rhades, Hammam Leef, and Solyman, is low and sandy, begins here to be rugged and mountainous. Two leagues further, we fall into the creek of Gurbos (or Hammam Gurbos), the ancient *Carpis*, where there is a hot-bath and some ruins: these are the *Calidæ Aquæ* of Livy, which he very justly places over against Carthage. Three leagues to the north of Gurbos, we pass by a very high and rugged headland, the *Promontorium Herculis* of the ancients: within it is a small bay, where the *Wed el Abeyde* discharges itself.

"The sanctuary of Seedy Doude (Sidi Daoud), surrounded with the ruins of the ancient *Nisua* or *Misua*, is five leagues to the E.N.E. of the promontory of Hercules. It is so called in honour of David (or Doude, as they pronounce it), a Moorish saint, whose sepulchre, as

great. There are generally several Tunisian families at Hamam Leef, as the inhabitants ascribe the most miraculous virtues to the spring. It is generally equal to 118° Fahrenheit. A fine spring of cold water rises within a quarter of a mile east of it. The taste of the mineral is not unlike that of Glauber's salts, but by no means so nauseating."—Blaquiere, vol. ii. p. 180.

they shew it, is five yards long; but this, in reality, is nothing more than a fragment of some Roman *prætorium*, as we may conjecture from three tesselated pavements which lie contiguous to it. The pavements are all wrought with the greatest symmetry and exactness; for, besides the general contrast and design, which is executed with all the artful wreathings and variety of colours imaginable, the many figures of horses, birds, fishes, and trees are therein so judiciously intermixed and curiously inlaid, that they even appear more gay and lively than so many tolerably good paintings. The horse, the insignia of the Carthaginians, is displayed in the same bold, free, and open posture as is exhibited upon the African and Sicilian medals; the birds are the hawk and the partridge; the fishes are the gilt-head (the *aurata* of the ancients, called here jeraffa) and the mullet; and the trees are the palm and the olive. The contriver, perhaps, intended to point out the strength, the diversions, the fishery, and the plenty of dates and olives for which this country continues to be, as it was always, remarkable. Misua appears, by the ruins, to have been of the same extent as Hippo Zarytus.

"Two leagues to the E.N.E. of *Seedy Doude*, and a little to the southward of the promontory of Mercury, is Low-hareah, the *Aquilaria* of the ancients, where Curio landed his troops that were afterwards defeated by Sabura.....From the sea-shore to this village, which is at half a mile's distance, the interjacent mountain, from the level of the sea to the height of 20 or 30 feet above it, is, according to the disposition of the *strata*, very artfully hewn and carried away: small shafts or openings are carried up quite through the surface above, for the admission

of fresh air; while large pillars,* with their respective arches, are left standing at proper distances, to support the roof. These are the quarries taken notice of by Strabo, whence the buildings not only of Carthage and Utica, but of other adjacent cities, received their materials. Moreover, as this mountain is shaded all over with trees; as the arches here described lie open to the sea, having a large cliff on each side, with the island *Ægimurus* placed over against them; as there are likewise some fountains perpetually draining from the rocks, and seats very convenient for the weary labourer to rest upon; from such a concurrence of circumstances so exactly corresponding to the cave which Virgil places somewhere in this Gulf, we have little room to doubt of the description (given in the Æneid) being literally true, notwithstanding some commentators have thought it fictitious.†

"Cape Bon, the *Ras Addar* of the Moors, and the Promontory of Mercury (or Hermes) of the ancients, is situated about a league to the northward of Lowhareah. I was informed, that, in very fair weather, they could from hence discover the mountains of Sicily, which are more than twenty miles distant.

* The μεσοκιονεις κιονες of Pollux. Pliny says (ch. xxxiii. p. 4): "*Fornices crebro relinquebantur à metallariis montibus sustinendis.*"

† Virgil, Æn. vol. i. p. 163. The lines beginning,

"*Est in secessu longo locus*"—

are too familiar to require citation. The port of Carthagena and that of Ithaca have been respectively fixed upon by different critics, as having furnished Virgil's description; while Addison supposes the Bay of Naples to have been intended. But there can be no doubt, as Chateaubriand admits, that Shaw has fixed upon the port with its *nympharum domus*, so accurately described by the Roman poet. The passage is most inadequately rendered by Dryden,

The two islands *Zembræ* (or Zowa-moores, as the Tuniseans call them) lie under this promontory; the smaller not far from the shore, the larger at four miles distance. The fruitful tract of land that reaches from this Cape to Nabal and Hamamet, is, from the fashion of it, called *Dakhul*, the Strip or Corner. Five leagues from this Cape, to the S. by E., is Clybea, the *Clupea* or *Clypea* of the Latins, and the *Aspis* of the Grecians. It is built upon a small promontory, the *Taphitis* of Strabo, which, being in the figure of a shield or hemisphere, gave occasion to the name. There is nothing standing of this ancient city, for the castle is a modern structure; and what they now call Clybea, is a miserable knot of hovels at a mile's distance from the old site.* A little way to the southward, we cross a large river, where Masinissa was supposed to have been drowned in his flight from Bocchar, who, as Livy tells us, was afraid to ford it; discouraged, no doubt, by the strength and rapidity of the stream. In the month of January, when no rain had fallen into it for several days, we found the channel very deep and of an uneven bottom, full of large stones, which we had much difficulty to pass over with safety. On the other side lie those open fields where Bocchar is said to have killed forty-six of the fifty persons who attended Masinissa.

"Gurba, the ancient *Curobis* or *Curubis*, is seven

* "Galipia, the Clupea of the Romans, fifteen miles from Cape Bon, contains about 4000 inhabitants, and is defended by a castle built on a very strong military position, which commands the beach. The land on this part of the coast is tolerably well cultivated, and produces considerable quantities of corn and oil. The anchorage of Galípia is sheltered only from west and north-west winds."—Blaquiere, vol. ii. p. 181.

leagues from Clybea. It was formerly a considerable place, though, at present, the ruins of a large aqueduct, with the cisterns that received the water, are the only antiquities. A little brook runs by it to the west, where we have the remains of a stone bridge; and at a neighbouring house is an altar that belonged to it, with a Latin inscription. Leaving Gurba, we come to Nabal, a very thriving and industrious town, much celebrated for its potteries. It is built in a low situation, at a mile's distance from the sea-shore; and about a furlong to the westward is the ancient Neapolis,* which appears to have been a large city, even exclusive of that part of it which is swallowed up by the sea. Here are a great number of inscriptions upon stones of six feet in length and three in breadth, but they are either unfortunately defaced or filled up with rubbish and mortar. On the banks of the little brook that runs through the *old* city, we have a block of white marble with a wolf in *basso-relievo* curiously represented upon it.

"Travelling for the space of two leagues, through a rugged road, delightfully shaded with olive-trees, we arrive at Hamamet (the city of wild pigeons), which, Leo informs us, was built about his time; though the flourishing condition of it is of no longer date than the latter end of the last (seventeenth) century.† The pillars, the blocks of marble and inscriptions, and some few other tokens of antiquity

* Nabal is evidently a corruption, like Nably and Nablous, of the original name.

† "Leaving Gallipia, and passing several inconsiderable villages, you arrive at Hamamett, in the Gulf of that name. This place contains 8000 inhabitants, and carries on a considerable trade with Tunis, in corn, wool, and oil. The Gulf is but little frequented, and as little known to navigators as any other part of Barbary."—Blaquiere, vol. ii. p. 181.

that we meet with, were brought from the neighbouring ruins of *Cassir Aseite ;* the *Civitas Siagitana* of the ancients.....A little beyond them, we come into a large plain, that reaches as far as Herkla, which is as remarkable for the many flocks of the demoiselle or *otis* that frequent it, as the Lake of Tunis is for those of the *phœnicopterus*. Within this plain, two leagues from Hamamet, is the *Menarah*, a large mausoleum nearly twenty yards in diameter, built in a cylindrical form, with a vault underneath it. Several small altars (supposed by the Moors to have been so many *menara*, *i. e.* lamps for the direction of the mariner) are placed upon the cornice. Near the *Menarah* are the ruins of a small port or creek, formerly belonging to Faradeese, * an old Roman city, situated at a few miles distance, upon the N.W. side of this plain. I was informed that, a century ago, the Faradesians were the greatest cruizers and the most experienced mariners of the country ; but that the greater conveniences for navigation at Hamamet had, of late years, drawn thither all the inhabitants. Near the middle of the plain, our prospect is a little interrupted by a hemispherical hillock called *Selloome ;* the seat, formerly, of some castle or village. Two leagues further, near the shore, there is a large piece of marshy ground, with an adjacent lake, which is perpetually draining through it into the sea. A bridge, or sometimes a causeway only, was formerly built over the whole length of this morass, to the no small conveniency of those who were to pass over it on their way to Herkla and Susa. This morass, with the rivulet oozing from it, I take to be the boundary

* This name is apparently a corruption of *Aphrodisium*, called also *Veneria*.

to the sea-ward betwixt the *Zeugitania* and *Bizacium*."*

This ancient subdivision of the region comprised in the kingdom of Tunis, still claims a place in geography. The Bey, who collects the tribute in person, visits, for this purpose, with a flying camp, once a year, the principal parts of his dominions. In the summer season, he traverses the fertile country in the neighbourhood of Keff and Baijah, still called the *Frigeah*, † the Zeugitanian region of Pliny; and in the winter, he visits the several districts between Kairwan and the Jereed, which nearly correspond to the *Bizacium* of the ancients.

The first remarkable place in the latter province, pursuing the line of coast, is Herkla, the *Heraclea* of the Lower Empire, and, according to Shaw, the *Justiniana* of the middle ages, and the *Adrumetum* of earlier times. "It was built, as Clypea was, on a hemispherical promontory, two leagues to the S. E. of the (above-mentioned) morass. It appears to have been little more than a mile in circuit; and, if we may judge of its former grandeur by the remaining ruins, we should rather take it for a place of importance, than for one of any great beauty or extent. That part of the promontory which stretched to the northward, and formed the port, seems to have been walled in quite down to the sea-shore; but the rest of it, to the distance of a furlong thence, does not dicover the least trace of ruins."

* Shaw, pp. 86—92.

† Supposed to be a corruption of the ancient name, Africa. This circuit or province, bounded by the Tusca, is the *regio Carthaginiensium* of Strabo; the *regio Zeugitana*, and the *Africa Propria* of Pliny; the eastern part of the Africa of Pomp. Mela and Ptolemy; and the Zeugis of Æthicus.—Shaw.

About five leagues further to the S. E., is Susa, the chief mart of this kingdom for oil and linen, and one of the most considerable and wealthy cities of the Tunisines. "Here," says Shaw, "are several vaults, granite pillars, and other tokens of its having been formerly a place of some repute." The town is built upon the northern extremity of a long range of eminences, which reach as far as Surseff, the ancient *Sarsura*. There are no traces of a port at this place, or for several miles on each side of it. Mr. Bláquiere says, the bay of Susa affords good anchorage in summer, but is exposed, during winter, to the north-east gales. The inhabitants are computed at between eight and ten thousand. The surrounding country highly beautiful and well-cultivated.

Mr. Greaves thus describes the town. "Susa is pleasantly situated, the greater part of it being on the declivity of a hill, and contiguous to the sea. There is no port; and vessels are consequently obliged to lie in the open roads. The city appeared to me to be about a mile and a half in circumference. It is surrounded with a wall, and has the additional protection of two or three castles. A large mosque occupies a considerable space: besides this mosque, there are several smaller. Signor Manucci and others estimate the population at 20,000: of this number, 1000 may be Jews. I was informed, that they are not ill-treated as in Tunis. There are three Christian families established in Susa; two Italian, and one Maltese. The whole number of Christians consists of about thirty souls. In answer to inquiries relative to slavery, Signor Manucci stated it as his opinion, that from 2000 to 3000 negro slaves are annually brought to Susa. Many arrive in boats from Tripoli. He thought it not unlikely that there may sometimes

be Christians among them.....There were eight merchant vessels lying in the roads; six French, one Spanish, and one Genoese.....I was informed that about 200 vessels arrive annually on the eastern coast of the kingdom of Tunis: they are chiefly French. This number appeared to me considerable, and may, probably, be somewhat overrated: it is, in a great measure, regulated by the demand for oil." *

A league and a half from Susa, the road passes a valley watered by a "brisk, transparent rivulet," which finds its way to the sea. Half a league further, under the same chain of eminences with Susa, and a good mile from the sea, is the village of Sahaleel, where are likewise some ancient vestiges, supposed to be those of *Ruspina*. The coast here takes the form of a bay, with which a small lake communicates, that may have served as a port. Five miles over against Sahaleel, upon the extremity of a small cape, is Monasteer, a neat, thriving walled town containing, according to Blaquiere, a population of nearly 12,000 souls. The manufacture of coarse cloths, and particularly of the *burnoose*, is considerable here. The road-stead is better adapted for the reception of shipping, than that of either Susa or Sfax, being protected from easterly winds by a long reef of rocks called the *Cogniliri*. The position is strong, but badly fortified. Its ancient name does not appear to have been ascertained, and yet the situation could not have been neglected by the ancients. Two leagues to the southward is Lempta, the *Leptis Parva* of antiquity. It

* Greaves, pp. 505—7, 511. The Writer's Journal affords us the following estimate of distances. From Tunis to Sulyman, five hours. From Sulyman to Hamamet, six hours. From Hamamet to near Herkla, twelve hours. From Hercia to Susa, five hours. Total, twenty-eight hours, or about ninety-eight miles.

has been above a mile in circuit; nothing, however, remains but the ruins of a castle, with a low shelf of rocks that may have served as the northern mound of the *cothon* or port. A few miles inland are the ruins of Agar, another of Cæsar's stations, still called *Boo-hadjar* (father of stone, *i. e.* the stony place or city). The next site of importance on the coast is the ancient *Thapsus*, now called Demass, which, from the extent of its ruins, appears to have been the most considerable city on this side Carthage. It is situated on a low neck of land; and there is still remaining, in defiance of time and the sea, a great part of the *cothon*. The walls, castles, and houses of the modern town, which are of better fashion than those of either Susa or Monasteer, have been built in great measure of ancient materials obtained from the ruins of Thapsus and those of Herkla. The capes of Demass and Monasteer form the Bay of Lempta, which would afford, in ancient times, a variety of ports and stations, as it contains several islands, in particular the Jowries (the *Tarichiæ* of Strabo), over against Lempta.

Five miles S. of Demass, and twenty-five miles to the S. E. of Susa, is *Mehdea*, called likewise by the moderns, Africa: it is situated upon a peninsula, and appears to have been a place of great strength and importance. The port, an area of nearly one hundred yards square, was within the walls of the city, but is now incapable of receiving the smallest vessel. Some capitals, entablatures, and other fragments of ancient masonry, alone remain to attest its ancient date.* Five miles further southward is Salecto, the *Sullecte*

* According to Leo, the town was founded by Mahde, the first patriarch of Kairwan, and therefore assumed his name. Either at

of the Middle Age; where are ruins of a very large castle, little inferior in extent to the Tower of London, which seems to have been erected for the security of a small creek or port to the S. W. Elalia, a large extent of ruins, (supposed to be those of *Achola*,) is situated upon the borders of a fertile plain extending from Salecto to within a few miles of Sbeah (*Ruspæ*). Besides ruins of the usual character, several cisterns are found here with large paved areas over them to catch the rain, the construction of which is ascribed by tradition to Sultan Ben Eglib. A little way beyond Sbeah, a long, narrow strip of land stretches out into the sea: it is now called *Capoudia*, and is the *Caput Vada* of Procopius, the *Ammonis Promontorium* of Strabo, and the *Promontorium Brachodes* of Ptolemy. Upon the very point of it, amid the ruins of a city built by Justinian, there is a high round watch-tower. We meet with two more of the same kind between this place and Sfax: they appear to have been intended as land-marks to mariners on approaching this low and dangerous coast. Two flat islands, anciently called *Cercina* and *Cercinitis*, now Querkiness, lie to the S. E. of Capoudia, at the distance of five leagues.

At this cape (or, according to Strabo, at the islands just mentioned) commences the Gulf anciently known by the name of the Lesser Syrtis.* From Capoudia

this place or at Salecto, Shaw remarks, we must fix the Tower of Hannibal, whence he embarked after his flight from Carthage. Mr. Greaves was told, that Monasteer and Mehdea each contained about 20,000 inhabitants. They are, with Susa, the principal *dépôts* of oil.

* Now called the Gulf of Gabes or Cabes. "Commencing at Sfax," Mr. Blaquiere says, "it forms a semicircle eighty-miles in extent, having a number of towns, of which Cabes is the principal." The easterly winds, Shaw tells us, were too violent, while

to the Island Jerba, there extends a succession of small, flat islets, sand-banks, oozy bottoms, and shallows, of which the inhabitants of this coast avail themselves by wading a mile or two into the sea, and setting weels in all directions.* About twenty miles S.W. of the Querkiness, is Sfax (Asfax, El Sfakuss), a neat, thriving town, walled round, like Susa and Monasteer, and carrying on a good trade in oil, sponge, and linen. The best soap is also manufactured here. Shaw supposes the name of the town to be derived from the quantity of cucumbers *(fakouse)* grown in the neighbourhood. Pistachio-nuts, of a superior quality, are likewise abundant. According to Blaquiere, this town contains about 6000 (Mr. Greaves was told, 20,000) inhabitants. It has a communication with Kairwan, and trades with Malta. The materials employed in the building of Sfax have been chiefly obtained from the ruins of *Thené*, ten miles to the S. W. A pretty large brook still bears the name of *Wed el Thainee ;* but, strange to say, it is five miles on the other side of the supposed site of the famous maritime city referred to, which is in the midst of an arid, rocky country, without either fountain or rivulet, and there is neither port nor a trace of any *cothon*. Four leagues S.W. of

he travelled along the coast, to allow of his observing the remarkable flux and reflux from which it derives its name; but he was informed, that at Jerba particularly, the sea rises, twice in twenty-four hours, a fathom or more above its usual height.

* —— "A small groupe of islands, called the *Querquini*, lie between Sfax and Monasteer, and are separated from the main land by a channel three miles wide, navigable for large merchant-vessels. The reason for mentioning these islands more particularly, arises from a hope, that they may be, on some future day, rendered eminently useful to Sicily and Malta. There is a large bank extending from thence to Lampadosa, which abounds with fish of every kind; and this may at any time be converted into a most profitable fishery."—Blaquiere, vol. ii. p. 184.

Thainee, at Maharess, are ruins of an old castle; and near it flows the river Tarff, which has its fountains near the ruins of Tarfowah (*Taphrura*), four leagues to the westward. The castle of Ungha, surrounded with morasses, and without any anchoring-ground before it, is two leagues from Maharess. "It does not appear," Shaw says, "for what intent the founder, Sultan Ben Eglib, made choice of this situation, unless it was to secure some wells of good water that are dug near it. At Ellamaite, four leagues further, we meet with a number of sepulchres without either beauty or inscriptions; and then, passing by *Seedy Meddub*, a Moorish sanctuary, and crossing the dry channel of the *Auronde*, we come to Woodriff and other date-villages of smaller note, each of them watered by a rivulet."

Twelve leagues from Ellamaite is Gabes* (the *Epichus* of Scylax and the *Tacape* of Ptolemy), which gives to the Gulf its modern name. On a rising ground, half a mile from the modern town, there is a heap of ruins, with some beautiful square granite pillars still standing. The old city, to which these ruins belonged, was washed by the sea, which here formed a shallow bay; but the greater part of the bay is now filled up and gained from the sea. Gabes, according to Mr. Blaquiere, contains at least 30,000 souls, and carries on a considerable trade with Kairwan and Tunis. The chief trade of this once flourishing *emporium*, Shaw says, now arises from the *hennah*, which is cultivated in all the gardens. The river which, after watering the plantations, falls into the sea to the northward of the old city, is the *Triton* of the ancients. "Its sources lie no further," he says,

* Written by Shaw, Gabs; by Blaquiere, Cabes.

"than three or four leagues southward of Gabes; though it becomes at once, like many other rivers of these southern climates, a considerable stream. The little village To-bulba (a common name) is three miles from Gabes; and ten leagues further is the island Jerba (*Meninx*, *Brachion*, or *Lotophagitis*), the southernmost territory of the kingdom of Tunis. The lotus-tree (*seedra*) * still grows plentifully all along this coast, that of the lotus-eaters of the ancients." †

"The island of Jerbi," says Mr. Blaquiere, "which forms the eastern boundary of the Regency of Tunis, is separated from the continent only by a narrow channel not navigable. The inhabitants, amounting to more than 30,000, are considered as by far the most industrious and well-disposed under his Highness's government. The manufactures of shawls, linen, and woollen cloths have prospered here uncommonly, and are generally esteemed as the best in all Barbary. Its communication with the Interior has also added much to its opulence. Jerbi has long been a bone of contention between Algiers and Tunis.....Large quantities of live stock are occasionally sent to Malta from this island, together with other articles of commerce. The anchorage is very good during the summer, but exposed in the winter months." ‡

The district of Gabes appears to be marked by the usual characteristics of a border territory. The mountains in its neighbourhood, Mr. Blaquiere tells us, are noted for the warlike and ferocious disposition of the inhabitants. "It is said, that the sheikh of this province can bring into the field 20,000 cavalry, horses being very numerous and of a superior quality." This

* See p. 43, *note*. † Shaw, pp. 105—115.
‡ Blaquiere, vol. ii. p. 183.

is doubtless an exaggerated estimate; but Shaw speaks in similar terms of the character of the natives. Four leagues to the westward of Gabes, is El Hammah, one of the frontier towns of the Tunisines, where they have a small castle and garrison. The old city is at a little distance, still preserving some tokens of antiquity, though nothing considerable. The Baths from which the place takes its modern as well as its ancient name (*Aquas Tacapitanas*), are sheltered from the weather by low, thatched hovels: the basins are about 12 feet square and 4 in depth, and have, a little below the surface of the water, some stone benches for the bathers to sit upon. A small rivulet is formed by the water that flows from them, which, after being divided into numerous artificial channels in the adjacent gardens, is again collected into a stream, but is ultimately lost in the sand. The water is very sweet and wholesome.* Westward of El Hammah, the road to Ebillee (*Vepillium*) lies for thirty miles through "a lonesome, uncomfortable desert, the resort of cut-throats and robbers." It forms part of an extensive district called *El Jereed*, the dry country; of the same description as the Getulian deserts. Here, as in Numidia, the houses in the villages are built with mud walls and rafters of palm-trees. There are scarcely any remains of antiquity; yet, by several fragments of granite or marble, by the surprising preservation of the old names, and by a word or two, occasionally, of some ancient inscription, the Romans may be traced through most of the villages. The trade of the district consists wholly in dates, which the inhabitants exchange for wheat, barley, linen, and other commodities, and *black slaves*. The principal

* It is singular, that Shaw gives us no information as to the temperature or medicinal qualities of the springs.

mart is Tozer (*Tisurus*), to which the slave-merchants once a year bring a number of black slaves, "whom they usually exchange for dates, at the rate of one black for two or three *quintals* of that fruit." *

In this district, there is an extensive salt-lake, reaching nearly twenty leagues from E. to W., and about six leagues in breadth. It is called, Shaw says, the *Shibkah el Lowdeah*, or lake of marks; "from the number of trunks of palm-trees that are placed over it, at proper distances, to direct the caravans in their marches over it. Without such assistance, travelling here would be both dangerous and difficult, as well from the variety of pits and quicksands that could not otherwise be avoided, as because the opposite shore has no other tokens to be known by, besides the date-trees; and as these are rarely seen at above five hours' distance or sixteen miles at the most, great mistakes might, without such convenient marks, be committed in passing over a plain of this extent, where the horizon is as proper for astronomical observations as the sea itself. This lake is not all a collection of water, there being several dry places interspersed all over it, that look like so many islands. To the eastward especially, in the same meridian with Telemeen (*Almæna*), there is one of these islands, which, though uninhabited, is very large and well-stocked with date-trees. The Arabs tell us, that the Egyptians, in one of their invasions of this country, halted here for some time, and that this plantation originally sprang from the stones of those dates which they brought along with them for their provisions. And probably, from this account and tradition, the adjacent portion of the circumambient lake may

* Shaw, p. 120.

have been called *Bahyre Pharaoune*, the plains of Pharaoh. The situation of this lake with regard to the sea, the Syrtes, and the river Triton, should induce us to take it for the *Palus Tritonis* of the ancients; and the island, for the Chersonesus of the Sicilian Historian and the *Phla* of Herodotus." *

In the northern part of the province, there are some places of far greater interest and importance. About eight leagues W. of Susa, is the celebrated city of Kairwan, the first seat of Saracenic empire in Barbary, and still ranking second only to Tunis in trade and population. It is said to contain, Mr. Blaquiere says, more than 50,000 souls. It is a walled town, situated in a barren, sandy plain, and dependent for the supply of water upon a capacious reservoir, filled by the rains, and a pond which becomes nearly dry in summer, when it emits noxious exhalations. Ill-chosen as its situation seems, it appears to occupy an ancient site, (supposed to be the *Vicus Augusti* of the Itinerary,) and its position gives it importance. "We have at Kairwan," says Shaw, "several fragments of ancient architecture; and the great mosque, which is accounted to be the most magnificent, as well as the

* Shaw, pp. 126, 7. According to Ptolemy and other ancient geographers, the river Triton passed through this lake in its course to the sea. The Lake of Marks would seem, however, to have no outlet; and the water is scarcely inferior in saltness to sea-water. The river of Gabes, the learned Traveller says, has not the least communication with it; yet, it may be supposed, that the lake changes its character with the season, and that, when swelled by the torrents formed in the rainy season, it communicates with the sea; probably by the Auronde (or, as it is written in the map, *Wed Ackroude*) which Shaw found dry in his route to Gabes, and which appears to fall into the head of the Gulf. The learned Author's account of the topography of this part is far from satisfactory; but the region holds out little temptation to future travellers. In its general character, it strikingly resembles the coast of the Greater Syrtis.—See pp. 72—78 of this volume.

most sacred in Barbary, is supported by an almost incredible number of granite pillars. The inhabitants told me, (for a Christian is not permitted in Barbary to enter the mosques,) that there are no fewer than five hundred. Yet, among the great variety of columns and other ancient materials that were employed in this large and beautiful structure, I could not be informed of one single inscription. The present name seems to be the same with *caravan*, and might therefore originally signify the place where the Arabs had their principal station in conquering this part of Africa.* To the westward of Kairwan are the high and extensive mountains of Uselett (*Mons Usalitanus*), celebrated for the number of its warlike inhabitants. † Below them, to the southward, are those of Truzza, watered by the Mergaleel and the Defilah." ‡

El Jemme, about five leagues E. by S. of Elalia, appears to have been, in ancient times, a place of considerable importance. Shaw identifies it with *Thysdrus* or *Tisdra*. "Here," he says, "we have several antiquities; as altars with defaced inscriptions, a variety of columns, a great many trunks and arms of marble statues; one of which is of the *coloss* kind in armour; another is a naked Venus, in the posture and of the dimensions of the Medicean; both of them by good masters, but the heads are wanting. But Jemme is the most remarkably distinguished by the

* Kairwan (Cairoan, Cairouan) was founded by Hucba (or Akbar) in the fiftieth year of the Hejira, "under the modest title," says Gibbon, "of the station of a caravan." Thuanus derives the name (like that of the Egyptian Kahira) from the Arabic *Cahar, vicit;* but this appears to be a mistake, not so serious and inexcusable a one, however, as his confounding Cairoan and Cyrene.

† The ancient town of *Usalitanum* is the moderm Jelloulah.

‡ Shaw, pp. 115, 116.

beautiful remains of a spacious amphitheatre, which consisted originally of sixty-four arches and four orders of columns, placed one above another. The upper order is most of it tumbled down. Mahomet Bey, likewise, in a late revolt of the Arabs, who used it as a fortress, blew up four of its arches from top to bottom. Otherwise, as to the outside at least, nothing can be more entire and magnificent. In the inside, the platforms of the seats, with the galleries and *vomitoria* leading up to them, are still remaining. The *arena* is nearly circular; and in the centre of it, there is a deep pit or well of hewn stone, where the pillar that might support the *velum*, was probably fixed. By comparing this with other structures at Spaitla, Cassareen, and Hydrah, it seems to have been built near the time of the Antonines; agreeing exactly, in proportion and workmanship, with the buildings of that age. And as the elder Gordian was proclaimed emperor at this city, it is not improbable, that, in gratitude to the place where he received the purple, he might have been the founder of it. Upon one of the medals of the Younger Gordian, we have an amphitheatre, not hitherto accounted for by the medallists; but it may be too peremptory, perhaps, to fix it here at Tisdra."

The first of the three cities above referred to, Spaitla, the ancient *Sufetula*, situated about twelve leagues S. of Keff, is one of the most remarkable places in Barbary for the extent and magnificence of its ruins. First, there is a sumptuous triumphal arch of the Corinthian order, consisting of one large arch with a smaller one on each side. A few words of the dedication remain upon the architrave, from which it would seem that it was erected by the citizens of Sufetula in honour of one of the Antonines. From

this arch to the city, there extends a pavement of large black stones, with a parapet wall breast-high on each side. Near the end of this pavement, we pass through a beautiful portico, built in the same style with the arch, into a spacious court. "Here we have the ruins of three contiguous temples; whose several roofs, porticoes, and façades, indeed, are broken down, but the rest of the fabric, with its respective columns, pediments, and entablatures, remains perfect and entire. Spaitla is pleasantly situated upon a rising ground, shaded all over with juniper-trees. A little brook glides along the N.E. side of it, which afterwards, in directing its course towards Gelma, loses itself in the sand.* Gelma, the ancient *Cilma* or *Oppidum Chilmanense*, lies six leagues E. of Sufetula: it appears to have been a large city, and the area of a temple is still remaining.

"Cassareen, the *Colonia Scillitana*, memorable for the martyrdom of its citizens, is situated upon an eminence, six leagues W.S.W. of Spaitla. The river Derb winds below it. Upon a precipice that hangs immediately over this river, there is a triumphal arch, more remarkable for the quantity and goodness of its materials, than for the beauty and elegance of the design. It consists of one large arch with an Attic structure above it, having likewise some rude Corinthian-like ornaments bestowed upon the entablature, though the pilasters themselves are entirely Gothic. Yet, notwithstanding the rudeness of the workmanship, and the oddness and peculiarity of the situation, we find the founder of it very gratefully commemo-

* "This circumstance," Shaw adds, "which is common to several other rivers which I have seen, and upon which occasion they are said to be *rashig*, *i. e.* to run no more, seems to be alluded to, Jer. ch. xv. v. 18; Job, ch. vi. v. 15."

rated in an inscription." * In the plains below Cassareen, there are numerous mausolea of various forms, some of them bearing long Latin inscriptions in prose or verse. The modern name of the place, Shaw supposes to be derived from these sepulchres, which appear at a distance like so many towers (*cassareen*).

Seven leagues S.S.W. of Cassareen is Ferreanah, which appears, Shaw says, to have been the largest city in Byzacium, notwithstanding that the only remains of its ancient grandeur consist of a few granite and marble pillars, which, by some extraordinary chance, have been suffered by the Arabs to retain their place upon their pedestals. "It has been exceedingly well watered; for, besides a plentiful brook that runs under the walls, there have been several wells within the city, each of them surrounded with a corridor and vaulted with cupolas. Yet this and a good air are the only benefits and conveniences that Ferreanah can urge in favour of its situation. If we except a small spot of ground towards the S., which the inhabitants cultivate by refreshing it at proper times with the rivulet, all the rest of the circumjacent country is dry, barren, and inhospitable. The prospect likewise to the westward terminates, for the most part, upon some naked precipices; or else, where the eye has liberty to wander over some broken cliff, or through some narrow, rugged valley, we are entertained with no other view than of a desert scorched

* "*Coloniæ Scillitanæ Q. Manlius Felix C. Filius Papiria receptus post alia arcum quoque cum insignibus coloniæ solita in patriam liberalitate ererit ob cujus dedicationem decurionibus sportulas curiis epulas.*"....Below this inscription is one in smaller characters, containing the date, "An. cv.," which Shaw supposes to refer to the era of the Roman conquest of Africa, and to answer to B. C. 41.

up with perpetual drought and glowing with the sunbeams." The learned Traveller gives at some length his reasons for supposing this place to be the ancient *Thala*, to which, Sallust informs us, Jugurtha fled after his defeat by Metellus. He supposes it to be also the *Telepte* of the days of Cyprian,—a frontier-town of some importance, and whose bishop held precedence in the province; as well as the *Feraditana* of the middle ages.

Capsa, another of the strong cities of Jugurtha, twelve leagues S.E. by E. of Ferreanah, retains its name in the slightly altered form of Gafsa. It is built upon a rising ground, surrounded with the same barren hills and melancholy solitudes as Ferreanah; but, in the immediate vicinity, there are plantations of palm, olive, pistachio, and other fruit-trees, which are watered by a stream formed by two fountains within the city. In the walls of the modern houses and castles, there is a confused mixture of altars, granite columns, entablatures, and other fragments. Gorbata, the ancient Orbita, is four leagues S.S.W. of Gafsa, and appears to contain no vestiges of interest. It stands upon the borders of the desert of *El Jereed* already described.

Hydrah is the most considerable place on the western side of the province, being near the Algerine frontier. It is situated in a narrow valley watered by a rivulet. Its ruins are very extensive. "We have here," Shaw says, "the walls of several houses, the pavement of a whole street entire, with a variety of altars and mausolea. A great number of the latter are very well preserved. Some lie open to the air, and are built in a hexagonal or octagonal figure, supported by four, six, or eight columns; while others are square, compact, and covered buildings, with

niches in one or other of the façades, or with wide open places like balconies upon the tops. The inscriptions are defaced either by time or by the malice of the Arabs. Upon a triumphal arch, more remarkable for its largeness than its beauty, we have an inscription (to the Emperor L. Septimius Severus), wherein not the least notice is taken, as was usual in other places, of the city, or of the people that erected it." The conjecture of the Author makes it to be the ancient *Tynidrum* or *Thunudronum*, to which, however, its present name bears no sort of resemblance.

Besides these principal sites, there are considerable heaps of ruins at numerous places, the ancient names of which are involved in uncertainty. The reader may be disposed to regard as already tedious, our dry topographical details; but he must be reminded, that these are the only memorials of an extinct population, which once found not only the *means* of subsistence, but of wealth and luxury, in this part of Roman and Christian Africa. These flourishing towns and cities must have occupied the line of a lucrative trade, the sources of which have been partly dried up, as civilization has lost ground to barbarism; but, under a civilized government, its channels might, doubtless, be again opened, and fresh access be obtained for the arts, literature, and religion of Christendom into the dark recesses of Africa.

It remains to notice some remarkable places in the Zeugitanian province, westward of Tunis.

FROM TUNIS TO BIZERTA.

ABOUT forty-five miles N.N.W. of Tunis, on the coast, is the city of Bizerta, the *Hippo Zaritensis* of the ancients. With this place, there is a regular communication from Tunis two or three times a week;

the caravans, however, are sometimes very small. After passing through the olive-grounds in the neighbourhood of Tunis, which extend in this direction seven or eight miles, the road enters on a very extensive and fertile plain. At the end of six hours, the traveller crosses the wide bed of the Mejerdah, where the banks of the river are about 60 feet apart; but, at the time that Mr. Greaves passed it (December), the sluggish stream was only 30 feet wide and 2 feet deep: it becomes rapid, however, after heavy rains, and sometimes rises very suddenly. Near the spot where he crossed it, there are remains of an ancient bridge, which had been partly rebuilt; and a sufficient number of hewn stones for its completion were lying by the side of the river, which had been dug out of the ruins of Utica; but the work had been stopped. After leaving the Mejerdah, the country continues more or less cultivated till you descend into the plain of Utica. Here the ground is low, and in a great measure overgrown with rushes. The supposed ruins of the ancient city are seen at the distance of about a mile and a half from the road.* At the ex-

* The site of this ancient city may still be regarded as doubtful. "My eyes," says Chateaubriand, in his rhetorical strain, "sought the site of Utica; but alas! the ruins of Tiberius still exist at Capri, while in vain you look for the spot occupied by Cato's house at Utica!" The spot fixed upon by Shaw as the site of this famous maritime city, is now called *Boo-shatter*; "where, besides the eminence taken notice of by Livy, we have a great variety of old walls, a large aqueduct, cisterns, and other traces of buildings of great extent and magnificence. These ruins lie about thirty-seven Roman miles from Carthage, as the distance is recorded in the Itinerary; and behind them, to the S.W., are the large fields (*magni campi*) which the Romans have made famous by their military exploits."—Shaw, 79. These ruins are, however, seven miles from the sea; and it is, therefore, necessary to suppose that the flat ground, to the breadth of three or four miles from the sea-shore, is "an acquisition to the continent," and that the

tremity of the plain, there is a line of very rugged hills, on ascending which the country assumes a less fertile aspect. A few inconsiderable piles of ruins may be observed here and there. The town of *El Alia*, situated on high ground (as the name denotes), is left at some distance on the right, and a small village is passed within about five miles of Bizerta.*

This town is situated at the head of a deep bay, on the western side of a very irregular channel, which communicates with the sea on the north, and, on the south, with an extensive lake, the *Palus Sisara* of Pliny. "We crossed the channel," says Mr. Greaves, "from the eastern side, by a stone bridge, from 15 to 20 feet wide; on the right of which is a portion of the channel which anciently formed a commodious harbour: it is now, however, too shallow to admit of the entrance of vessels. In consequence of the danger to which vessels are exposed while lying in the open roads, it is but seldom that masters of ships can be induced to proceed to this port during the winter season. The principal article of exportation is corn. Like other Turkish towns, Bizerta has a neat appearance at a distance, but is, in reality, very mean and filthy. It is surrounded with a wall, and is fortified toward the sea by two or three castles.† A chain of considerable thick-

Bagrada, which flowed to the northward of Utica, has, by shifting its channel, come to be on the southward of the ancient site. Upon the present coast, in this part, there is no eminence nor any trace of ruins.

* "A continuance of wet weather for several days, would render many parts of this road impassable. Travellers would, in such case, take their route by El Alia, by which the plain of Utica and other low grounds are avoided."

† "The town," Mr. Blaquiere says, "is poorly fortified, but is surrounded with the most beautiful country imaginable. By a strange fatality, the castle which is intended to defend the town

ness is thrown across the mouth of the channel. There are, likewise, still existing, the remains of an ancient pier, which seems to have been carried out to some distance into the roads. About 15 yards of it are still in a tolerable state of repair. Signor Manucci informed me, that the town contains about 14,000 inhabitants. I should have formed a much lower estimate, judging from its dimensions.* I found four Christian families, consisting of about 30 individuals: the whole were unfurnished with the Scriptures. The Jews are said to amount to 500; and were represented to me as being very poor. They have one synagogue and four Rabbies; of whom one is considered as their superior, two superintend the education of children, and the fourth conducts the service of the synagogue.....It had been stated to me in Tunis, that Bizerta was annually visited by nearly 200 boats, chiefly Sardinian and Sicilian, employed, during the summer months, in the coral-fishery. Signor Manucci, however, informed me, that the number has not, of late, exceeded sixty or seventy. A portion of them now resort to the island of Tabarca; with which island the Genoese have had very considerable connexions; insomuch that, at Tunis, some of the Franks are commonly called *Tabarchini*." †

Some years ago, Mr. Blaquiere states, such was the commercial importance of Bizerta, that, in 1800, there were shipped from this port for different European markets, no fewer than 130,000 quarters of wheat;

and bay, is commanded by a hill, a quarter of a mile distant, so that it cannot be considered as having any military strength; but its situation is in every respect admirable."—Blaquiere, vol. ii. p. 150.

* Mr. Blaquiere says, that the inhabitants of Bizerta, including 400 Jews, are computed at 8000, and are living in a state of the greatest poverty. This was in 1811.

† Jowett, pp. 499—502.

but, since that period, no encouragement has been given to its further exportation. In the hands of any other power, this place might become one of the greatest emporiums in the Mediterranean. By deepening the channel, ships of large burden would be enabled to enter the great lake. Close to the town, and separated from the sea only by a narrow neck of land, there is a capacious harbour, sufficient to contain any number of shipping. The present channel has, in some places, five and six fathoms water, but, owing to neglect, becomes every day more shallow.* A famous fishery is established here, which is farmed at a high rate to the highest bidder: mullet of a large size and fine flavour are the principal fish taken. The lake is seventy miles in circumference, and is surrounded with a country extremely productive. The depth of water varies from twenty to fifty fathoms. From this, a narrow channel leads into another superb piece of water that has a circumference of about sixty miles. Strange to relate, there is not a boat on either. They abound in fish of every kind; and their banks, left almost uninhabited, are only occasionally frequented by those who go for the amusement of fishing and fowling." †.

Pliny tells us, that this lake, alternately, according to the season, discharged its waters into the sea, or received a stream from it. The correctness of this

* Shaw says, that this channel must formerly have been the safest as well as the most beautiful haven of this part of Africa. "Were the Turks proper encouragers of trade and industry," he adds, "no place certainly could lay a better claim to that title than Bizerta, inasmuch as, besides fish and fruit of all kinds, it abounds with corn, pulse, oil, cotton, and a variety of other valuable productions."

† Blaquiere, vol. ii. pp. 156, 7. Mr. Greaves speaks of this lake as reaching only six or seven miles inland.

observation is confirmed by Shaw. "In the hotter seasons," he says, "nay, sometimes when the weather is calm and temperate, the same phenomenon that has been taken notice of between the Atlantic Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea, is to be observed betwixt the latter sea and this lake: what the lake loses at these times in vapour, is proportionately supplied by the sea, which then runs very briskly into the lake, to make up the equilibrium. The like happens when the winds are northerly, whereby a great quantity of water is usually accumulated upon the southern coast of these seas. But, when the winds are from the southward, whereby the water is blown away from this coast, or when any considerable rains have fallen, then the contrary happens, and the lake empties itself into the sea." The ancient name of this place is said to be taken from the lake and its channel; * and in Bizerta, we seem to have a corruption of *Diarrhytus* or *Zarito*.

The Gulf of Bizerta (*Sinus Hipponensis*) is a beautiful sandy inlet, nearly four leagues in breadth. The land at the head of it is low; but, to the eastward, a high, rocky shore reaches as far as Cape *Zibeeb*, (so called from the quantity of *zibeeb*, *i.e.*, raisins produced there,) the *Promontorium Apollinis* of the ancients.† This promontory forms the western

* Hippo, the Phenician name, Bochart says, is properly *Ubbo*, a bay or lake. *Diarrhytus* is apparently from διαῤῥυεω, and Pliny's *Aquarum Irrigua* seems a translation of the appellation.—Shaw, pp. 47, 76. The present inhabitants, we are told, derive the modern name from their own language, giving it a similar meaning. Bizerta, they affirm, is *Ben-sherta*, *i. e.*, the offspring of a canal. D'Anville says, it is written *Benzert* by the Arabian geographers.

† The eastern extremity of this Cape is remarkable for the whiteness of its cliffs, and for a high, pointed rock below it, called the *Pillau*, from its resembling in shape that favourite dish. Between this and the white promontory are some low flat islands

point (as Cape Bon, or *Ras Adar*, the *Promontorium Mercurii*, does the eastern) of the Gulf of Tunis. Four miles to the westward of Cape Zibeeb, within the cape, is Porto Farina, or, as it is called by the natives from an ancient salt-work, *Gar el Mailah*, the cave of salt: its ancient name was *Ruscinona*.* This port, especially the inner part (or *cothon*), Shaw says, is safe in all weathers, opening into the "large navigable pond" formed by the Mejerdah in its way to the sea, which he supposes to have been formerly an open creek. This pond, however, he adds, continues to be every day more and more choked up with mud and slime, while the bar, which, till of late, received vessels of the greatest burden, is now too shallow to admit one of the smallest cruizers, till it be discharged of its ballast.†

"Porto Farina," says Mr. Blaquiere, "which is forty miles from Bizerta, has long been the naval

called the Dogs (*Cani*), and anciently *Dracontia*: they ought carefully to be avoided by mariners.

* Supposed to be compounded of *Ras*, Cape, and *Annona*, corn; in which case, Porto Farina would be almost a translation of the ancient name. Thuanus supposes this to be the site of Utica. It may be said to have succeeded to it.

† Shaw, pp. 76, 7. Silius Italicus describes the character of this river with topographical accuracy (lib. vi. p. 140):

"*Turbidus arentes lento pede sulcat arenas*
BAGRADA, *non ullo Libycis in finibus amne*
Victus limosas extendere latius undas,
Et stagnante vado patulos involvere campos."

Near the sanctuary of Seedy Ammer Buktowah, "there is the ancient bed of a river, with a large mountain that ends in a precipice above it. And in travelling from this sanctuary to Gellah (two leagues east of Boo-shatter), we see the interjacent plains dispersed all over with pine-apples, trunks of trees, and other tokens of large inundations. Besides the ancient channel just mentioned, we pass over others, which, to all appearance, must have been, at one time or other, either the natural or the occasional beds of this river." The whole shore, from Carthage to

arsenal of his Highness; but, like the other ports of the Regency, it has been suffered to receive all the sand driven in by the N. E. gales, and is no longer capable of accommodating large ships. The town is remarkable only for being placed in the neighbourhood of a most luxuriant country. The Mejerdah discharges itself a few miles S. of this place. The number of inhabitants does not exceed 9000: they are supported chiefly by agricultural pursuits. A French ship-builder is established there, and continues to build small vessels for the Bey. The defences are in a very poor condition, and by no means formidable, although the town is surrounded with a wall, and has a castle, upon which there are several guns mounted. The number of soldiers kept here is seldom more than a hundred. Ships of a large burthen and men of war can anchor in five fathoms water within two miles of the harbour's mouth; they will, however, be much exposed to easterly winds: with all others, it is perfectly safe, the holding-ground being excellent."*

The western promontory of the Gulf of Bizerta is now called, from its white, chalky appearance, *Ras el Abiad* and Cape Blanco, as anciently it bore the name of *Promontorium Candidum.*† A little to the S. W. of the great lake is *Jebel Iskel*, the *Mons Cerna* of the ancients. About ten leagues further S. W., and seven from Tabarca, not far from the Algerine frontier, is the city of Bajah, identified by Shaw with the *Vacca*

Porto Farina, is very little higher than the ordinary level of the sea; and the learned Traveller expresses his opinion, that, in a few years, the Mejerdah might again shift its channel, and return towards the south. The subject well merits the careful investigation of future travellers. We must confess that Shaw's account appears by no means conclusive.

* Blaquiere, vol. ii. p. 158.

† It is also, Shaw supposes, the *Promontorium Pulchrum* of Livy, where Scipio landed in his first African expedition.

of Sallust, the *Oppidum Vagense* of Pliny, and the Βαγα of Plutarch. It still, he says, "keeps up the character that Sallust gives his Vacca, of being a town of great trade; the chief mart, indeed, of the whole kingdom, particularly for corn, from which all other commodities are estimated. In the plains of Busdera, which lie below it along the banks of the Mejerdah, there is kept every summer, a fair, frequented by the most distant Arabian tribes, who resort thither with their flocks, manufactures, and families. The present city is built upon the declivity of a hill, with the conveniency of being well-watered; and upon the highest part is the citadel, of no great strength: the walls are raised out of ancient materials."

In nearly the same parallel as Bajah, upon the banks of the Mejerdah, is the small town of Tuburbo (the *Tuburbum Minus* of the ancients), already referred to as colonized by Andalusian Moors. In the adjacent valley, a former Bey, named Mahamet, "erected out of the ruins of a neighbouring amphitheatre, a massy dam, with sluices and flood-gates, to raise the river to a convenient height for watering the plantations (of fruit-trees); but this is now entirely broken down and destroyed." Other ancient sites occur in pursuing the course of the Mejerdah;* but the only other place in the province which retains any importance, is Keff

* At Tubersoke, a small walled city on the right side of the Mejerdah, are obscure vestiges with inscriptions which identify it with *Thibursicumbure*. In nearly the same parallel, three leagues to the W., is Lorbus or Lerba, the ancient *Laribus Colonia*. About half way between these two places, is the ancient *Musti*, now called *Seedy Abdel Abbus*, where are remains of a beautiful triumphal arch; and upon a stone that probably belonged to it, Shaw found this inscription: "*Invictissimo felicissimoque imperatori Augusto Cæsari orbis pacatori.....Musticensium dd.*

(*Sicca Veneria*), situated seventy-two miles from Tunis, upon the declivity of a hill (as its name imports), with a plentiful source of water near the centre of it. It is a frontier town, and the third in the whole kingdom, Shaw says, for riches and strength.* "In the late civil wars, the greater part of the citadel was blown up, which has since been rebuilt with greater strength and beauty. In levelling an adjacent mount, to find materials for this building, they discovered an entire statue of Venus, which was no sooner found than it was broken to pieces by these *iconoclastics*. This statue may not a little authorize the appellation of *Veneria* that was attributed to Sicca. There was an equestrian statue dug up at the same time, dedicated to Marcus Antonius Rufus, which shared the same fate."†

It is singular, that of the existence of the city which may be supposed to have given its name to the Zeugitanian region, there should be no certain trace. Shaw suggests, that in Zowan (or Zagwan), where the stream has its source, which supplied the great aqueduct of Carthage, we may possibly have a corruption of Zeugis. That mountain appears to be the *Mons Zeugitanus* or *Ziguensis* of the ancients. It now takes its name

* This must be the place referred to by Mr. Blaquiere in the following description. ‡ "A large and populous town called *El Kief*, about sixty miles S. of Tabarca, and nearly the same distance from La Cala, is built in the centre of a very woody country. The timber cut down here is of a most excellent quality, and calculated for constructing the largest ships of war. Several of his Highness's subjects are continually employed in cutting and preparing it for the naval arsenal; and it is conveyed to the coast with great facility by means of the *Wad el Quibir* (the *Rubricatus* of Ptolemy), which passes near El Kief, and joins the sea at [near] Tabarca."—Blaquiere, vol. ii. p. 155.

† Shaw, pp. 92—96.

from the small flourishing town of Zowan, built upon its north-eastern extremity. Upon an ancient gate facing the S. E., there is sculptured in bas-relief, a ram's head, armed, with the word AUXILIO below it. This may, perhaps, indicate, Shaw remarks, that the ancient town was under the immediate protection of Jupiter Ammon. It is not easy, however, to conjecture, why the province should take its name from either this obscure town or from the mountain; and the derivation of Zeugitania must still remain the matter of conjecture.

To return to the coast. From Cape Blanco westward as far as Cape Serra, the northernmost point of Africa, there occurs, apparently, neither port nor ancient site. The coast line then trends to the south-west as far as Cape Negro, where the French African Company had a settlement. The high-pointed rocky island Jalta (the *Galata* of the ancients), lies a few leagues to the N. W. Near the bottom of the bay of which Cape Negro forms the eastern point, is the island of Tabarca, which, up to the close of the last century, was in possession of the Genoese.* It is described by Mr. Blaquiere as a small island, having

* "The Lomellines, a noble Genoese family, have been in possession of the little island that lies before Tabarca, ever since the time of the famous Andrea Doria, to whom the Tuniseans gave it with the solemn consent of the Grand Signor, in ransom for one of their princes, whom Andrea had taken captive. This place is defended by a small castle, well armed and in good order, and protected the coral-fishery which was carried on in these seas. But, A. D. 1740, that monster of princes, Ally' Bashaw, the reigning king of Tunis, took it by treachery from the Genoese; and, contrary to all justice and the right of nations, put some of them to the sword; and the rest, to the number of three or four hundred, he carried into captivity."—Shaw, p. 49. It would seem that the Genoese afterwards regained possession of it.

good anchorage for shipping. "From its strong military position, it is peculiarly adapted to every purpose of commercial intercourse with the coast, and at the same time afforded protection to the coral-fishery successfully established here by the Genoese; who retained possession of it till the middle of 1798, when motives of jealousy induced the Barbary powers to drive them away, together with the French Company from La Cala. The country about this bay is uncommonly fine, and generally well cultivated. At this moment (1811), there are more than two hundred French coral-boats employed: the profits arising from the fishery are immense. The duties paid to the Bey of Tunis are comparatively trifling." *

Tabarca (*Thabraca*) is properly the name of an ancient city upon the continent. The modern town has a fort to defend it, but can boast of few vestiges of antiquity. The word, according to Shaw, is of the same import with Zaine, the name of the river upon the western bank of which it stands, and which, in the language of the neighbouring *Kabyles*, signifies an oak. The sources of the river, the ancient Tusca,† are in the adjacent mountains of Tabarca, which abound with forests of oak, as well as beech and fir.

Here, having now arrived at the western confines of the kingdom of Tunis, we must close our imperfect description of this once flourishing and populous region,—so long lost to civilization and science. With regard to the total population of this kingdom, it is impossible to form any but vague conjectures. It is usually estimated, Mr. Blaquiere says, at between four

* Blaquiere, vol. ii. p. 154.

† See note at page 206 of this volume.

and five millions; "it may be much more, and perhaps even less." The number of Jews is said to exceed 100,000. In the anonymous statistical memoir given by Chateaubriand, it is stated, that "the population was calculated at four or five millions of souls, before it was thinned by the plague, which may be computed to have swept off one-eighth. The number of the Arabs exceeds that of the Moors." Since then, more than forty years have elapsed, and the population might be supposed to have increased. Balbi, indeed, in his recent Tables, assigns to the kingdom of Tunis only 1,800,000 souls; and to Tripoli, not more than 600,000. This estimate must, however, be regarded as below the truth. South of the range of mountains called *Jebel Mejerdah*, which bounds the kingdom of Tunis in that direction, there is an extensive region, called the Country of Dates, from which, Mr. Blaquiere says, the Bey derives a considerable revenue; but its limits are unknown, and the contribution is altogether obtained from the inhabitants of a few large towns. "It cannot be said," he adds, "that this country forms an integral part of his Highness's dominions, as they are governed by their own laws, and pay the tribute only to avoid greater evils."

ALGIERS.

THE modern kingdom of Algiers extends, according to Shaw, from the river Zaine (or Tusca) on the east, to Mount Trara on the west, the northern extremity of which forms Cape Hone; having the Mediterranean for its northern boundary, and the Sahara on the south. Its length, he estimates at 480 miles, while its breadth varies from 40 to 100 miles. A recent writer (Pananti) assigns to it above 600 miles of coast, with 180 miles as its extreme breadth from the sea to the *Belled ul Jereed*. The Dey's absolute dominion, however, extends only four days' journey from the capital. Beyond that distance, the country is inhabited by nomade tribes, who pay an uncertain annual tribute.

The kingdom is divided into four provinces; Mascara (or Tlemsan) to the west; Algiers; Titeri, to the south of it; and Constantina, to the east, which is conterminous with Tunis. There are three beys or viceroys, appointed by the Dey; one who resides at Oran, in the western province, another at Constantina, while the third is generally encamped, with a large military force, which is employed in keeping down the turbulent tribes of Arabs.*

The population of this extensive territory has been loosely estimated at five millions, while Balbi's Tables allow it only a million and a half. It must be owing to the barbarous and oppressive nature of the government, if this kingdom is really less populous than Tunis. According to M. Desfontaines, the territory of

* Pananti, 108; 310.—Malte Brun, vol. iv. p. 184.—Shaw, who includes Algiers in Titteric, the southern province, makes only two others; the western, which he styles the province of Tlemsan, and the eastern, that of Constantina.

Algiers, with the exception of the parts bordering on the Desert, is less sandy and more fertile than that of Tunis. He found the climate more temperate, the mountains higher and more numerous, the rains more copious, the springs and streams more frequent, and the vegetation consequently more vigorous and diversified.*

The country within the limits above described, answers to the *Numidia* and *Provincia Nova* of classic geography. It was anciently divided between two nations; the *Massyli* on the side of Africa Proper, who were the subjects of Masinissa; and the *Massæsyli* towards Mauritania, who were under the dominion of Syphax, a Getuilan prince.† By attaching himself to the Romans, Masinissa was ultimately established in the possession both of his hereditary dominions and of those of his enemy. Numidia continued to be thus united under Jugurtha and Juba; and on the conquest of the latter by Cæsar, it was reduced to a province. But Augustus having bestowed on the son of Juba a part of the kingdom of his father, the Numidian province lost that part which had taken the name of *Mauritania Cæsariensis*, and was bounded by the Ampsaga, now called *Wad el Kebir*, which falls into the sea near the *Sebba Rous* (Seven Capes), the *Tritum Promontorium* of the ancients, and the *Boujarone* of the Italian geographers. This Cape was the ancient point of separation between the two Numidias.

BONA (HIPPO REGIUS).

We shall now resume our description of the northern coast; and the first remarkable place, beginning from

* Malte Brun, vol. ii. p. 183.
† D'Anville, vol. ii. p. 204. Shaw, 45, 46.

the eastward, is Bona, the ancient *Hippona* or *Hippo Regius*, the episcopal see of the celebrated Augustine. The modern town, situated in lat. 36° 52′ N., long. 7° 45′ E., stands about a mile to the N. of the ancient city, with the ruins of which it has been built. The intermediate plain is low and marshy, and seems, Shaw says, to be an acquisition from the sea: it may, therefore, have been the haven of Hippo. "The river Boojeemah, which has a bridge of Roman workmanship built over it, runs along the western side of this marsh, as the Seibouse (*Armua*), a much larger river, does to the eastward, both of them having their influx together into the sea. Both are very subject to inundations, and bring along with them at such times, a great many roots and trunks of trees.* The ruins of the ancient city are spread over the neck of land that lies betwixt these rivers; which, near the banks, is plain and level, but rises afterwards to a moderate elevation. They are about half a league in circuit, consisting, as usual, of broken walls and cisterns; some of which were shewn by the Moors (who have an interest in keeping up such a profitable tradition) for the convent of St. Austin. This city was called *Hippo Regius*, not only in contradistinction to the *Hippo Zarytus*, but from being one of the royal cities of the Numidian kings. Silius Italicus acquaints us, that it was one of their favourite seats.† And, indeed, if a city strong and warlike, commodiously situated, as well for trade and commerce as for hunting and diversion, that enjoyed a healthful air, and took in at one view, the sea, a spacious harbour, a diversity of moun-

* The low situation of the adjacent country, and its exposure to inundations, sufficiently justify, Shaw remarks, the etymology of Hippo given by Bochart. See note at p. 268.

† "*Antiquis dilectus regibus Hippo.*" Lib. iii. v. 259.

tains loaded with trees, and plains cut through with rivers, could engage the affections of the Numidian kings, Hippo had all this to recommend it."*

Bona is called by the Moors, *Blaid el Aneb* (the Town of Jujebs), from the abundance of that fruit produced in the neighbourhood. During the middle ages, the inhabitants carried on an extensive trade in figs, calling them after their favourite saint. Besides its capacious harbour to the east, it had formerly a convenient little port to the southward under the very walls; but, owing to the constant discharge of ballast into the one, and the neglecting to cleanse the other, both of them are daily becoming less commodious and safe.† "A large quantity of corn, wool, hides, and wax, however," Shaw adds, "are every year shipped off from this place,‡ which, by proper care and encouragement, might become the most flourishing city in Barbary; as, by removing the rubbish, repairing the old ruins, and introducing a supply of fresh water, which is much wanted, it would be one of the most convenient and delightful." Its principal defence consists

* Shaw, 47.—Hippo sustained a siege of fourteen months from the Vandals, before it was evacuated by the besieged under the pressure of famine. Augustine, the "light and pillar of the Catholic Church, was gently released, in the third month of the siege and in the seventy-sixth of his age, from the actual and the impending calamities of his country." "The old Hippo Regius was finally destroyed by the Arabs in the seventh century; but a new town, at the distance of two miles, was built with the materials: and it contained, in the sixteenth century, about 300 families of industrious but turbulent manufacturers."—Gibbon, c. 33.

† "The river Seibouse is choked up at its entrance with sand, and is consequently not capable of admitting large vessels."—Pananti, p. 62.

‡ In the course of one year, during the time that the French African Company was there, there were exported from Bona, 10,000 quintals of wool, 5000 ditto of wax, 50,000 bullocks' hides, and 100,000 bushels of corn (Winchester measure).—Blaquiere, vol. ii. p. 142.

of a strong fort, which commands the town, and the conquest of which, together with that of Bona itself, formed a memorable event in the enterprising days of Florentine history. The French had once a settlement here, which carried on a considerable trade, but they ceded it to the English in 1805.

LA CALA.

THE spacious bay at the head of which Bona is situated, has for its western promontory, *Ras el Hamrah* (Red Cape), the *Hippi Promontorium* of the ancients; and for the eastern, Cape Rosa. To the east of Bona, it receives the river *Mafrag*, which, according to Shaw, is the *Rubricatus* of ancient geography.* After doubling Cape Rosa (five leagues N. E. of the *Mafrag*), there is a small creek, called, from a ruined fort, the Bastion. The French African Company had formerly their factory at this place; but the unwholesomeness of the situation, occasioned by the neighbouring ponds and marshes, obliged them to remove to *La Calle*, another inlet three leagues further to the east. Here, they had a magnificent house and garden, 300 coral-fishers, a company of soldiers, several pieces of ordnance, and a place of arms. They had also, at Bona, Tuckush, Sgigata, and Cull, the monopoly of corn, wool, hides, and wax; for which, Shaw says, they paid yearly to the Government of Algiers, the *Kaide* of Bona, and the chiefs of the neighbouring Arabs, the inconsiderable sum of 30,000 dollars. Of this once flourishing factory, which bade fair, apparently, to be the germ of a French Africa, the following more particular account is given by Mr. Blaquiere.

"There is a small creek called *La Cala de Francia*, a few leagues to the westward of Cape Roux, and in

* D'Anville makes the Rubricatus fall into the sea near Tabarca. Thuanus conducts it to the Gulf of Carthage!

the immediate vicinity of the coral banks. The town of La Cala stands on a peninsula of spongy rock, ten leagues to the eastward of Bona, N. W. and S. E. by compass. The harbour opens to the N. W., and is about fifty fathoms wide, with rocks on each side: its length is 150 fathoms, terminating in a sandy beach of 100 fathoms. The town is walled round, and has three gates, two of which communicate with the country, and the other with the quay. The main street, which is well paved, divides the peninsula longitudinally, and is about 60 feet wide. The buildings on each side consist of a church, a Governor's house, various private buildings, large magazines, and several granaries, a cattle-mill, guard-house, barracks, cisterns, &c. Most of the houses are two, and some three stories high, substantially built of stone, and covered with tiles of European manufacture. The quay is in a dilapidated condition, and the bastion to the northward is in ruins. There is plenty of room for additional fortifications. The new part of the town is in a ruinous state; yet, the whole may be made habitable at a moderate expense. At the bottom of the harbour, there are several detached buildings; among the rest, a mosque and burying-ground, a lazaretto, an excellent wall in good repair, and two gardens with a well on each side of them. The whole of these are encompassed with a good wall. On an eminence to the westward, there is a windmill, which serves as an excellent land-mark. The adjacent country consists of hill and dale, rocky and forest land; the soil near the settlement is light and sandy; the gardens are planted with orange and lemon-trees and vines.....Besides grain and pulse, this country is capable of producing hemp and flax of a superior quality,

and in any quantity, by proving to the Arabs that it would be their interest to cultivate them. But the most important object appears to be ship-timber. The forests commence near La Cala, and extend eastward along the sides of the mountains which divide Algiers and Tunis, and westward along the extensive plains towards Bona. This timber, I have been assured, is superior to English oak. The roads made by the French for its conveyance to La Cala, might be easily repaired. This place, during the time that France possessed it, was usually garrisoned by 500 men."*

La Cala was the chief source of the numerous advantages enjoyed, during more than 150 years, by the French African Company. Since their expulsion, the great importance of this place, in both a commercial and a political point of view, has not been wholly overlooked by the British Government, although it does not appear that any great advantage has accrued from its being in our nominal possession. In 1806, the British Government contracted with the Dey of Algiers for the possession of La Cala, Bona, and Cool, stipulating to pay the annual sum of 50,000 dollars for the same.† It was supposed that the coral-fishery alone would reimburse the Government for a great portion, if not the whole, of this annual payment. "Singular, however," adds Mr. Blaquiere, "as the fact may appear, we have continued to pay the money without having reaped the smallest benefit, either from the fishery or the place itself: on the contrary, several hundred French and Neapolitan coral-boats have been incessantly

* Blaquiere, vol. ii. p. 139—142.

† The violation of this contract by the Dey in 1816, by the massacre of a number of fishermen at Bona, led to the bombardment of Algiers. His Highness subsequently expressed a wish to retain these places in his own hands.

employed on the banks of Tabarca, as well as La Cala, and with the greatest success." * As a military position, it is added, this place possesses every advantage, as the heights in its immediate vicinity might be rendered impregnable; and an abundant supply of water and a most salubrious climate may be added to the list of its other recommendations.

CONSTANTINA.

"ABOUT thirty leagues south of Bona," (according to Mr. Blaquiere, but Shaw assigns it a very different position, more than a degree further west,†) is Constantina, the chief city in the eastern province, and the *Cirta* of antiquity. It is built on a high hill, which, properly fortified, might be made a strong military post; in the midst of a very rich country, covered with ancient ruins. "You enter the city towards the north, over a stupendous Roman bridge, having three rows of lofty arches; and when inside the town, are every where struck with remains of its former splendour. Granite pillars, broken friezes, pedestals, and innumerable Greek, Latin, and Punic inscriptions are frequently met with. The river which passes the town is, during winter, both deep and rapid." Its population, consisting chiefly of Turks, Moors, and Jews, is said to amount to 30,000

* A company, Mr. Blaquiere says, was formed at Malta, during the administration of Sir A. Ball, to carry on this trade; it being expected that a British force would occupy and fortify La Cala: but, from causes unknown to the Writer, the latter part of the scheme was not put in execution, and the project failed.

† The Gazetteers place it in longitude 6° 24′, latitude 36° 25′; which nearly correspond to Shaw's map. According to Pliny, Cirta was forty-eight miles from the sea; and if its river be the Ampsaga, it must stand not far from the frontier of the ancient *Mauritania Cæsariensis*.

inhabitants.* Shaw's account of the place is as follows.

"We learn from history, that Cirta† was one of the chiefest, as well as one of the strongest cities of Numidia. The first circumstance is confirmed by the extent of the ruins; the latter, by its particular situation, for the greater part of it has been built upon a peninsular promontory, inaccessible on all sides except towards the S.W., where it was joined to the continent. This promontory, I computed to be a good mile in circuit, lying a little inclined to the southward: to the northward, it ends in a precipice of at least 100 fathoms in perpendicular, whence we have a beautiful landscape over a great variety of vales, mountains, and rivers. To the eastward, our prospect is bounded by an adjacent range of rocks much higher than the city; but, towards the S.E., the country is more open, entertaining us with a distant view of the mountains of Seedy Rougeise and Ziganeah. And in these directions, the peninsular promontory is separated from the continent by a deep, narrow valley, perpendicular on both sides, where the Rummel or Ampsaga conveys its stream. The neck of land to the S.W., where we find the principal gate of the city, is about the breadth of half a furlong, being entirely covered with broken walls, cisterns, and other ruins, which are continued quite down to the river, and carried on thence over a strip of plain that runs parallel with the deep, narrow valley. Such were the situation and extent of the ancient Cirta; but the present city is confined to the peninsular promontory.

* In Malte Brun, it is said to contain nearly 100,000 souls.

† Cirta, *s.* Cirtha; *Punice*, Cartha, *i.e.*, Civitas. Bochart. Called also *Cirta Sittianorum*, from the *Sittiani*.

"Besides the general traces of a diversity of ruins scattered all over this place, we have still remaining, near the centre of the city, those capacious cisterns which received the water brought from Physgeah * by an aqueduct; a great part of which still remains, and is very sumptuous. The cisterns, about twenty in number, make an area of fifty yards square. The gate I have mentioned, is of a beautiful reddish stone, not inferior to marble well polished: the side pillars are neatly moulded in pannels. An altar of pure white marble makes part of a neighbouring wall: the side of it in view presents a well-shaped *simpulum* (chalice) in bold relief. The gate towards the S.E. is in the same fashion and design, though much smaller, and lies open to a bridge that was built over this part of the valley. This, indeed, was a master-piece in its kind; the gallery and the columns of the arches being adorned with cornices and festoons, ox-heads and garlands. The key-stones, likewise, of the arches, are charged with *caducei* and other figures. Below the gallery, between the two principal arches, we see, well-executed in bold relief, the figure of a lady treading upon two elephants, with a large escalop-shell for a canopy.† Below the bridge, the Rummel turns to the northward, where it runs nearly a quarter of a mile through a rocky subterraneous passage, laid open in several places for the conveniency of drawing up the water and cleansing the channel. This, according to all appearance, seems to be an extraordinary provision

* Physgeah, formerly a Roman city, is situated at the foot of Ziganeah, a high mountain east of Constantina, towards *Jebel Aures*; "where there is a plentiful fountain and reservoir, according to the import of the name."

† Shaw was no artist, and his representation of this "groupe" does not altogether correspond to the text; but the design appears to be gross and vulgar,—any thing but classical.

of nature for the admission of the river, which must otherwise have formed a most extensive lake, and thereby laid a great part of the neighbouring country under water, before it could have found its way to the sea. Among the ruins to the S.W. of the bridge, upon the narrow strip of land above described, we have the greatest part of a triumphal arch, called *Cassir Goulah* (the castle of the giant), consisting of three arches; the middlemost, as usual, the most spacious. All the mouldings and friezes are curiously embellished with the figures of flowers, battle-axes, and other ornaments. The Corinthian pilasters on each side of the grand arch, are panneled, like the gates of the city, in a style peculiar to Cirta.

"Without the precincts of the city, under the great precipice, are some sepulchral inscriptions.*.....A quarter of a mile eastward of Seedy Meemon, the Rummel falls from its subterraneous channel in a large cascade. The highest part of the city, with the magnificent portico already noticed, lies above it, whence criminals continue to be precipitated into the river, as they used to be in former times. A little beyond the cascade is *Kabat-beer-a-haal*, as they call a neat transparent fountain, full of tortoises.

"Five leagues (or, according to the Itinerary, twenty-five miles) to the N.W. of Constantina, is the city Meelah, the *Milevum* or *Mileu* of the ancients, built in the centre of a beautiful interchange of valleys and mountains. It is surrounded with gardens, and plentifully stocked with fountains; one of which, bubbling up in the centre of the city, is immediately

* Two are given by the Author. One is upon a *cippus*, with the figure of a loaded beeve in bas-relief above it, and a crab below it: it forms one of the steps leading to the tepid springs of *Seedy Meemon*, so called from the tomb of a Maraboot.

received into a large square basin of Roman workmanship. Constantina is supplied chiefly from this place with herbs and fruit: the pomegranates particularly are of so large a size, and have so delicate a mixture of the tart and the sweet, that they are in great esteem all over the kingdom.

"In travelling from Constantina to the eastward, passing by Alleegah and Announah, (at each of which places there are large heaps of ruins,) we come to the *Hamam Meskoutcen*, (the silent or inchanted baths,) situated on a low ground surrounded with mountains. There are several fountains that furnish the water, which is of an intense heat, and falls afterwards into the river Zenati. At a small distance from these hot fountains, are others of as intense a coldness; and a little below them, somewhat nearer the banks of the Zenati, are the ruins of a few houses, built perhaps for the conveniency of such persons as came thither for the benefit of the waters. All this country, from Constantina to the Zenati, is a fruitful interchange of hills and valleys, diversified with forests and olive-grounds.

"The district of the Bookalwan (with the *Aquæ Tibilitanæ*, called at present only *Hamam*, the Baths) lies to the eastward of the *Hamàm Meskouteen*, on the north side of the river Seibouse. On the other side is the district of Mownah, the possession of the *Beni Sala*, a warlike tribe, with the ruins of Gelma or Kalma (as the Turks pronounce it), the *Calama* of the old geography. Behind Mownah is Tiffesh; the *Theveste*, *Thebes*, *Thebæ*, or *Thebestis* of the ancients. This is the only city in the district of the *Henneishah**

* The Henneishah, Shaw describes as "not only a powerful and warlike, but a genteel and comely tribe." Their country is "full of ruins."

which has preserved its old name, though it could not secure its walls from the devastations of the Arabs. It has been situated, like the rest, in a fine plain, with a little rivulet running by it, and lies about nineteen leagues E.S.E. of Constantina. This district, the most fruitful, as well as the most extensive of Numidia, lies between the rivers Hameese and Myskianah; the latter, the most southern, the former the most northern branch of the Mejerdah. There is scarcely an acre of it but what is watered by some choice fountain or rivulet.*

"To the southward of the *Henneishah*, near the banks of the Melagge, is Tipsa or Tibessa, the *Tipasa* of the ancients, a frontier city and garrison of the Algerines. This place, which enjoys a fine situation, still preserves the principal gate, several fragments of old walls, and other marks of the rank it formerly obtained among the cities of Numidia. There is a large subterraneous quarry in the adjacent mountains; the same place, perhaps, that Leo was informed had been formerly inhabited by giants.....Ten leagues from Tiffesh, near the western banks of the Serratt (or Melagge), is *Collah* or *Gellah ad Snaan*, a considerable village, built upon a high, pointed mountain, with only one narrow road leading up to it. This place, which is to be conquered only by hunger or surprise, is a convenient sanctuary for the rebels and villains both of this and the neighbouring kingdom, where they are hospitably entertained, till their friends have either procured their pardon or compounded for their crimes." †

* We have had occasion already to refer to this account of the course of the Mejerdah and the territories it waters.—See note at p. 205.

† Shaw, pp. 60—65.

From this account of the eastern part of the province, it would appear, that the ridge of mountains which terminates in the promontory of *Sebba Rouse*, divides the head-waters of the Seibouse and the Mejerdah, flowing eastward, from those which contribute to swell the Ampsaga. *Jebbel Auress* (*Mons Audus* or *Aurasius*) would seem to be, in fact, the nucleus of a chain of mountains which diverge from a common centre, sending their waters in all directions. The mountainous tract to which that name is given, is supposed by Shaw to be 120 miles in circuit; and its rugged fastnesses are in the possession of a number of highland clans, whom it requires a considerable force to bring under contribution.* Into some of its recesses, the Turkish soldiers have rarely the courage to penetrate. The Tipsara range (*Mons Mampsarus*), which stretches far into the kingdom of Tunis, towards Suffetula, supplies the most distant sources of the Mejerdah. A second ridge of lower hills, in the Henneishah district, probably separates the valley of the Mellagge from the more northern branch of the Mejerdah; while, from the southern

* "The Kabyles of these mountains of Auress," Shaw says, "have a quite different mien and aspect from their neighbours. Their complexions are so far from being swarthy, that they are fair and ruddy; and their hair, which, among the other Kabyles, is of a dark colour, is, with thme, of a deep yellow. These circumstances, notwithstanding they are Mahometans and speak the common language of the Kabyles, may induce us to take them, if not for the tribe mentioned by Procopius, yet at least for some remnant or other of the Vandals."—Shaw, p. 59. Malte Brun appears to have overlooked this passage in Shaw, referring only to the authority of the "romantic traveller, Mr. Bruce," who says, he met with a tribe in the mountains of Auress, distinguished by a white complexion and red hair, who mark their foreheads with a Greek cross.

declivity of a third and lower ridge must descend the streams which, by a shorter and more direct course, discharge themselves into the Gulf of Bona and that of Stora. The latter, the *Sinus Numidicus* of the ancients, lies between *Ras Hadeed* (the Iron Cape) on the east, and the Seven Capes on the west: within its bays are the maritime towns of Sgigata (*Rusicata* or *Stora*) and Cull (*Collops Magnus*). The inhabitants of its inhospitable coasts are troglodytes, who bear a very indifferent character: their savage treatment of any vessels driven on their shores, too closely resembles that which has not long ceased to be practised on some parts of our own coast, by the desperate gangs called *wreckers*. These clans, Shaw says, set the Algerine Government at defiance.

The streams which flow down the south-western declivities of the *Jebbel Auress* and the mountains to the westward, discharge themselves into an extensive salt lake or marshy plain, called the *Shott*, which appears to resemble in its general character the *Palus Tritonis* in the kingdom of Tunis. No fewer than five considerable streams, Shaw states, empty themselves into this basin, which, according to the season, is either covered with salt or overflowed with water. To the south-eastward of the Shott, is the district of Zaab (*Zabe*), a narrow tract of land lying under the mountains, and watered by the rivulets which form the *Wed al Jiddee* (or river of the kid). This river (which Shaw identifies with the *Gir* of Ptolemy and the *Gurrar* or *Jirad* of Abulfeda), flowing to the S.E., loses itself in another salt lake of the Sahara, called the *Mel-jig*. The district of Zaab is full of villages; the inhabitants of which, the descendants of the ancient Getulians, yield a very doubtful obedience

to the Algerines.* To the south-west of the *Mel-jig*, there is a collection of villages called the *Wad-reag*, built in a plain without any river running by it: it might seem to deserve the name of an oasis, except that there are, properly speaking, neither fountains nor rivulets. In order to obtain water, the natives dig through different layers of sand and gravel, till, at a depth of from 100 to 200 fathoms, they reach a *stratum* of slaty stone, which is known to lie immediately above what they call the *bahar tâht el erd* (the river under ground). This is easily broken through, and the flow of water which follows the stroke is so sudden and copious, that the person let down into the well, though drawn up with the greatest dexterity, has sometimes been overtaken by it and drowned.† About thirty leagues S.W. of this district is "the noted and populous city of Wurglah, the most distant community on this side the Niger."

The Roman masonry, Shaw says, may be traced out all over this province, and a number of ruins are spread over all the mountains and their fruitful valleys. The most remarkable of these are found at Tezzoute or L'erba, the ancient *Lambesa*. The ruins occupy an area nearly three leagues in circumference. "Besides the magnificent remains of several of the city gates, (which, according to the tradition of the Arabs, were forty in all,) we have the seats and upper part of an amphitheatre; the front of a beauti-

* "The eating the flesh of dogs, for which the Carthaginians were formerly remarkable, continues in practice to this day among the inhabitants of the Zaab."—Shaw, p. 67. They are probably Berbers. Malte Brun states, that they are called *Biscaris*; but, according to Shaw, Biscara is the name of the capital of Zaab, where there is a Turkish garrison.

† Shaw, p. 67. Of this nature, the learned Traveller remarks, might be the well described Numb. ch. xxi. v. 17.

ful Ionic temple dedicated to Esculapius; a large oblong chamber with a great gate on each side of it, intended, perhaps, for a triumphal arch; and the *Kubbe 'l Arrosah* (cupola of the bride), as the Arabs call a little beautiful mausoleum, built in the fashion of a dome supported with Corinthian pillars. These and several other edifices of the like elegant structure, sufficiently demonstrate the importance and magnificence of this city."

The part of the province which lies to the eastward of the meridian of Constantina, is for the most part filled with rugged mountains in the possession of independent clans. "Mount Atlas," says Shaw, "which, quite through the province of Titterie, as far as Mount Jurjura, runs nearly parallel with the coast, thence begins to incline towards the S.E.*..... A few

* The chain of Jurjura (*Mons Ferratus*), according to Shaw the highest in Barbary, is about twenty-two miles long from N.E. to S.W. The chains of Wannoogah and Auress are said to form the continuation of it towards the east. "If we except a pool of good water, bordered round with arable ground, that lies near the middle of it, the whole, from one end to the other, is a continued range of naked rocks and precipices." According to an authority cited by Malte Brun, the snow does not disappear from the summits of Jurjura and Felizia till May, and covers them again before the end of September. Malte Brun, vol. iv. pp. 154, 183. Shaw, p. 36. The *Jebbel Auress* would seem, however, to be of a very different geological character, and probably of much inferior elevation, since Shaw states, that "both the higher and the lower parts of it are most of them of the utmost fertility, and still continue to be the garden of the province." We are, indeed, disposed to question the accuracy of the statement which makes this mountain in any respect a continuation of Jurjura. Shaw's geographical statements are extremely vague and confused; and yet, he is almost our only modern authority. Desfontaines, a learned French botanist, who explored great part of Mount Atlas, considers it as divided into two leading chains; the southern one, adjoining the Sahara, which he calls the Great Atlas, and the smaller chain, bordering on the Mediterranean. Both run E. and W., and are

leagues to the S.E. of Mount Jurjura, among the mountains of the *Beni Abbess*, we pass through a narrow, winding valley, continued for above half a mile under two opposite ranges of exceedingly high precipices. At every winding, the rocky *stratum* that originally went across it, and thereby separated one part of this valley from another, is hewn down like so many door-cases, each of them six or seven feet wide, which have given the Arabs occasion to call them the *Beban* or *gates*; while the Turks know them by the appellation of *Dammer Cappy*, *i. e.* the gates of iron. Few persons pass through them without horror; a handful of men (and the masters of them are a race of sturdy fellows) being able to dispute the passage with a whole army. A rivulet of salt water, which attends us all along this valley, might first point out the way that art and necessity would afterwards improve. Two leagues to the S.S.E. of the *Beban* is the *Accaba*, or ascent, another dangerous pass. Here, as in the noted Mount Cenis, the road lies upon the narrow ridge of a high mountain, with deep valleys and precipices on each side, where the least deviation from the beaten path exposes the traveller to the almost inevitable danger of his life. Yet, notwithstanding all these difficulties, the common road from Algiers to Constantina lies over this ridge and through the *Beban*; being preferred to another a little on the right hand, by being wider, and to the route over the mountain of Wannougah, in being more direct."

The road to Constantina, after passing the *Accaba*, lies over the extensive and fertile plains of Majanah,

connected by several intermediate mountains running N. and S. This is a description far from satisfactory; especially as the *Wanashreese* is believed to form a third chain between the maritime one and that of the Interior, and probably the highest.

to the east of the Wannougah mountains, to Seteef *(Sitipha)*, the metropolis of this part of Mauritania, which is recorded to have made a stout resistance against the incursions of the Saracens. Few vestiges of antiquity are left. A little to the south of Seteef are the rich pastures of *Cassir Attyre*, belonging to the *Raigah*, an Arab clan famous for rearing the best breed of horses in the kingdom. The Boosellam, the river of Seteef, according to Shaw, ultimately joins the waters of the Jurjura, which discharge into the Gulf of Boojeiah. These plains, therefore, would seem to be a high table-land between the ridges which severally give rise to the head-streams of the Ampsaga and the river of Boujeiah.

Boujeiah (commonly written Bugia) is a garrisoned town and a place of some trade. Great quantities of oil and wax are brought down to this place by the neighbouring *Kabyles*, where they are shipped for the Levant. The inhabitants also manufacture ploughshares, mattocks, and other utensils of the iron obtained from the adjacent mountains. The port of Boujeiah (called by Strabo the port of *Sarda*, or rather *Salda)* is much larger than that of either Oran or Arzew. It is formed, however, in the same manner, by a neck of land running out into the sea, a great part of which was formerly faced with hewn stone; over this an aqueduct was conducted, for the supply of the port with water. The wall, the aqueduct, and the reservoirs are now all destroyed, and the tomb of Sidi Busgree, " one of the tutelar saints of Boujeiah," is the only remarkable object. The town stands amid the ruins of a very extensive city. Besides the citadel upon the summit of a hill commanding the town, there are two castles below for the security of the port. Several breaches still remain in the walls,

which were made by the cannon-balls fired against them by Sir Edward Spraggs, in his memorable expedition against this place in the year 1671. The line of coast from Boojeiah to the mouth of the Booberak, the western boundary of the province, is very high and rocky; which is indeed the general character of the whole coast.

The province of Constantina originally belonged to Tunis, but was wrested from that power by the Algerines. It is, according to Shaw, upwards of 230 miles in length and 100 in breadth, and forms by far the most fertile, as well as the largest province of the Algerine territory. Its Bey, though nominated by the Dey, is, within the limits of his own jurisdiction, almost despotic, and may be regarded as a tributary prince, rather than a dependent. He can bring, Mr. Blaquiere says, nearly 20,000 men into the field, half of them cavalry; and he pays an annual tribute of 200,000 dollars, about 30,500*l.* sterling.*

The province of Titteri,† bounded, according to Shaw, eastward by the Booberak, and westward by the Masaffran, is much inferior to the eastern province in extent as well as in fertility; being, exclu-

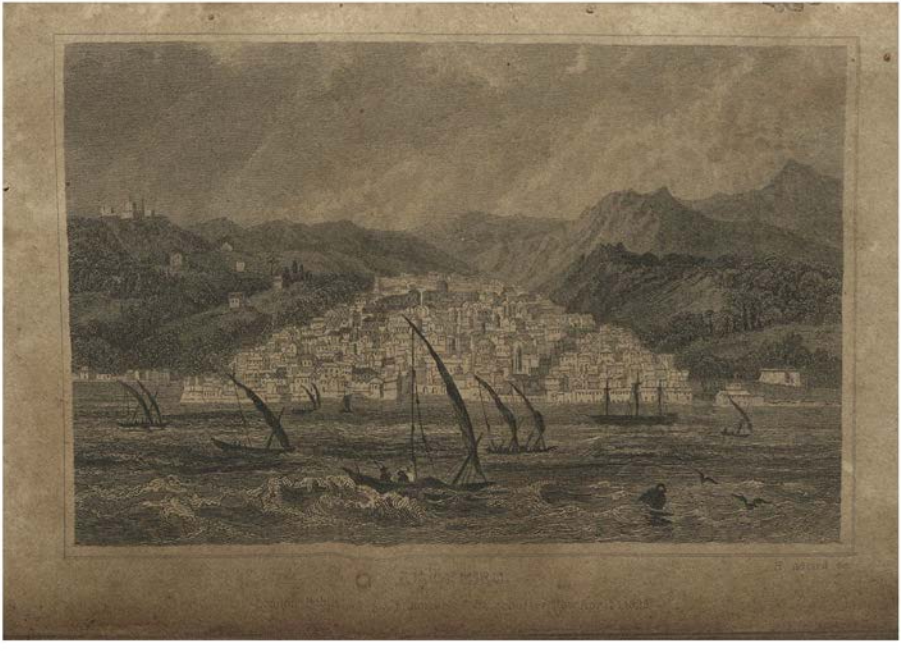
* Blaquiere, vol. ii. p. 143.—Shaw says: "While the Titterie bey brings every year into the treasury of Algiers little more than 12,000 dollars, and the Tlemsan bey, from 40,000 to 50,000; the viceroy of Constantina pays in never less than 80,000, and sometimes 100,000."

† *Tityrus*, according to the ancient critics, signified, in the Libyan language, a goat. "But the people of this district informed me," says Shaw, "that Titterie, or Itterie, was one of their words for cold or bleak; a circumstance, indeed, which, in the nights and mornings especially, I often experienced to be very applicable to this region, and so far it may well justify the etymology." The district of Titterie, properly so called, lies in the immediate neighbourhood of the *Hadjar Titterie*, or, as the Turks call it, *Titterie Dosh*; a remarkable ridge of precipices, four leagues in length.

sive of the Sahara, scarcely sixty miles in either length or breadth. In this tract, he includes the territory of Algiers, which other authorities make to be a separate province. The coast, to the breadth of five or six leagues, is for the most part a rich champaign country, bounded by a range of very rugged mountains running in a line almost directly parallel with the coast. Behind them, in the neighbourhood of Mehdea, Titeri Dosh, and Hamza, there are other extensive plains; but they are not equal in extent to those of the *Mettijiah* or plain of Algiers.

CITY OF ALGIERS.

THE capital which gives its name to the kingdom, is situated nearly opposite to Minorca, 380 miles W. of Tunis, in lat. 36° 42′, long. 3° 30′. It is built on the declivity of a hill facing the N. and N.E., rising from the sea-shore in the form of an amphitheatre, at the extremity of a fortified anchoring-ground, which, however, is not safe in a north wind. "The port itself," Shaw says, "is of an oblong figure, 130 fathoms long and 80 broad. The eastern mound of it, which was formerly the island that gave name to the city, is well secured by several fortifications. The Round Castle, built by the Spaniards while they were masters of the island, and the two remote batteries erected within this century, are said to be bomb-proof; and have each of them their lower embrasures mounted with thirty-six pounders. But the middle battery, which appears to be the oldest, is of the least defence. Yet, none of these fortifications are assisted with either mines or advanced works; and as the soldiers who are to guard and defend them cannot be kept up to any regular course of duty and attendance, a few resolute



battalions, protected by a small squadron of ships, would find little difficulty to take them.....The walls (of the city) are weak and of little defence, unless where they are further secured (which is chiefly at the gates) by some additional fortification. The *Cassaubah* or citadel, built upon the highest part of the city towards the S.W., is of an octagonal figure: each of the sides in view has port-holes or embrasures defended with cannon. A ditch formerly surrounded the whole city to the landward, which at present is almost entirely filled up, except at the western and southern gates, called *Bab el Wed* (gate of the river) and *Bab Azoona*, where it is still of little consequence or defence. But, towards the sea, it is better fortified, and capable of making a more strenuous defence; for the embrasures, in this direction, are all employed; the guns are of brass, and their carriages are in good order. The battery of the Mole Gate, upon the east angle of the city, is mounted with several long pieces of ordnance, one of which has seven cylinders, each of them three inches in diameter. Half a furlong to the W.S.W. of the harbour is the battery of Fisher's Gate (or the sea-gate), which consisting of a double row of cannon, commands the entrance into the port and the road before it." *

* Shaw, p. 33. The following description of the state of the fortifications, at the time of the bombardment of Algiers by the British, is given by Mr. Salamé. "On the north side, about a mile from the town, there is a small castle, and several batteries, one after another; and the last is joined to the wall of the city. From this north side, they do not fear any thing, because there is not water enough for anchorage, nor for landing. From this wall to the mole, there are several batteries more, because the mole is situated in the middle of the third part of the city, which is on the sea side. On the north head of the mole, there is a semi-circular battery of two tiers of forty-four guns, called the Lion's battery, the guns of which bear on the north, on the east, and on the south.

Such is Dr. Shaw's description of a place which had for ages braved the greatest powers of Christendom, when, in the year 1816, a British fleet under Lord Exmouth, effected the total destruction of both the Algerine fleet and the batteries which protected the harbour, compelling the humbled Dey to submit to the treaty imposed upon him. Of this memorable expedition, we have an interesting narrative, drawn up by the Interpreter who attended the British Admiral, an Alexandrian Christian. The extent to which the *white* slave-trade was carried on by the Algerines, had long reflected deep disgrace upon the European powers, who had tamely suffered so atrocious a system of piracy to be persisted in by a petty barbarian state, without making any united or earnest effort to put it down. At length, the Government of this country interposed, and Admiral Lord Exmouth

After this is another round one of three tiers, and of forty-eight guns, in the middle of which there is built a tower or light-house; and they call it the Light-house battery. This is supported by another, a long one, still more strong, of three tiers containing sixty-six guns, and called the Eastern battery. This is flanked by four others, of two tiers, one joined to the other, which contain sixty guns directed towards the S.E. and the S. On the south head of the mole, there are two large sixty-eight pounders, I believe of 20 feet long. (One of these, in the subsequent engagement, was thrown with its carriage into the sea, and the other was knocked off its carriage by a shot in its mouth.) Almost opposite, there are, on the city side, two small batteries of four guns each; but these are followed by a strong battery of twenty guns and a very ancient building, situated upon two large arches, through which they pass to the fish-market; and they call it the Fish-market battery. From this to the south wall of the city, there are two batteries more; and from that to a distance of about a mile and a half S., there are several other batteries and a large castle. These are their fortifications on the sea-side; but the rest of the works round the walls of the city, and the two castles situated upon the hills, were too far for me to observe them well: they say that the whole of their fortifications mounted 1500 guns."—Salamé, pp. 30—34.

was sent out to open, if possible, an amicable negotiation with the Barbary States upon the subject. The appearance of the British fleet alarmed the Dey; he consented to put an end to all piracy, and 1792 Christian slaves were released from their chains. But it could hardly be expected, that a treaty so imposed would be long observed by a sovereign and people characteristically faithless. The Dey soon evinced how little he felt bound by the engagements into which he had unwillingly entered, by the massacre of a number of defenceless Christians who had come from the opposite coasts of Europe to the coral-fishery at Bona. These persons being under the immediate protection of Great Britain, it was of course impossible to pass over the outrage; and a larger fleet was immediately prepared, with which Lord Exmouth appeared a second time before Algiers. A flag of truce was in the first instance sent in, bearing letters for the Dey from the British Admiral, containing in substance the same demands which were afterwards acceded to by him; * and it was intimated, that an answer must be returned within two or three hours... In the meantime, a breeze springing up, the fleet advanced into the bay, and lay to at about a mile off Algiers. The Admiral's ship (the Queen Charlotte) passed through all the enemy's batteries without firing a gun, and, to the utter astonishment of the natives, took up a position within 100 yards from the mole head-

* These were, the abolition of Christian slavery; the delivery of all Christian slaves in the kingdom of Algiers; the restoration of all the money that had been paid for the redemption of slaves by their Majesties the King of the Two Sicilies and the King of Sardinia; peace with his Majesty the King of the Netherlands; and the immediate liberation of the British Consul and the two boats' crews of his Majesty's ship Prometheus who had been put in chains by the Dey, on hearing of the British expedition.

batteries; upon which, says Mr. Salamé, "we gave them three cheers. The batteries as well as the walls being crowded with troops, they jumped upon the top of the parapets to look at us; for our broadside was higher than their batteries; and they were quite surprised to see a three-decker, with the rest of the fleet, so close to them. From what I observed of the Captain of the Port's manner, and of their confusion inside of the mole, (though they were making great preparations,) I am quite sure that even themselves were not aware of what they were about, nor of what we meant to do; because, according to their judgement, they thought that we should be terrified by their fortifications, and not advance so rapidly and closely to the attack. In proof of this, I must observe, that, at this point, their guns were not even loaded; and they began to load them after the Queen Charlotte and almost all the fleet had passed their batteries. At a few minutes before three, the Algerines, from the Eastern battery, fired the first shot at the Impregnable, which, with the Superb and the Albion, was astern of the other ships, to prevent them from coming in. Then, Lord Exmouth, having seen only the smoke of the gun, before the sound reached him, said, with great alacrity, 'That will do; fire, my fine fellows.' And I am sure that before his Lordship had finished these words, our broadside was given with great cheering, and at the same time, the other ships did the same. The first fire was so terrible that, they say, more than five hundred persons were killed and wounded by it. And I believe this, because there was a great crowd of people in every part, many of whom, after the first discharge, I saw running away, like dogs, walking upon their hands and feet." For five hours, the Algerines fought ex-

tremely well, but they then began to slacken their firing. "At eleven P.M., his Lordship, having observed the destruction of the whole Algerine navy, and the strongest parts of their batteries with the city, made signal to the fleet to move out of the line of the batteries; and thus, with a favourable breeze, we cut our cables, as did the whole of the squadron, and made sail, when our firing ceased, at about half-past eleven. At this time, their navy, with the storehouses within the mole, was burning very rapidly. The blaze illuminated all the bay and the town with the environs; the view of which was really most awful and beautiful; nine frigates and a great number of gun-boats, with other vessels, being all in flames, and carried by the wind to different directions in the bay." *

On the next morning, Lord Exmouth sent another letter to the Dey, renewing the offer of the terms of peace originally proposed. In a short time, a signal gun announced that they were acceded to; and in the negotiation which ensued with the Dey in person, the humbled barbarian made every concession that was demanded of him. By virtue of the new treaty (dated 28th Aug. 1811), 1211 slaves were released, in addition to the 1792 liberated by Lord Exmouth in his previous visit to the coast of Barbary; forming a total

* Salamé, pp. 37—51. The British loss sufficiently attests the desperate nature of the struggle; amounting to 160 killed and 692 wounded, besides 13 killed and 52 wounded in the Dutch squadron: total, 917. It is calculated, that nearly 118 tons of powder and more than 500 tons of shot were expended by the two squadrons in the nine hours that the attack lasted. The loss of the Algerines can only be conjectured, the reports varying from 4000 to 8000. It would have been much more severe, had not the greater part of the inhabitants fled from the city before the attack commenced. The Dey was himself in the batteries during the action, encouraging his people to fight.

of 3003.* On the 3d of September, every object of the expedition being completely attained, the British fleet sailed from Algiers.

The Dey with whom this treaty was concluded, was named Omar Bashaw. He was a native of the island of Mitylene, and came to Algiers as a common soldier. Having distinguished himself by his bravery, he was successively appointed *bulook-bashlik* and *beeng bashlik* (chief of a company and chief of a thousand); and at length, for his services in suppressing a rebellion raised by the Bey of Oran in 1813, he was created *agha* of the janissaries. The cruelty with which he treated the captive Bey, if the story told by Mr. Salamé may be relied upon, was truly African. On the assassination of Haji Ali Bashaw, who appears to have been a monster of cruelty, Omar was raised to the throne. He was, at the time of the British expedition, between forty-five and fifty years of age; but did not long survive his humiliation. "The present Dey,"† says Mr. Salamé, "is the *third* after our friend Omar Bashaw, who was taken from the throne, and thrown out of the windows of the gallery, (the room in which we negotiated with him,) to the court-yard of the palace, where he was immediately despatched."

The government of Algiers is a species of military republic. What is called the Regency, is composed of the Dey, the Turkish Janissaries, and a council of

* Of these, 471 were Neapolitans, 236 Sicilians, 173 Romans, 6 Tuscans, 161 Spaniards, 1 Portuguese, 7 Greeks, and 28 Dutch; total, adding 73 others from Constantina and Bona, whose nation is not specified, 1211. Some of them, Salamé says, had been for thirty-five years in slavery.

† Houssan Bashaw, the reigning Dey, acceded to the throne in 1818.

state called the *Dowane* (Divan). The Dey is elected by the Janissaries from among themselves, hereditary succession being unknown in this state; and the election is generally attended by a conflict more or less tumultuous and sanguinary between the rival factions.* When once chosen, the power of the Dey is little short of absolute; but it is at the same time very precarious, it being a phenomenon for a Dey of Algiers to die in his bed. The Algerine militia, which has so much influence on the political destiny of the people, is divided into bands called *oldaks* and *othas*, into which none but Turks are admitted. The Moorish armed force, styled *Zouavi* (or *Zwowah*), is also commanded by Turkish officers. "The Turks, who form the great sinew of the Algerine army," Signor Pananti tells us, "seldom exceed 15,000;† the corps of *Chiloulis* and *Zouavi* increase it to many more; while the Dey's call to the Bedouins brings in all those of the latter whose chiefs happen to be well affected towards his Highness. On occasions of great emergency, it is supposed that a popular chief could bring an army of 120,000 men into the field. During the late expedition against Tunis, the Algerine army amounted to nearly half that number. In the spring of every year, three separate corps leave the capital, for the purpose of collecting the tribute, plundering the tribes, and increasing the territory of the Dey. In passing through the different provinces, they are joined by a

* "Ali Dey, who was elected after the tragical death of Ibrahim, surnamed the Madman, caused no fewer than 1700 individuals to be massacred on his accession to power."—Pananti, p. 290.

† Signor Salamé states the number of Turks at little more than half this estimate. The kingdom of Algiers, he says, "is governed by the Dey and about 8000 Turks; the whole mass are collected out of the greatest vagabonds of Turkey, who have fled from their country, and taken refuge at Algiers."—p. 184.

body of volunteers from each. On quitting Algiers, his Highness appoints an aga to command each camp, which is also accompanied by a *caia* (*kiaya*) to administer justice: as no officer can chastise a soldier before sentence is pronounced by him, he is attended by two of the *chiaux* (serjeants), who execute all punishments. The Algerine soldiery march on foot, as also their officers, with the exception of the Aga and Caia. In marching, the army is not divided into battalions or squadrons, but into tents, each large one containing twenty men.* There are Moorish guides for the

* The common name, among the Algerines, for a band or tent of Turkish soldiers, (consisting for the most part of twenty persons,) *is suffrah*; "so called from being such a number or *mess* as, for the conveniency of eating, can sit about one *suffrah* (table). This is like the *contubernium* of the Romans, though that consisted of no more than ten persons, who lived in one *papilio* (pavilion) or barrack; as these Turks live under the same tent. The *Decanus* who commanded the former, answers to the *Oda-basha* (lieutenant) who commands the latter."—Shaw, p. 37, *note*.

"The Algerines, in the month of April, have three several camps go forth; one to the east, another to the west, and a third to the south. The first is the greatest, and consists of about 100 tents, each tent containing twenty men (*i. e.* sixteen soldiers, an *otha bashe* or serjeant, a *beulik bashe* or captain, a cook and a steward). The western camp consists of about seventy or eighty tents; and the southern but fifteen. Each of these divisions hath a bey or general, who gives so many thousand pieces of eight monthly for his place to the Dey or governor of Algiers; besides which, he is to defray the whole cost and charges of his camp.···· The Bey's tent is pitched in the middle of the camp, and all the others are pitched so close together that a horse cannot pass; and this is so ordered, that there may be but one entrance into the camp, which is directly toward the door of the Bey's tent; I suppose for the better security, and also to signify that that way they are to take upon their next removal, to which the door of the Bey's tent points. Each Bey may have, as I conjecture, about four or five hundred miles in his circuit, excepting him that leads the southern camp, for the country is not far inhabited to the southward.····In their march, they move but two abreast, each rank keeping at a considerable distance, so that a thousand men make a

horses, of which a certain number is allowed to each tent, to carry the baggage and other necessaries. Every man carries a day's provision about his person. The sick and wounded are placed on mules, and fresh relays of horses always follow, to replace those which fall from over-fatigue. The cavalry is distributed in like order, and is accompanied with a proportionate increase of attendants.

"The Algerine soldiery are very obedient, not so much through fear of chastisement, as a fondness for their calling: they also possess an *esprit de corps*, which in them is equivalent to patriotism. Besides being excellent marksmen, they are brave and resolute in battle; nor has their cavalry lost any thing of its ancient spirit, so warmly panegyrized by the Roman historian. It is, however, to be observed, that if the enemy resist their first charge, or surround them by an unexpected and rapid movement, they are soon thrown into confusion without the power of rallying. The armies of Barbary are also extremely ill provided with artillery; and owing to the quantity of baggage, and the numbers of women and children, cattle, &c., which follow in their train, the march is constantly retarded. Totally ignorant of providing for winter quarters, the season no sooner changes, than all are anxious to return home. This inclination gives rise

great show and a very long train. They march in a day not above eight, ten, or twelve miles, unless it be at the season of their returning home; and then they travel from morning to night. The eastern camp makes its return from a town called Constantine, about fourteen days' journey from Algiers, after having kept out about six months. The western camp stays out about four, and the southern, about three months."—Pitts's Account of the Mahometans, ch. iv. The statement given at p. 276, on the authority of Pananti, somewhat differs from this; but the altered circumstances of the country may have produced the change of policy as to the southern circuit.

to mutiny and tumult, which frequently ends in the decapitation of their unfortunate chiefs, as practised by the Punic legions of former days.

"The groundwork of the Janizary's influence is laid in his vigilance and activity; which are greatly aided by a constant recollection of the terrible examples already made of those Moors who may have dared to raise a hand or to express dissatisfaction against the iron sway of their oppressors. Knowing that the slightest efforts at resistance or most trifling murmur of disapprobation is sufficient to involve the lives and fortunes of a whole family, the Moorish father never fails to inculcate the necessity of the most passive silence and implicit obedience into the minds of all his children, even from their earliest infancy. The wonderful power which a comparatively small military force frequently obtains over a disunited, vitiated, and indolent people, is by no means a new phenomenon in the history of nations. A Roman legion was sufficient to retain the whole Cyrenaica, from Berenice to the Deserts of the Thebaid. A handful of soldiers, under the enterprising Cortez and sanguinary Pizarro, destroyed the throne of the Incas, and succeeded in conquering the vast empire of Athaliba and Montezuma. A few Norman knights effected the conquest of Sicily. Brandenburgh and Prussia suffered themselves to be governed by some hundred half-civilized knights of the Teutonic order. Eight thousand Mamelukes dominated over the fertile plains of Egypt. Even the great dynasty of Fohi was overturned by an inconsiderable banditti, which, in placing another family on its throne, gave rise to the longest succession ever known in Asia. It would appear that the Janizaries in Barbary have imbibed a large share of that self-importance and arrogant spirit

which have enabled their predecessors in the art of pillage and oppression, to impose on the fatal ignorance and baleful credulity of other nations. Full of animation and vigour, the Turkish soldier seems born to command. At the earliest period of this Regency's history, a few thousand well directed Janizaries were enabled to make the most terrible incursions into the territories of Tunis and Morocco. More recently, and during the war carried on by the ferocious Muley Ismael against Cheban Dey, the latter went forth to meet him with only 6000 Turks and 4000 Moors, and gained a tremendous victory over the enemy, whose army amounted to 70,000 men. The Morocco chief was, on that occasion, not only obliged to sue for peace, but to send his own son to Algiers with rich presents, as one of the conditions on which it was granted. At another time, when Cheban suspected that there was a secret understanding between the Bey of Tunis and Muley Ismael, he marched against Mehemed Bey with 3000 Turks and 1500 Moors; and although his opponent was strongly encamped with a force of 20,000 horse and foot, it was carried by assault; Tunis was taken (A.D. 1689) and Ben Shoukes, a rival chief, was placed on Mehemed's throne, the former becoming a tributary of Algiers.* After this brilliant expedition, Cheban returned to his capital, followed by 2000 camels laden with the richest booty. The various memorable attacks made on Oran, while in the possession of the Spaniards, furnish another proof of what the Janizaries were capable in former days.

* The Signor does not tell the whole story. Mehmed Bey subsequently advanced against Ahmed Ben Shoukes, defeated him, and regained possession of his capital, where he retained his authority till his death.

"It must be confessed, that if, on the one hand, these soldiers of fortune are not improved either by study or by education, yet, when elevated to power or command, they contrive to assume an air of dignity, which is particularly calculated to impose on ordinary minds: these apparent qualities are considerably embellished by their fine and majestic forms, venerable beards, large turbans, and flowing costumes. Animated by the greatest unanimity among themselves, and forming an integral part of the government, the Turkish soldier has every inducement to defend his property with zeal, and his power with unshaken resolution. Besides, those who compose the bands called *oldaks*, have, in Algiers, a decided advantage over all other Turkish subjects, or, indeed, any of the Mahomedan persuasion. Throughout the eastern governments, every individual is obliged to serve for many years as an *Icolano*, or private soldier, in which condition he passes through a noviciate of the utmost humiliation and servility. In Syria, Egypt, and Constantinople, it is thought a mark of great distinction in society, if a man can boast of having been first sold as a slave. Whereas those who are enlisted for the service of Algiers, are thenceforward perfectly independent, and enjoy the privilege of at once throwing themselves into the field of fortune and emulation..... Respected, feared, and looked up to as masters, the very Dey himself may be regarded as their creature, for he is raised to power by their election, and must treat them with a corresponding attention and deference. They are regularly paid, and are certain of a provision for old age or infirmity. A Turkish soldier may also aspire to all the offices of the state. As the Dey is usually chosen from among the *oldaks*, each warrior may reach that sublime post,

and is thus a species of presumptive heir to the throne. Even their crimes and vices carry an air of splendour along with them." *

Such was the original constitution of all the Turkish states of Barbary; and, as the necessary result of such a political system, their natural condition was one of hostility against every civilized power. The trade of Algiers was piracy, and this formed the basis also of the government. Thus, policy and avarice concurred to render a war with other states not only desirable, but necessary. A Dey has been frequently obliged to declare war against some Christian power, Signor Pananti says, to avoid being deposed and strangled. It has even passed into a proverb, that if Algiers was at peace with all the world, its inhabitants would die of hunger. This, he adds, accounts for their bitter complaints against the King of England for having obliged them to make peace with so many of their enemies. They were equally dissatisfied with those political changes which united Italy to the overgrown French empire, and, for the time, seemed to snatch the former out of their rapacious fangs. By a strange fatality, he remarks, the northern coast of Africa has ever been the abode of a piratical race. Even the Carthaginians were little better than pirates of a higher order; and Dragoot Rais and Barbarossa were but the successors of the ancient corsairs of the Syrtic and Numidian coasts, who were the scourge and terror of the peaceful navigators of the Mediterranean long prior to the Christian era.

The circumstances which usually attended capture by a Barbary corsair, are thus detailed by Signor Pananti. "When the squadron makes a prize, a

* Pananti, pp. 335—342.

crew, composed of Turks and Moors, immediately replace that of the captured vessel, which is received on board the ship of the Grand *Rais:* she is then ordered to proceed to Algiers, or the nearest port on the coast. If taken by a private corsair, the prize is towed within sight of the capital; when the flag of the vanquished enemy is displayed under that of the corsair, and several guns announce the capture. The prize is then consigned to the captain of the port, and the cruizer returns to sea in search of more booty. An inventory of the prize's cargo being taken, it is presented to his Highness, who is the legal proprietor of all captures, but is satisfied with merely an eighth. If the cargo is composed of such articles as can be conveniently divided among the captors, a division of the spoil is made according to their respective rank; otherwise, the whole is sold, and a distribution of prize-money follows. Should there be none of the Moorish merchants disposed to purchase the cargo, the Jews are forced to buy it. It is remarkable, that all Christian slaves who may have been on board an Algerine when any capture is made, are entitled to their share of the prize; it being presumed that their good fortune contributed to the event. On the squadron's or corsair's return to port, the crews are landed, and having remained a few days with their families, present themselves before the *Rais* to receive their quota of prize-money. In disposing of the captives, some are given to the Dey, while the rest fall into the hands of those who purchase them. The most comely have the honour of being selected to attend his Highness in the capacity of pages, and are soon decked out in the richest habiliments. Those who have any trade, are let out to hire among the Moors, a third of their earnings being left to them-

selves. Those who become the property of individuals, are, of course, treated better or worse, according to the character and disposition of their masters. Those destined to attend the troops in the *Cassarias*, are treated with great mildness.

"Slaves intended for sale, are marched to the *Basistan*, or auction-mart, and made to walk backwards and forwards, as we shew the paces of a horse; a crier being in attendance, to announce their number, trades, and respective qualities. Every one present is at liberty to bid, and each offer is registered by a clerk, before the slaves are delivered up. Another sale takes place at the Dey's palace, when his Highness conscientiously retains for himself whatever may be offered over and above that of the first day's sale.*

* The accuracy of this account is confirmed by the ingenuous statement of Joseph Pitts, who was made prisoner by an Algerine corsair in 1678, and passed many years in slavery. "Soon after our arrival at our undesired haven, Algiers, we were carried ashore to the captain's house, and allowed nothing but a little bread and water that night. The next morning, (as their custom is,) they drove us all to the Dey's, or King's house, who makes his choice, and takes the *pengick*, i.e. the eighth part of the slaves for public use, and the same part of the cargo. After which, we were all driven from thence to the battistan, or market-place, where Christians are wont to be sold. There we stand from eight of the clock in the morning, until two in the afternoon, (which is the limited time for the sale of Christians,) and have not the least bit of bread allowed us during our stay there. Many persons are curious to come and take a view of us, while we stand exposed to sale; and others, who intend to buy, to see whether we be sound and healthy, and fit for service. The taken slaves are sold by way of auction, and the cryer endeavours to make the most he can of them; and when the bidders are at a stand, he makes use of his rhetoric, Behold, what a strong man is this! What limbs he has! He is fit for any work. And, see what a pretty boy this is! No doubt his parents are very rich, and able to redeem him with a great ransom. And with many such like fair speeches does he strive to raise the price. After the bidders have done bidding, the slaves are all driven again to the Dey's house, where any that have a mind to advance above what

No sooner is a slave knocked down, (to use the technical phrase,) than his purchaser must pay the purchase money. Women who have any prospect of being able to pay their ransom, are consigned to the *Chekebeld*'s care, and remain in his house till the arrangements for their emancipation are completed; while the poorer female captives are sold at the *Basistan*, and thenceforward abandoned to the brutal ferocity of the Moors and Turks. Among the various brokers who parade the streets, some get their bread by dealing in human beings. These are called *Tegorarini*, and attend all sales with the view of buying such slaves as they consider likely to bring a higher price when fattened up, or in the hope of their getting friends to come forward with a ransom. Some of the *Tegorarini* let their slaves out to consuls and other inhabitants, at the rate of a piastre per month.....Some of those who understand a useful trade, get permission to work at it, by merely paying a monthly stipend to the Guardian Basha." *

"No sooner is any one declared a slave, than he is stripped of his clothes, and covered with a species of sack-cloth; he is also generally left without shoes or stockings, and often obliged to work bare-headed in the scorching rays of an African sun. Many suffer their beard to grow as a sign of mourning, while their general state of filth is not to be conceived. Some of these wretched beings are destined to make ropes and sails for the squadron: these are constantly superintended by keepers who carry whips, and frequently extort money from their victims, as the price of somewhat

was bidden at the Battistan, may; but then, whatsoever exceeds the bidding in that place, belongs not to the pickaroons, or pirates, but goes to the Dey.

* Pananti, pp. 348—351.

less rigour in the execution of their duty. Others belong to the Dey's household; and many are employed by the rich Moors, who may have bought them at market, in the lowest drudgery of domestic employment. Some, like the beasts of burthen, are employed in carrying stones and wood for any public buildings that may be going on: these are usually in chains, and are justly considered as the worst among their oppressed brethren.* Two black cakes are their principal daily sustenance; and had it not been for the charity of a rich Moor, who left a legacy for that purpose, Friday, the only day they are exempt from work, would have seen them without any allowance whatever.† Shut up at night in the prison, like so

* "There are three classes of chains; of 100, of 60, and of 30 lb. weight. The one-hundred-pounders are for strong men; the sixty for old men; and the thirty-pounders for young persons. These heavy chains are placed round the body as a sash, with a long piece of chain hung on the right leg, and joined by a heavy ring, to be placed on the foot. All these chains are shut by a lock, and never can be taken off. Thus, these poor slaves must walk any distance whatever, and work, and sleep, and live always with these chains; the marks of which I have seen round their bodies and their legs, in very deep furrows eaten into the flesh, which becomes dark and hard as bone. After these poor creatures are put in chains, they make them work at cutting stone from the mountains, felling trees, carrying sand and stones for building, moving guns, and such kinds of laborious works. Every ten slaves are bound together and guided by a guard with a whip in his hand. They sleep all together on the ground, in a large stable, with a mat under them. If any of them have money, they can make themselves rather more comfortable."—Salamé, pp. 103—5.

† "The Government allows to each person, for every day of the week, except Friday, a loaf of eight or ten ounces of a very black kind of bread, made of barley and beans; one handful of peas, and a small measure, not larger than a thimble, of oil. That is the whole of their food; and on Friday, nothing at all. An agà of the Janissaries observing the miserable state of these unfortunate people, and the inhumanity with which they were treated, was induced by his feelings to allow them a portion of meat and wheaten

many malefactors, they are obliged to sleep in the open corridor, exposed to all the inclemency of the seasons.....It is usual for one or two hundred slaves to drop off in the year, from want of food, of medical attendance, and other necessaries. The slightest offence or indiscretion is punished with two hundred blows on the soles of the feet, or over the back; and resistance is often punished with death.

"Although a price is set on each captive, that the whole may encourage a hope of freedom, yet, from the peculiar mode in which their liberation must be effected, this hope is almost unavailing. If, after having obtained leave to exercise their trade, they acquire any property, they are not allowed to pay it for their ransom. Offers of this kind have always been rejected, on the ground that the Dey is legal heir to all the property of his slaves. And frequently, in order to get possession of it a little sooner, this honourable revenue is anticipated by the owner's being despatched.*.....Whenever a captive is taken

bread for every Friday, on which day they would else have had nothing. This allowance continued for several years; but, for their misfortune, this good man died of about a middle age; and nobody after him was so humane as to follow his benevolent example. And thus, these unfortunate creatures were deprived again of assistance, till the Divine Providence released them through the medium of the exalted and merciful government of Great Britain." —Salamé, p. 105.

* The religious order of the Fathers of the Trinity was formed with a special view to promote the liberation of Christian slaves; and formerly, these beneficent missionaries used to visit the Barbary coast with funds for the redemption of the captives; on which, however, a per-centage was to be paid on landing, besides a *usanza* to the Dey and the Divan. But these liberations, S. Pananti says, had become very rare at Algiers, owing to the enormous demands of the pirates, which, during late years, amounted to not less than 1500 dollars for each seaman. If they suspected a slave of being rich, they required a most exorbitant sum for his release; as in

ill at Algiers, motives of self-interest call upon the Moorish proprietor for a little indulgence; but, were it not for the benign charity of Spain, which has established a small fund to support a hospital for the reception of Christian slaves, the latter, when overcome with disease, would be left to perish in the streets. By means of the above benevolent institution, they may, at least, hope to die in peace.....It is only ten years ago, that even the tomb afforded no shelter to the remains of a Christian in this country. The rites of sepulture were, for a long time, absolutely refused to the bodies of Christian captives, and they were often left exposed in the open air to be devoured by reptiles and birds of prey. It was with considerable difficulty that Charles IV. of Spain obtained, at an enormous price, a small space near the sea, which has since been the Christian burying-ground; * but it is not distinguished by any mark to denote the

the case of the Sicilian Prince Paterno, for whose ransom 500,000 dollars were demanded. "So languid had Christian charity become in Europe towards the slaves of Barbary, that several years had been suffered to elapse without any visit to Algiers on the part of the missionaries." The Sicilian minister, Prince Villafranca, at one time effected the release of 400 of his unfortunate countrymen; and Lady Wm. Bentinck is gratefully eulogised as having promoted the liberation of 100 Sicilian captives. Two separate funds exist in this country, arising from legacies bequeathed for the express purpose of liberating *English* slaves. One is under the direction of the Ironmonger's Company; and the other is in the hands, we believe, of the Recorder.

* The Signor has made a great mistake in attributing this purchase to Charles IV., as the burying-ground for Christians at Algiers has been applied to that purpose at least 150 years. "As for the burial of Christian slaves," says Joseph Pitts, "I was informed, that formerly they would not permit such to be interred, but threw their dead bodies into the sea. The King of Spain, being moved at this, purchased a piece of ground for a burial-place, where they are buried to this day. It is without *Bab-el-wait*, adjoining to the Jews' burying-place."

solemn purpose, nor by a fence to defend the sacred precincts from barbarous intrusion. Thus do Christians live and die in Algiers." *

Such is the system of piracy and slavery which has for centuries maintained itself on the shores of the Mediterranean, in defiance of all the powers of Christendom; as if it was the will of Divine Providence, that the wrongs of Africa should in some small degree be avenged upon the Christian nations who have so long pursued the same nefarious traffic on a far larger scale. That a few thousand intrusive Turks should have been suffered continually to wage a predatory warfare against Spaniard and Portuguese, Sicilian and Roman, Hollander and Greek, as well as sometimes to hold in bondage the subjects of Great Britain and France,—and this while scarcely able to retain in subjection the millions of natives ready at all times to shake off their yoke,—is a phenomenon which cannot be contemplated without astonishment. Yet, the amount of crime and of suffering chargeable upon the Mohammedan slave-trade, sinks into nothing, compared with the accumulated horrors of negro-slavery as carried on by the Christians. The domestic servitude of the Mohammedans is, for the most part, of a mild description; and the conduct of the Algerine Government presents a barbarous exception to the general practice even of the Turks. But the annals of the English slave-trade afford cases which rival the worst atrocities of the Barbary corsairs; while the contrast between the general condition of the Christian slaves and that of the slaves of Christians, is any thing but advantageous to the professors of the purer faith.†

* Pananti, pp. 88—93.

† At Tripoli, Ali Bey says, the Christian slaves are well treated. See p. 46 of this volume. Signor Pananti admits, that, even at

Little remains to be added to the topographical description of Algiers, as, within the city, there is nothing that merits attention. Its appearance from the sea is both singular and beautiful. Situated upon a steep declivity between two hills, it assumes a figure nearly triangular, or resembling "the top-sail of a ship." The white buildings rising in terraces, have an imposing effect; while the numerous country mansions scattered over an amphitheatre of hills, amid groves of olive, citron, and banana trees, present a peaceful and rural landscape very opposite in its character to that of a nation of pirates. On entering the city, however, the charm dissolves. The streets are so extremely narrow, that, in some of them, two persons can scarcely walk abreast. This strange style of building, Pananti remarks, is adopted on account of its affording a better shade and more protection in case of earthquakes, by one of which Algiers suffered severely in 1717. "The streets being concave and rising on each side, the greatest inconvenience results, both to men and animals, in passing through them. When a Moor passes on horseback, you are obliged to get close up by the houses to prevent being trampled under foot. There are nine great mosques and fifty smaller ones in Algiers; three public schools; and several bazars. Its finest public buildings are those of the five *cassarias* which serve as barracks for the soldiery.

Algiers, this is often the case. "Fallen into the hands of a Turk or Moor, a slave's conduct," he remarks, "should be well regulated and correct. Propriety of demeanour is always sure to gain friends. A strict observance of religious duties is also a great recommendation with Moslems. Æsop and Epictetus were slaves, and knew how to gain the esteem of their masters."—p. 355. Joseph Pitts, though it was, as he tells us, his hard lot to be treated with peculiar cruelty, vindicates the Mohammedans from the charge of generally ill-using their slaves. His artless narrative is, upon such a subject, the best authority.

There are also five lock-up houses for the slaves, near which is a market for the sale of them. The Pashalik, or Dey's palace, has two great courts, surrounded with spacious galleries supported by two rows of marble columns: its interior ornaments consist chiefly of mirrors, clocks, and carpets. There are several taverns in the city, kept by Christian slaves, which are often frequented even by the Turks and Moors."*

Algiers is said to contain upwards of 20,000 houses ;† and if so, the population cannot be under 100,000 souls. Shaw states, that the city, though not above a mile and a half in circuit, is computed to contain about 2000 Christian slaves, 15,000 Jews, and 100,000 Mohammedans, among whom were about thirty renegades. By other authorities, the population is rated at 80,000, and even as low as 50,000.‡ The police is very strict, and the utmost care is taken to preserve order and tranquillity in the city. Every house has its cistern; but as it seldom rains, the inhabitants would be often distressed for water, were they not supplied from a spring on an adjacent hill, by means of a long course of pipes and conduits, which distribute the water all over the city. The common reservoir is

* Pananti, pp. 113, 114.—The appearance of the city after the bombardment, is thus described by Signor Salamé. "When we entered the city, I saw every thing contrary to its fine appearance outside. The streets are very narrow, dirty, and dark; and were then full of rubbish. The buildings are all of stone, as well as the tops and floors of the houses, with very little of wood. Every four or five houses are bound together by arches; and they have but a few very small windows; this city, therefore, never can be burned by rockets; for its destruction, shells, such as we used, are the surest means."—Salamé, p. 51.

† Salamé, p. 177.—This writer assigns to the city, on conjecture, a circumference of four miles; but he must be in error.

‡ Shaw, p. 33. Malté Brun, vol. iv. p. 184. Balbi, Balance Politique.

at the end of the mole, where the ships take in their water. This supply is liable, however, to be cut off in the event of a siege; as the aqueduct was destroyed by the bombardment of 1816.

This city was originally called *Mesgana*, the family name of its founder. It derives its present name (*Al-gezir* or *Al-jezeire*, the island) from the eastern mound of the harbour, which, before the time of the Turkish conquest, was severed from the continent. In their public records, Shaw says, they style it, *Al Jezeire Megherbi* (the island in the west), to distinguish it from a city of the same name near the Dardanelles. By the Turks and Moors, it is honoured with the title of *Al-jezeire al Ghazi* (the warlike).* There are some broken inscriptions upon the tower of the great mosque; but no vestiges of antiquity have been discovered, which enable us to connect the site with any historical associations. It is scarcely possible, however, that such a situation could be neglected by the Romans.

Four miles to the S.E. of Algiers, on the banks of the Haratch (the ancient *Savus*), are the ruins of a Roman city, which, Shaw quaintly remarks, "bids fairer than Algiers to be the ancient *Icosium*." Continuing in the same direction fifteen miles further, the traveller crosses the Hamaese, another considerable stream; beyond which a low cape runs out, called *Temendfuse* or *Metafus*. "The Turks have here a small castle for the security of the adjacent roads, once

* Shaw, p. 34.—Pananti writes its former name *Gezir Beni Mozana*. It is generally supposed, he adds, to be the ancient *Jomnium*; a typographical blunder, apparently, for *Icosium*, with which Shaw, in his map, identifies it. Mr. Salamé is quite sure that it is the *Iol-Cæsarea* of Strabo, remarking, but erroneously, that there is no other city on the coast which has an island opposite to it. D'Anville supposes the city to be altogether modern.

the chief station of their navy; where we have still the traces of an ancient *Cothon*, with several heaps of ruins, which have contributed to the fortifications of Algiers." They are supposed to be those of a town called, by the ancient geographers, *Rusgeniæ Colonia*, *Rustonium*, *Rusconia*, and *Ruthisia*. After fording five other streams, which descend from the adjacent mountains, and fall into the sea at no great distance from each other, (called by Shaw, the rivers *Regya*, *Budwowe*, *Corsoe*, *Merdass*, and *Yisser*,) we come to a little port or creek, with a tolerably good anchoring-ground before it, called *Jinnet*; whence, in Shaw's time, a great quantity of corn was annually exported to Europe. Beyond this point, the coast begins to be very rugged and mountainous; and three leagues further E., the Booberak falls into the sea, forming the eastern boundary of the province.

A few miles to the N.W. of Algiers, the coast forms the promontory called *Ras Akon-natter*, or Cape *Caxines*; which appears to be the termination of a high mountain called *Boojereah*. Beyond this cape, the coast trends to the S.W.; and a few leagues further in this direction, the Masaffran (saffron river) discharges itself, dividing the territory of Algiers from the western province. Near its mouth are some few walls and cisterns, and several traces of a Roman way are met with at intervals between this part of the coast and Algiers.

The only inland cities in the southern province, according to Shaw, are Bleeda and Medea;* "each about a mile in circuit; but their walls, which are chiefly of mud, perforated all over by hornets, cannot much contribute to their strength or security. Some

* Supposed by Shaw to be corrupted from *Bida Colonia* and *Lamida*.

of the houses are flat-roofed, others tiled.....Both are well watered and have around them very fruitful gardens and plantations. A branch of an adjacent rivulet may be conducted through every house and garden at Bleeda; and at Medea, the several conduits and aqueducts that supply it with water (some of which appear to be of Roman workmanship) are capable of being made equally commodious. Both these cities lie over against the mouth of the Masaffran; Bleeda* at five leagues distance, under the shade of Mount Atlas, and Medea three or four leagues on the other side of it."

That part of Mount Atlas which lies between the cities above-mentioned, and reaches as far as Mount Jurjura, is inhabited by numerous *kabyles*, or clans, few of whom have been brought under tribute by the Algerines. Five leagues to the S. of Medea is the *Titteri Dosh*, a remarkable ridge of precipices four leagues in length; "if possible, more rugged even than Jurjura." Upon the summit, there is a table-land or small plain, to which the only access is by a narrow road: "here, for their greater security, the *Welled Ecsa* have their granaries." Five leagues to the eastward of the Rock of Titteri, is the castle of Hamza, where the Turks have a small garrison. "It is built out of the ruins of the ancient *Auzia*, called by

* "About ten miles off Algier, to the westward, is a pretty little town called Bleda, accommodated with fine gardens, full of all manner of fruits and plenty of water; insomuch that there are upon the river grist-mills,—which is such a rarity as I seldom or never saw in any other part of that country. In this town, I lived many years with my second *patroon*.... This town lying so near to Algier, and being so exceedingly pleasant and delightful, many Turks marry and reside there; so that there is no need of keeping garrison there, as they do in most other towns within the territory of Algier."—Pitts's Narrative.

the Arabs, *Sour* or *Sour Guslan* (the walls of the antelopes). A great part of this ancient city, fortified at proper distances with little square turrets, is still remaining: it seems to have been little more than six furlongs in circuit. Tacitus has left us a very just description of this place; for Auzia was built upon a small plat of level ground, every where surrounded with such an unpleasant mixture of naked rocks and barren forests, that, through the whole course of my travels, I scarcely ever met with a more gloomy and melancholy situation.*

"A few miles to the southward of Sour, we enter upon Getulia. The first remarkable place in this direction is *Jebel Dera*, where the river Jinenne has its sources, which, after it has run about thirty miles through a dry, sandy soil, loses itself gradually in the Shott. Most of the Getulian Arabs who dwell upon the banks of it, are *Zwowiah*, as they call the children and dependents of their Marab-boots; who, like those of the same denomination in all the Mahomedan dominions, enjoy great privileges, and have their possessions free from taxes. The *Welled Seedy Eesa*, the northernmost of these communities, have the *Kubba* (sepulchre) of their tutelar saint at the distance of five leagues from Sour. Hard by it, on the one side, is a large rock upon which Seedy Eesa was daily accustomed to offer up his devotions; on the other, is the *Ain Kidran* (fountain of tar) supposed to have been miraculously bestowed upon them by this their progenitor, which they constantly use, instead of common tar, in salving their camels and other uses. Six

* Menander, as cited by Josephus, mentions an African city named Auzia (Αυζαστην), built by Ithobaal the Tyrian, which Shaw is inclined to identify with Sour. He found several Roman inscriptions here, apparently of the second century.

leagues further are the *Welled Seedy Hadjeras*, called so from another of these Marab-boots. Here, the Jinenne changes its name to *Wed el Ham* (the river of carnage), from the number of people that have been at one time or other drowned in the fording of it."

To the south-westward of the *Shott*, the country rises, and becomes very rugged and mountainous. The *Wed el Shaier* (barley river), a considerable stream, which has its source near a ruined site called Herba, flows towards the N. N. E., and enters the Shott on its south-western side. During the latter part of its course, it acquires the name of *Mailah*, from the saltness of its waters. Over against the *Titteri Dosh* and *Burgh Swaary*, at thirteen leagues distance, are what are called *Theneate el Gannim* (the sheep cliffs) and, by the Turks, *Ede Tepelaar* (the seven hills). "These, with many other rugged districts in the Sahara," Shaw remarks, "may well illustrate what Strabo may be supposed to mean by the mountainous country of the Gætulians."

The rich and delightful plain called the *Mettijiah* (*Mateeja*), in which Bleda stands, together with that of Hadjoute, which is a continuation of it to the westward, forms an area of nearly fifty miles in length and twenty in breadth, watered in every part by a variety of springs and rivulets. The numerous country-seats and *mashareas* (farms) of the principal inhabitants of Algiers, are in these plains, from which the metropolis derives its chief supply of provisions. Flax, henna, rice, fruit, vegetables, and grain of all kinds are pro-

* Shaw, pp. 35—42. In the *Beni Mezzab*, a tribe of a more swarthy complexion than the Getulians further northward, and inhabiting a district without rivulets, far to the southward, the learned Traveller thinks that we may recognize the most western branch of the *Melano-Gætuli*.

duced here to such perfection, that the *Mettijah* may be justly reckoned the garden of the whole kingdom.* From Algiers to Tefessad in the western province, the coast, to the breadth of from two to three leagues, is either woody or mountainous; "thereby," Shaw remarks, "securing the fine plains of the *Mettijah* which lie behind it, not only from the more immediate influence of the northerly winds, but from the spray of the sea, which is equally noxious."

To the S.W. of the mouth of the Massafran,† the coast forms a broad and deep gulf; at the head of which, under a rising-ground, are the ruins of Tefessad (*Tipasa*), called also *Blaid el Madoonc*, extending for two miles along the shore. Here are found several arches and walls of brick, a material not commonly used in Barbary. The bricks are "of a fine paste and colour, two inches and a half thick, and nearly a foot square." Seven miles to the eastward of these ruins, there is a remarkable sepulchre, called *Kubber Romeah* (the sepulchre of the Christian women), and by the Turks, from the shape of it, *Mail Tapasy* (the treasury of the sugar-loaf). It stands upon a mountainous part of the coast, and is described by Shaw as

* Shaw, p. 31. The plain of Bleda, to which the name properly belongs, is, according to Pitts, of much smaller extent. "This *Mateeja*, or plain, contains about twenty miles in length and seven in breadth. It is very fruitful, and abounds with many handsome farm-houses. There are several markets weekly kept on it. The Turks do frequently, for their diversion, take their muskets, and make a progress, two or three in a company, through this plain, for ten or twenty days, living at free quarters, at one farmer's house or other, none daring to refuse them. These and many more injuries, the poor Moors suffer from the Turks of Algiers."—Pitts.

† This river, Shaw says, is very little inferior to the Shellett, but his map is at utter variance with the statement. It has a very winding course. In passing through the deep valleys of that part of Mount Atlas, where some of its branches have their sources, he crossed it, he says, fourteen times within an hour.

a solid and compact edifice of the finest free-stone, about 100 feet in height and 90 feet in diameter at its base. "It is of a round figure, rising with steps quite up to the top, like the Egyptian pyramids." The elegance of the workmanship is equal to the beauty of the materials; and Shaw supposes it to be the mausoleum of the Numidian kings, which Mela places between *Iol* and *Icosium*. The supposed tomb of Syphax, (called Medrashem, or Mail Cashem, the treasury of Cashem,) on the northern skirt of Jebel Auress, is nearly of the same fashion, but larger.

To the west of Tefessad, the small river *Gurmant* discharges itself into the bay; and beyond it is the port of *Amoushe*, "very safe in westerly winds." The western point of the bay is formed by the *Iaks el Amoushe*, "a pretty large cape," the termination of a ridge of hills inhabited by the Shenooah. These hills are covered, to their very summits, with a succession of plots or terraces of arable ground, diversified with plantations of apricot, peach, and other fruit-trees. Below the western declivity of these hills is found the site of the ancient capital of Numidia; *Jol*, the city of Juba, now called Shershell.

When Shaw visited this place in 1730, a modern town stood amid the ancient ruins, where a considerable manufacture was carried on of iron tools, cutlery, and earthen vessels; but eight years afterwards, Shershell was entirely thrown down by an earthquake. The ruins he describes as not inferior in extent to those of Carthage. "We may likewise conceive no small opinion of its former magnificence from the fine pillars, capitals, capacious cisterns, and beautiful mosaic pavements every where remaining. The water of the river Hashem was conducted hither through a large and sumptuous aqueduct, little in-

ferior to that of Carthage in the height and strength of its arches: several fragments of it scattered among the neighbouring valleys to the S.E., continue to bear so many incontestable proofs of the grandeur and beauty of the work. Besides these, two smaller conduits continue perfect and entire, plentifully supplying Shershell with excellent water: that of the wells is brackish. Nothing, certainly, could have been better contrived, either for strength or beauty, than the situation of this city. A strong wall, 40 feet high, supported with buttresses, and winding nearly two miles through the several creeks of the sea-shore, secured it from all encroachments from the sea. The city, to the distance of two furlongs from this wall, lies upon a level; and afterwards rising gradually for the space of a mile to a considerable elevation, (implied in the ancient name, *Iol*,*) spreads itself over a variety of hills and valleys, and loses entirely the prospect of the sea. One of the principal gates this way, is placed about a furlong below the summit of these hills, and leads to the rugged possessions of the *Beni Manasser*. Of the other two near the sea-shore, the western lies under the high mountains of the *Beni Yifrah*, and the eastern under that of the Shenouah.

"As Shershell is thus shut up in the midst of mountains and narrow defiles, all communication with it may be easily cut off, whenever the neighbouring tribes are disposed to be mutinous and troublesome; as it frequently happens even to this day. And this

* "Ab עלה, *quod celsum sonat: unde Iliberis, Iliturges, civitates quæ altum situm habent.*"—If this etymology be correct, the places called *El Alia* owe their name to the same circumstance. This derivation will serve to explain why, in many parts of the East, we find summits of hills dedicated to Elias, probably through ignorance of the meaning of the word; while the Greeks, as if through a similar error or *paronomasia*, dedicated them to *Helios*, the Sun.

circumstance will afford us one argument, that Sherchell is *Julia Cæsarea*, by interpreting Procopius's description of it in our favour; viz., that 'The Romans could come at Cæsarea only by sea, access by land being rendered impracticable, as all the passes were then seized upon by its neighbours.' They have a tradition, that the ancient city was destroyed, as the new one was lately, by an earthquake; and that the port, formerly very large and commodious, was reduced to the miserable condition wherein we find it at present, by the arsenal and other adjacent buildings being thrown into it by the shock. The *cothon*, that had a communication with the western part of the port, is the best proof of this tradition; for, when the sea is calm and the water low, (as it frequently happens after strong southerly or easterly winds,) we then discover, all over the area of it, so many massy pillars and pieces of great walls, that it cannot well be conceived how they should come there without such a concussion.

"The port is nearly in a circular form, of 200 yards in diameter. The securest part of it, which, till of late, was towards the *cothon*, is now filled up with a bank of sand that daily increases. However, there still lies in the mouth of it, a small, rocky island, which, at present, is the main shelter and defence against the northern tempests. A haven with an island at the entrance of it, is only to be met with at Siga or Tackumbreet; a place at too great a distance to the west, to be taken for Cæsarea. Tniss, where Sanson and others have placed the *Julia Cæsarea*, has, indeed, an island before it, yet without the least rudiments of a haven or any heaps of ruins. Algiers, likewise, the other city that is brought into the dispute by Dapper and later geographers, was formerly

in the same situation with Tniss; its present pos having been made, since the Turkish conquests, by Hayradin Barbarossa, A. D. 1530, who united the island that formerly lay before it to the continent. The principal characteristics, therefore, whereby the ancients describe their *Iol Cæsarea*, cannot with propriety be attributed to any other place than Shershell."*

The country round about Shershell is exceedingly fertile and well watered by the Hasham, Billak, and Nassara. There is also a beautiful rill of water, received into a large basin of Roman workmanship, called *Shrub we Krub* (*bibe et fuge*, drink and away); "there being," says Shaw, "the like danger of meeting there with rogues and assassins, that the dog is said to have of meeting with the crocodile in drinking of the Nile." No other site of interest occurs in this part of the line of coast, till after passing *Ras el Nakkos* (Cape Bell), so called from a grotto below it in the shape of a bell; the *Promontorium Apollinis* of Ptolemy. In advancing towards this cape from the Spanish coast, it has the appearance of the head of a wild boar. It is also called Cape Tennis, or Tniss, from the town of that name, situated at a short distance from the sea, behind this promontory. "Before the Turkish conquests, this was the metropolis of one of the petty royalties of this country; though a few miserable hovels are all that remain of it at present. A little brook runs winding by it, which afterwards empties itself into the sea, over against a small adjacent island. Tniss has long been famous for the many loads of corn which are shipped off from thence to Christendom; but the anchoring-ground (for a har-

* Shaw, pp. 18—20. Here, as at Tefessad, are found arches and walls of Roman masonry.

bour we cannot call it) that lies before it, being too much exposed to the north and north-west winds, vessels are frequently cast away, (as they are likewise at Hammose, Magrowa, and other dangerous roads on this side of the Shelliff,) unless they fall in with a season of calm weather. The Moors have a tradition, that the Tnissians were formerly in such reputation for sorcery and witchcraft, that Pharaoh sent for the wisest of them to dispute miracles with Moses. It is certain, that they are the greatest cheats of this country, and as little to be trusted as their road. Hamet Ben Useph, a neighbouring Maraboot, has left us this rhapsodical character both of the place and its inhabitants: 'Tennis is built upon a dunghill; its soil is stinking, its water blood, and its air poison; and Hamet Ben Useph did not come there.'" *

The coast line beyond Cape Tennis appears to trend decidedly to the S. W.; and a few leagues further in this direction, is the mouth of the Shelliff, (the *Chinalaph* of the old geography,) one of the largest rivers of Numidia. Its sources, Shaw informs us, are

* Shaw, pp. 17, 18. The original appears to be meant for rhyme. It is thus given by the learned Traveller:—

"*Tennis*
Mabaneah ali dennis:
Mawah Shem;
Ma dim;
Wa howsa sim;
Wa Hamet Ben Useph ma dakkul Thime."

The town is supposed to derive its name from its low, dirty situation, *Tineh* being the Arabic for mud. Thus we have a *Tineh* on the site of the ancient *Pelusium*; both words referring to the muddy soil. Possibly, the Moorish tradition may have transferred to the Numidian town, a legend originally belonging to the *Tineh* of the Delta. There is also, near Damietta, a town and island called Tennis (*Thennesus*), which may be the same name; and the situation of Tunis might seem to justify the conjecture, that its name is another variation of the same word, Tniss, Tennis, or Tineh.

seventy miles to the S.E., at a place called *Ain* (seventy fountains). At first, its direction towards the E. and N.E., till it runs into the *Tegewle* or lake of Titeri. Then, recovering (like the Jordan after its escape from the lake of Galilee,) it flows northward to *Seedy Ben Tyba*, a little below Medea. Near that place, Shaw makes it bend somewhat suddenly towards the west, running, during the remainder of its course, in the same parallel with the sea-coast, and receiving large contributions, till it at length discharges itself under *Jebel Diss*, or Cape Ivy, after a course little short of 200 miles. Where the learned Traveller crossed it, not far from its mouth, in the autumn, its stream was nearly as large as the Isis united with the Cherwell.

According to this representation, the basin of the lower Shelliff would appear to be a long, lateral valley intermediate between the maritime chain of hills and the interior or second range, which forms the continuation of the Mauritanian Atlas. The latter chain appears to attain its greatest elevation in this province in lat. 35° 55′, where we find the *Jebel Wannashreese (Gueneseris,* the ancient *Zalacus)*, a rugged mountain, generally covered with snow, which forms one of the most noted land-marks of the country; distinguishing itself all the way from Medea to El Callah, over a number of smaller mountains far and near. The *Wed el Fuddah* (silver river), one of the branches (or tributaries) of the Shelliff, has its source in this mountain; and after heavy rains, flakes of lead ore, with which it abounds, are brought down by the river, and being left upon the banks, glitter in the sun. This has given occasion to the name. At El Khadarah *(Chadra)*, a ruined town on the left bank of the Shelliff, in the same meridian as Shershell, the

mountains begin to close in upon the river on the north, forcing it to assume a westerly course; and they continue to overhang its banks, sheltering the valley from the north wind, to very near its mouth. A mile south of El Khadarah, is seen a high, insulated, conical mountain, called *Jebel Dwee*, * which supplies the beautiful little plains below with a plentiful rill of excellent water. A little to the east of El Khadarah, are the remains of a large stone bridge, "the only one built over the Shelliff, notwithstanding the great inconveniences travellers are put to, especially in the winter season, of waiting sometimes a whole month before they can ford." Seven miles further east, are the ruins of another Roman town, now called, like many other sites, *El Herba*; that is, pulled down or destroyed. Here, the northern mountains recede from the river to the distance of two leagues, leaving a fertile plain. Upon their south-western declivity, half a mile above this plain, and two leagues east of *El Herba*, is Milliana (*Maniana*, *Maliana*), a small village of tiled houses, containing a few fragments of Roman architecture, and surrounded with fruitful gardens and vineyards, which are well watered by streams from *Jebel Zikar*, that overhangs the town. In the spring, the devotees of Algiers, Bleda, Medea, and the neighbouring villages, repair to Milliana, to kiss the shrine of Seedy Yousef, the tutelar saint of this place. The fatigue of climbing up to it is repaid by a delightful prospect of a rich arable country extending as far as Medea.

Eight miles E.N.E. of Medea ("half way between

* Supposed to be the *Mons Transcellensis* of Ammianus; and *El Khadarah* will then be the *Zucchabbari*, *Succabar*, and *Colonia Augusta* of ancient geography. The town appears, by the ruins, to have been three miles in circuit.]

the Shelliff and the sea,") are the *Hammam Mere* [illegible] the *Aquæ Callidæ Colonia* of the ancients. "The largest and most frequented of them is a basin [illegible] feet square and four in depth; and the water, which bubbles up to a heat just supportable, after it has filled this cistern, passes on to a much smaller one which is made use of by the Jews, who are not permitted to bathe in the same place as the Mohammedans. These baths were formerly covered, and had corridors of stone round the basins; but, at present, they are exposed to the weather, and are half full of stones and rubbish. Yet, notwithstanding all this, a great concourse of people usually resort hither in the spring, the season of these waters; which are accounted very efficacious, as curing the jaundice, rheumatic pains, and some of the most inveterate distempers. Higher up the hill is another bath, which being of too intense a heat to bathe in, the water is conducted through a long pipe into another chamber, where it is used in *duccian* (aspersion), an operation like pumping. Between this and the lower bath, are the ruins of an old Roman town, equal to *El Herba*; and at a little distance from it, are several tombs and coffins of stone.....The country round about these baths is made up of a succession of exceedingly rugged hills and deep valleys, very difficult and dangerous to pass over." Beyond them, to the northward, are the delightful plains of *Hadjoute* and the *Mettijiah*.*

Descending the valley of the Shelliff from the point

* Shaw, pp. 28—32. Of these plains, that which is watered by the Shelliff in the upper part of its course, would seem to be a continuation towards the S.W. Shaw, describing its course from W. to E., says: "Here (at El Herba) the Shelliff begins to wind itself through a plain not inferior in extent and fertility to any of this kingdom." From this vague statement, and his apology for a map, it is impossible to deduce any thing satisfactory.

where it assumes a westerly course, we have, on the northern bank, another *El Herba*, where Shaw observed several pillars of bluish marble with Corinthian capitals, and some stone sarcophagi;—the mud-walled villages of *Herjejah* and *Beni Rashed*,—the latter once a considerable place, with a castle now in ruins;—and, beyond them, opposite the mouth of the Arhew, Mazouna,—"a dirty mud-walled village, without the least footsteps of any such Roman temples and sumptuous edifices as are mentioned by Dapper and Marmol:" it is, however, delightfully situated under the southern side of the mountains, and possessed, in Shaw's time, flourishing woollen-manufactories. Pitts (who makes it to be much nearer to Milliana) states, that the Turks kept a garrison there.

On the southern side of the Shelliff, there appear to be no places of any interest or importance,* the mountains running parallel with the river. On the western coast of this province, however, there are several places which claim notice.

About fifteen miles south of the mouth of the Shelliff, is the garrisoned town of *Mustigannim* (or

* Shaw mentions only the ruins of Sinaab (*Oppidoneum*) and Memoun, formerly two contiguous cities. About five miles from the latter, is a square mausoleum of Roman times, now called *Memounturroy*, surrounded with some massy sarcophagi of marble. "This, like many other ancient edifices, is supposed to have been built over a treasure; agreeably to which account, they tell us, that these mystical rhymes were inscribed upon it by Prince Maimoun Tizai:—

"*Maily*	"My treasure
Fe thully;	is in my shade;
Wa thully	And my shade
Fe maily:	is in my treasure.
Etmak	Search for it;
La teis;	Despair not:
Wa teis	Nay, despair;
La tetmah."	Do not search."

Mustegollem, so called, Shaw says, from the sweetness of the mutton fed in the neighbourhood,) which ranks next to Tlemsan among the cities of this province. It is built in a theatrical form, with a full prospect of the sea, backed by a semi-circle of hills which inclose and overhang it. At a short distance to the south, is the small mud-walled town of Masagran (or Mazachran), situated upon the western declivity of a range of hills, within a furlong of the sea. All along the shore between these two places, gardens, orchards, and country-seats occur in beautiful variety; and a copious supply of water is furnished by the adjacent hills. Shaw supposes, that one or both of these places may occupy the site of the ancient *Cartennæ*. "The inhabitants," he says, "have a tradition, that the present Mustygannim is made up of several contiguous villages; and some vacant spaces seem to confirm it. In the middle of it, near one of these, are the remains of an old Moorish castle. The N.W. corner which overlooks the port, (such an unsafe one as it is,) is surrounded with a strong wall of hewn stone, where there is another castle, built in a more regular manner, with a Turkish garrison to defend it. But Mustygannim being too much exposed to every troop of Arabs who have the courage to make themselves masters of the hills behind it, the principal strength and defence of it lies in a citadel lately erected upon one of these eminences, which has a full command of the city and of the country round about it. The strength and beauty of the walls of Mustygannim, particularly to the N.W., may well allow us to suppose them to have been a portion of some Roman fabric."

About twelve miles to the S.W. of Masagran, at the head of a wide gulf or bay, is the mouth of a

stream which the learned Traveller identifies with the *Cartennus*. It is now choked up with sand, except during the rainy reason, and is called *El Mukdah* (the ford). Yet, several united streams appear to have here their outlet. The principal confluents are, the Habrah, (so called from the Arabs who inhabit its banks,) and the Sigg or Sikke, which fertilizes the plains of Midley, "cultivated like a garden." In the midst of a plain watered by one of the branches of the Sigg, ten leagues from Mustygannim, is Mascar or Mascara, "a collection of mud-walled houses, with a fort garrisoned by the natives, now the residence of the Bey. Five leagues N.E. of Mascar, is *El Callah*, "the greatest market of this country for carpets and burnooses." It is a dirty, ill-contrived town, built, as its name imports, upon an eminence, in the midst of a mountainous district containing several villages, all very profitably employed in the same woollen-manufacture. The Turks have here a small garrison. Shaw supposes it to be the site of *Gitlui* or *Apfar*.

To the S.W. of El Mukdah, is the port of Arzew (*Arsenaria*). Arzew itself is three miles from its port. The country behind it is a rich champaign; but, towards the sea, it is guarded by a range of steep rocks and precipices. "The water which the inhabitants at present use, lies lower than the sea; a circumstance which may account for the brackishness of it. To supply it with wholesomer water, the whole city was formerly built upon cisterns, of which several still remain, and serve the inhabitants to dwell in. A great many capitals, bases, shafts, and other ancient materials lie scattered over the ruins. A well-finished Corinthian capital of Parian marble supported the smith's anvil; and in the Kaide's house, I accidentally

discovered," continues Shaw, "a beautiful Mosaic pavement through the rents of a ragged carpet that was spread over it. Several sepulchral inscriptions, with the names of Regulus, Saturninus, and Gandus, still remain in a *hypogeum*, fifteen feet square, built very plain, without either niches or *columbaria*."

Beyond the port of Arzew, the coast runs out into Cape Ferratt or Mesaff, between which and Cape Falcon (or *Ras el Harshfa*, the rugged headland) is the famous maritime city of Oran (Warran, Auran, Guharan), long in the possession of the Spaniards.* Shaw describes it as a fortified city, about a mile in circumference, built upon the declivity and near the foot of a high mountain which overlooks it from the N. and N.W. Upon the ridge of this mountain are two castles, commanding the city on one side and the port on the other. To the S. and S.E., are two other castles, erected upon the same level with the lower part of the city, but separated from it by a deep, winding valley, which serves as a natural trench on the south side. A rivulet flows through it, and passing afterwards under the walls of the city, affords a copious supply of water. At every opening of this valley, a pleasing and varied view presents itself, of rocky precipices, orange-plantations, and rills of water trickling down from the heights. Near the head of the rivulet, there is another castle, which not only guards the *mattamores* dug under its walls, but serves as an important defence to the city. Yet, strong as the place is by nature as well as art, it was taken by the

* Oran was taken by the Spaniards under Cardinal Ximenes, in 1509; was recovered by the Moors in 1708; and retaken by the Spaniards in 1732; but they recently restored the town, retaining only the castle of Mers el Kebir. Oran is in latitude 35° 50′ N., longitude 0° 18′ W.

Spaniards, in 1732, by surprise; the Bey, "otherwise a very valiant man," abandoning it upon the first landing of the enemy, without shutting the gates or shewing the least disposition to resist them,—owing, as Shaw tells us, to "an unaccountable panic." During the time that the Spaniards retained possession of Oran, they built several beautiful churches and other edifices in the style of the Roman architecture, though of less strength and solidity. They have imitated the Romans further, Shaw says, in carving upon the friezes and other parts, several inscriptions in large characters, and in their own language. But neither at Oran, nor at the adjacent village of Geeza (supposed to be *Quiza Colonia*), could he meet with any Roman antiquities.

The port, called *Mer-el-quiver* (corrupted from *Mers'-el-Kibeer*, and answering to the ancient *Portus Magnus*), is formed by a neck of land which runs out almost a furlong into the bay, and thereby secures it against the N. and N.W. winds. The castle built for the defence of it, is more remarkable for spaciousness and extent than for strength or beauty, though a great part of it, particularly towards the west, has been, with considerable skill, hewn out of the natural rock. This is still in the possession of the Spaniards.

A few leagues S.W. of Cape Falcon, another headland runs out towards the west, called Cape Figalo and *Ras Azintoure*; beyond which the *Wed-el-Mailah* (*Flumen Salsum*) discharges itself into the Gulf of Harshgoone.* Five leagues to the south is the mouth

* Notwithstanding its saltness, its water is drunk by the Arabs. At a short distance from its mouth, it receives the Sinan, which winds through a very fertile district. On its banks, the elder Barbarossa strewed about his treasure, when pursued by the victorious Spaniards; his last, ineffectual effort to retard the pursuit of his enemies. Between the river Mailah and Oran is an extensive salt-

of the Tafna; according to Shaw the ancient *Siga*. On the western bank are several ancient ruins called *Tackumbreet*, the site of *Siga*, or *Sigeum*, the metropolis of Syphax and other Mauritanian kings. The situation is far from being either agreeable or salubrious, and the adjacent country is liable to inundation from the rivers; but it appears to have been chosen as adapted for commerce. Over against Tackumbreet is a small island, anciently called Acra, which forms the port of Harshgoone, where vessels of the greatest burden may lie in safety. Six leagues west of this port, is the long foreland called, by Ptolemy, the Great Promontory, and at present, *Ras Hunneine* and Cape Hone. It is the termination of the mountains of Trara, which, according to Shaw, form the western confines of the kingdom of Algiers.*

Five leagues up the country from the mouth of the Tafna, is the city of Tremesen, pronounced by the Moors, Tlemsan or Tillimsan; formerly the capital of the western province, and more anciently of an independent Moorish kingdom.† It stands upon a rising ground, below a range of rocky precipices, the first steps of Mount Atlas in this part; for there is much higher ground to the southward. About the year 1670, Hassan, Dey of Algiers, laid the greater part of this city in ruins, as a punishment

marsh, called the *Shibkah*, which becomes a lake in the winter season. The *Ammer* tribe of Arabs have their encampments in this neighbourhood; "who, from their long intercourse with the Spaniards, while they were masters of Warran, retain several of their customs, and speak their language with propriety."—Shaw, p. 24.

* Sanson and other geographers make the boundary to be the river Mullooiah or Mulluvia, about fifty miles to the westward.

† "Telemsen must always be considered as the chief city of the province, although the governing bey has established his residence at Mascara."—Malte Brun, vol. iv. p. 184.

for the disaffection of its inhabitants; so that in 1727, when Shaw travelled, not a sixth part of the old Tlemsan was then standing.* When entire, it was about four miles in circuit. "Most of the walls," he says, "have been built, or rather moulded in frames; a method of building which, Pliny informs us, was used by the Africans and Spaniards in his time. The mortar of which they consist, is made up of sand, lime, and gravel, which, being well tempered and wrought together, has attained a strength and solidity not inferior to stone.† The several stages and removes of these frames are still observable; some of which are at least one hundred yards in length, and two yards in height and thickness. In the western part of the city, there is a large square basin of Moorish workmanship, 200 yards long and about half as broad. The inhabitants entertain a tradition, that formerly the kings of Tlemsan took here the diversion of the water; but the water of the Sachratain being

* In Pitts's "Faithful Account," we have the following description of this city. "The furthest town in the western territory of Algier is Tillimsan, a town of great note in former days, before Mahomet began his imposture; and indeed, by its strong walls and gates, and the ruins thereof, which I saw, it seemed so to have been. This is a place abounding in all sorts of curious and delicious fruits. And the women and boys here are reputed the fairest and most beautiful in all the Algerine dominions, even to a proverb. Here the Turks keep garrison also. When I went into their great mosque (i. e. their place of public worship), I admired the great door thereof, which was a folding-door, and all solid brass, or bell-metal, with curious workmanship wrought on it. This great gate, they say, was found by the sea-side, supposed to be some wreck, and was brought from thence by a Marabbot (or saint) on his shoulders to Tillimsan, which is about twenty miles. Which Marabbot lies intombed just before the said great door."

† This ancient mode of constructing the walls of houses is practised in many parts of the Spanish and Portuguese dominions. See, for a description of the *casas de taipa* of the Brazilians, Mod. Trav. Brazil, vol. i. p. 228.

easily turned off from its ordinary course, this basin might rather have been designed as a reservoir in case of a siege; not to mention the constant use of it at all other times, in preserving a quantity of water, sufficient to refresh the beautiful gardens and plantations that lie below it." Amidst the eastern part of the ruins are a few shafts of pillars and other fragments of Roman architecture; and in the walls of a mosque, constructed of ancient materials, are a number of altars dedicated to the *Dii Manes*. The ancient name of the city is doubtful.*

The mountains of Sachratain, which rise beyond Tlemsan, are the commencement of the chain which, under the names of *Sout el Tell*, *Safarowy*, *El Calla*, *Beni Zerwal*, *El Kadara*, and *Milliana*, traverses the whole province from S. W. to N. E.; dividing it in some parts from the Sahara. These mountains, according to Shaw, are the true continuation of Mount Atlas. "We may well take," he remarks, "that remarkable chain of eminences which sometimes borders upon the *Sahara*, and sometimes lies within the *Tell*, to be the *Astrixis* of Orosius, the same with the Mount Atlas so noted in history. Yet, it may be observed, that this mountain is not always of that extraordinary height or bigness attributed to it by the ancients; being rarely or ever equal, as far

* Shaw, pp. 22—24. It has been asserted, but Shaw questions the assertion, that several medals dug up in this place, bore the legend, *Tremis. Col.*, "a city not known in the old geography." "*Timice*," he adds, "from some supposed affinity in the name, has been generally, though with as little reason, taken for Tlemsan; whereas Ptolemy's *Lanigara* will better agree with this situation." D'Anville says: "The position of *Regiæ*, denoting a royal dwelling, is found, by the direction of a Roman way, to be Tlemsan, where the Arab princes of the house of Beni Merin also established their residence." The modern name is probably Arabic. Tlemsan is reckoned 50 miles S. S. W. of Oran, and 220 W. S. W. of Algiers.

as I have seen, to some of the greater mountains of our own Island; and, perhaps, it can no where stand in competition either with the Alps or the Apennines. If we conceive, in an easy ascent, a number of hills, usually of the perpendicular height of four, five, or six hundred yards, with a succession of several groves and ranges of fruit-trees and forest-trees, growing one behind another, upon them; and if, to this prospect, we sometimes add a rocky precipice of superior eminence and more difficult access; and place upon the side or the summit of it, a mud-walled *dash krah* of the *kabyles;* we shall then have a just and lively picture of Mount Atlas, without giving the least credit to the nocturnal flames, to the melodious sounds or lascivious revels of such imaginary beings as Pliny, Solinus, and others have in a peculiar manner attributed to it." It must be recollected, however, that this chain attains its greatest elevation in the kingdom of Morocco, where its summits cannot be less than 12,000 feet above the level of the sea; and the Numidian mountains, if they may be considered as a prolongation of the Atlas, must not be identified with the mountain properly so called.

The *Tell*, or cultivated part, lying between the parallels of 34° and 37°, enjoys, Shaw says, a very temperate and salubrious air, neither too sultry in summer, nor too sharp in winter.* The seasons insensibly fall into each other, and the barometer shews all the variations of the weather within the space of one inch and three-tenths. In short, it would seem that

* "During the twelve years that I attended the Factory at Algiers, I found the thermometer twice only contracted to the freezing point; and then the whole country (a very unusual circumstance) was covered with snow; nor ever knew it rise to sultry weather, unless the winds blew from the Sahara." p. 133. The average fall of rain at Algiers in a year, is twenty-seven or twenty-eight inches.

the ancient Numidia fully deserves the encomium pronounced upon it by Signor Pananti, of being "by far the most beautiful part of Africa."

It only remains to describe that part of the ancient *Mauritania Cæsariensis* lying between the mountains of Trara and the Mulluvia, which belonged, in Shaw's time, to the Western Moors. His account of it, commencing with its western boundary, is as follows.

"The Malva (Μαλῦα or Mullooiah, according to the pronunciation of the Moors) is a large and deep river, which empties itself into the Mediterranean Sea, over against the Bay of Almeria in Spain. Small cruising vessels are still admitted within its channel; which, by proper care and contrivance, might be made sufficiently commodious, as it seems to have been formerly, for vessels of greater burthen. The sources of it, according to Abulfeda, are a great way within the Sahara, at the distance of 800 miles; and the whole course of it, contrary to most of the other rivers, lies nearly in the same meridian. The Mullooiah, therefore, as it appears to be the most considerable river in Barbary, is by far the fittest for a boundary, as the ancient geographers and historians have made it, betwixt Mauritania and Numidia, or between the Mauritania Tingitana and Cæsariensis, as they were afterwards called. The same river, by comparing the old geographers, will appear to be the *Molochath* and the *Mulucha*,—the boundary between the *Mauri* and the *Massæsyli*....Three little islands (the *Tres Insulæ* of the Itinerary), where there is a good shelter for small vessels, are situated to the N. W. of the mouth of the river, at the distance of ten miles.

"Six leagues to the eastward is the village of Seedy*

* This is the way in which this Writer (whose orthography we have followed in the extracts) always spells the title which is other-

Abdelmoumen, one of the tutelar Marabbutts of this country, whose tomb they hold in the greatest veneration. Below it is a small but commodious road for vessels, which the row-boats of this country frequently touch at; as they do likewise at *Maisearda*, a little beyond it to the E. This, which is another of the smaller maritime villages of Barbary, whence a great quantity of corn is often shipped for Europe, is constructed, like those in the inland country, in a slovenly manner, with mud, stone, timber, hurdles, and such materials as are the most easily procured. The Tingitanians have upon the banks of the Mullooiah, in the road between Fez and Tlemsan, a well-fortified castle, with a garrison of 1000 men. They have another at *El-Joube* (the cisterns), twenty miles further eastward. In the wars between Muley Ishmael (Emperor of Morocco) and the Regency of Algiers, they were both of the greatest consequence, as they still continue to be very serviceable in awing the Ang-gadd and other factious clans of Arabs; inhabitants unworthy of so delicious and fruitful a country. Woojeda (*Guagida*), the frontier town of the Western Moors, lies about half-way between *El Joube* and Tlemsan. To the southward is the desert of the Ang-gadd, whose numerous and warlike offspring extend their hostilities and encampments to the very walls of Tlemsan. To the northward, nearer the sea, we have, together with a celebrated intermitting fountain, the mountainous and rugged district of the *Beni Zenessel* (or *Jesneten*), a not less powerful tribe of *Kabyles*, who, secure in their numbers and situation, have not hitherto submitted to the Tingitanians....During the long

wise written Sidi, Siddee, Seid, and Cid. It answers to master or lord, and is a title of honour attributed to the Marabboots, as, in the Levant, such Holy persons are entitled Sheikh.

reign of the late Muley Ishmael, Tingitania, not less than the other districts more immediately influenced by the capital, were under such strict government and regulation, that, notwithstanding the number of Arabs every where intent upon plunder and rapine,—a child (according to their manner of speaking) 'might safely carry a piece of money in his open hand from one end of the kingdom to the other:' the merchant travelled with his richest commodities, from one fair and sea-port to another, without the least danger or molestation."*

Here, on the frontier of Morocco, we are deserted by the learned Traveller, whose account of Algiers and Tunis, though a hundred years old, still forms our chief and best authority in illustrating the ancient, and even the modern geography of these kingdoms. All that we have to regret is, that his scientific acquirements were not equal to his classical knowledge, and that his observations, invaluable as they are to the historian, throw so little light upon those subjects which fall within the province of the geologist, the naturalist, or the moral philosopher. In proceeding to describe the Western Mauritania, Ali Bey (Badhia), Mr. Jackson, Colonel Keatinge, and Dr. Lempriere will be our authorities.

* Shaw, pp. 7—9.

MOROCCO.

THE empire of Morocco is a remnant of the great African monarchies founded by the Saracens. The dynasty of the Aglabites, whose original seat of empire was fixed at Kairwan, and that of the Edrisites, whose capital was Fez, were both subjugated by the Fatimites, who, being afterwards occupied with the conquest of Egypt,* allowed their western dominions to be usurped by the Zuheirites (Zeïrites, Zereids). To them succeeded, in the provinces of Tunis and Constantina, the Hamadians and Abuhafsians. But, in Mauritania, the power of the Zuheirites was subverted by the Moravedi (or Morabeth) †, who rose into military consequence, A.H. 462 (A.D. 1069), under Abu Bekr Ben Omar Lamethouni. The surname of this Maraboot chieftain was taken from the place of his birth, a town of Sus. At the head of an army of fanatics, he made himself master of the country, on which he assumed the title of *Emir al Moo-*

* See MOD. TRAV., Egypt, vol. i. p. 120.

† According to Col. Keatinge, this is the same word as Maraboot, an honorific title meaning instructor. "Those who assumed the denomination, embodied and designated themselves first in the East, and at a period almost as far back as Islamism itself. They were always seceders at least, if not dissenters from the main body of this creed. Notwithstanding the presumption of the title, their habits were so gross, that they hardly could with any truth lay claim to any religion. Their first doctor, when they had risen into some degree of note, they received from Cairo; his name was Abdallah."—Keatinge, p. 268. In Malte Brun, we find him called Abdallah Ben Iasin; he is said to have lived on water, game, and fish, and to have married and divorced many wives every month! "A prince of the Lemtunaas" (Lamethounis), it is stated, "chose for the reformer of his people, their legislator and high-priest," this artful fanatic, who "created a sect, marked in the first instance by furious zeal, which, issuing from the desert like a fiery hurricane, threatened by turns Africa and Europe."

menim (prince of the faithful). His successor, Yousef Abu Tashfin, pushed on his conquests, carrying his arms into Spain; and to this prince is ascribed the building of the city of Morocco, probably on more ancient foundations, about A.D. 1080.* This Yousef is immortalized by having gained the battle of Sala near Badajos in Spain, against the Christians, in which King Alfonso was slain, A.D. 1086. The next exploit of the Moravedi, was the expelling from Spain of the dynasty of the Ommiades (Ommeyah). "During the anarchy which preceded the fall of that family, some of the rival claimants called the Almoravides to their aid. These Africans came, like the first invaders, with the strength and enterprising spirit of a new dynasty. The Christians could not have made head against them, if they had not found allies among the Moorish kings, who established, at this time, short-lived sovereignties; and who, when the Africans were expelled, fell themselves an easy prey."†

The ecclesiastical and political rule of the Moravedi extended from Algiers southward to Timbuctoo and Soudan, and lasted for three reigns, comprising about eighty years. In the middle of the twelfth century, they gave way before the Almohades, a sect or tribe of more austere character, and supposed to be *kabyles* of the Berber nation.‡ They conquered the great empire of Mogreb (the West); and though less for-

* "This prince," says Col. Keatinge, "has been subjected by historians to strange misnomers. Who would suspect him under *Baschkehin?*" In Malte Brun, he is called Abutasfin; and Joosoof (Yousef) is given as the name of his successor. He is stated to have built Merakash or Morocco in 1052.

† See an interesting article (attributed to Dr. Southey) on the Arabs and Moors in Spain, in Foreign Quart. Rev., No. I. p. 59.

‡ The Al Mohadi (Moiadi, Mooahedes) took their name, Col. Keatinge says, from their leader; the word having the signification of Rabbi.

tunate in Spain, extended their power in Africa as far as Tripoli. Their princes, in addition to the title of *Emir al Moomenim*, assumed even that of Khalif.* After the lapse of a century, intestine discords exposed the Mohadi to the successful attacks of several rival tribes. Among these were the Merinites (or *Beni Merini*), who, about A.D. 1250, gained possession of the kingdoms of Fez and Morocco. More intent on retaining, than on extending their power, this dynasty made no effort to re-establish the great empire of Mogreb. Their power was overthrown by the Oatazi, a tribe of obscure origin; in whose time, the Portuguese established themselves on the coast, and began to disturb the country with a view to the propagation of the true faith. This gave an opportunity to the Shereefs settled in Tafilet, to work their way into power. "In fact," remarks Col. Keatinge, "they seem to have been recurred to on account of what they were," (the supposed descendants of Mohammed,) "under the emergencies of the State, menaced with extraneous violence. Hassan Xeriff (Shereef) had the merit, in the eyes of his country, of delivering it from the dangers of foreign thraldom; and he compensated himself by the possession of the sceptre, which he left to his family." The present Sultan is of this family, which, notwithstanding frequent revolutions, has maintained itself in the sovereignty of Morocco for nearly 300 years.*

Such is briefly the history of an empire which still embraces a territory nearly as large as Spain,† with a

* Keatinge, pp. 196, 9; 268. Malte Brun, vol. iv. p. 187. The reigning Sultan, Muley Abderrahman, ascended the throne in 1822.

† The territory of Spain is computed by M. Walkenaer to contain 137,400 square geographical miles; Morocco, 130,000. In Malte Brun, the latter is stated at 359,380 square miles!

population of which the estimates vary from four millions and a half to nearly fifteen millions.* Of this country, the following general description is furnished by Dr. Lempriere, who travelled through Morocco in 1790.

"The empire of Morocco commences, in the Mediterranean, at the river Mulvia (or Muluwia), which separates the Emperor's dominions from the kingdom of Tremecen (Tlemsan), now forming part of the territory of Algiers. From this river, the coast takes a westerly direction, (presenting, in its way, the small town of Melilla, now possessed by the Spaniards,) until it approaches so near to that of Europe, as to admit of the houses in the town of Ceuta being distinctly seen, on a clear day, from the opposite shore. From Ceuta Point, to the eastward of which is situated the port and extensive city of Tetuan, a range of lofty hills, inaccessible towards the sea, runs westward, in a parallel line with the Spanish coast on the opposite side, and forms the southern boundary of the Straits of Gibraltar. This range continues in the same direction, until interrupted, towards the western extremity of the Straits, by an inlet of the sea, forming the bay and port of Tangier. The coast then

* Mr. Jackson, who officiated as British Consul at Mogadore for many years, professes to have collected minute information, according to which he estimates the numbers of the population as follow:—

Cities and towns of the Empire .	936,000
Morocco and Fez, W. of M. Atlas .	10,300,000
Nomade tribes N. of Atlas .	3,000,000
Tafilet, E. of Atlas . . .	650,000
	14,886,000

This estimate is, however, wholly at variance with the accounts of other travellers, who represent the country as extremely depopulated. By Chenier and Hæst, the population is supposed not to exceed five or six millions, and Balbi states it at only 4,500,000.

again advances to the west, until it reaches Cape Spartel, in the Atlantic Ocean, when it suddenly takes a southerly course, in which it continues for nearly 500 miles, until it is lost in the desert of Zaarha, beyond Cape Non, in the latitude of 28° 20′ N.; the desert forming the southern boundary of the Emperor's dominions. Between Cape Spartel and Cape Non, are situated those numerous sea-port towns upon the Atlantic Ocean, which, if improved, are so admirably calculated for opening a commercial intercourse with Europe, America, the East and West Indies, and, if we include Tangier and Tetuan, with the Mediterranean.

"Thus, the empire of Morocco, generally, may be said to be bounded on the north by the Mediterranean Sea and the Straits of Gibraltar; on the west by the Atlantic Ocean; on the south by the desert of Zaarha; and on the east by the kingdom of Tremecen and the country to the east of Tafilet. It, however, may be observed, that the Arabs to the south of the river Suz, though they nominally acknowledge the Emperor of Morocco to be their chief and the head of their church, yet, availing themselves of the great distance at which they are placed from the seat of government, and of other local advantages, pay but little attention to his mandates, and, at times, have proved extremely troublesome to his government. On this account, I have made the river Suz the southern boundary of the empire; though, in most other publications, his dominions have been extended as far as Cape Non, and which, with the exceptions I have noticed, is actually the case at the present day. With this admission, the Emperor's dominions may be estimated at about 500 miles in length from north to south, and 200 from east to west; the whole being situated between the 28th and 30th degrees of N. latitude.

"Within such latitudes, the climate, as might be expected, is comparatively mild in temperature; and as the country is, in a great measure, free from those marshy districts which, in warm climates, not unfrequently engender the most fatal diseases; and as the plains are well ventilated and tempered by the approximation of lofty mountains; the country proves uniformly healthy to the inhabitants, and most highly beneficial to those Europeans who, from previous indisposition, have resorted thither for a change of air. In the northern provinces, the climate is nearly the same as that of Spain, with the autumnal and vernal rains peculiar to that country; but towards the south, the rains are less general and certain, and, of course, the heat is more excessive. Indeed, to the south of the river Suz, and throughout the desert of Zaarha, little or no rain falls throughout the year; and it is principally from this circumstance, that the caravans experience so much difficulty in traversing the desert. We may, however, generally observe, that, throughout the Emperor's dominions, the air, with exceptions as to certain periods of the year, and the occasional influence of particular winds, has a congenial softness and a degree of serenity, which render the climate peculiarly delightful. The sea-port towns have the additional advantage of being frequently refreshed with sea-breezes; and Mogadore, though so far to the southward, from being subject in the summer season to have the wind regularly at north-west, is quite as cool as the more temperate climates of Europe.

"The soil of the empire of Morocco, though varying in its nature and quality, according to the province in which it is to be found, yet, generally, is in the highest degree fertile, and, under proper cultivation, is capable of producing all the luxuries of the eastern

and western worlds. It must, however, be confessed, that, on some parts of the sea-coast, like every other country under similar circumstances, it is sandy and barren. But the plains of the Interior uniformly consist of a rich, black loam, which renders them fertile beyond all calculation. The mountainous parts also, by suitable cultivation, no doubt, might be rendered capable of producing most of those fruits and plants which succeed best in the hilly countries of warm climates; and I see no reason why plantations of coffee, cocoa, pimento, and those of most of the tropical productions, might not be brought to perfection in the southern provinces; as well as of sugar, cotton, rice, and indigo, the cultivation of which has already been successfully introduced into the country.

"From the slight cultivation the country at present receives, which is merely the burning of stubble before the autumnal rains come on, (for manure is not required,) and the ploughing it about six inches deep, it produces, at a very early season, and in most luxuriant abundance, excellent wheat and barley (though no oats), Indian corn, *alderoy*, beans, peas, hemp, flax, and a great variety of esculent vegetables. Among the fruits may be mentioned, oranges of a very superior quality, lemons, citrons, pomegranates, melons, water-melons, olives, figs, grapes, almonds, dates, peaches, apricots, apples, pears, cherries, plums, and, in short, all the fruits to be found in the southern provinces of Spain and Portugal, with many others peculiar to the country itself. To these productions may be added, a variety of plants, capable of being applied to the most useful purposes, both in medicine and in the arts; and probably a great many others, which have not been noticed, or the uses of which have not been ascertained. As little encouragement,

however, is given to emulation or industrious exertion, many of the productions of the country do not arrive at the full perfection of which they seem capable. Could, indeed, a proper spirit for agriculture and foreign commerce be introduced, or, in other words, could the sovereign be persuaded that, by suffering his subjects to be enriched, he would improve his own treasury, this empire, from its convenient situation with respect to Europe, and from the natural luxuriance and fertility of its soil, might become of the highest political and commercial importance. The only material impediment to commerce, is the inconvenience and insecurity of the ports.* It is melancholy, in traversing the immense tract of so fine a country, to observe so much land lying waste and uncultivated, which, by a very little attention, would be capable of producing an inexhaustible treasure to its inhabitants. From this representation, it would scarcely be supposed credible, that Spain, which is also a fertile country, should be obliged to remit to the Emperor very large presents in money, to induce him to allow his subjects to export corn, as well as most other kinds of provisions and fruits, from Tangier and Tetuan.† Indeed, the southern provinces of Spain can hardly exist without this supply. The Jews, in most of the towns of the empire, make wine; but, either owing to the grapes not being in such perfection as those of Europe, or to an improper mode of preparing it, its flavour proves but very indifferent. They also distil a species of brandy from figs and

* Valedia, or El Waladia, is said to have the best harbour; and its natural basin might, with little alteration, be made to contain a fleet of almost any magnitude. The other ports, probably, might be improved.

† The reigning emperor in 1813, had, since his accession, totally prohibited the exportation of corn.

raisins, well known by the Spanish name of *aquadent*. This liquor has a disagreeable taste, but, in point of strength, is little inferior to spirits of wine. It is drunk without dilution very freely by the Jews on all their feasts or days of rejoicing; and there are very few of the Moors disposed to forego any private opportunity of taking their share of it also. The Moors cultivate tobacco.

"In my progress through the country, I have noticed forests of oaks of a dwarf kind, which bear acorns of remarkable size and sweet taste. To the southward, we meet with the date-palm; the *argа*, bearing a nut of the almond species; and the olive: from both the latter, the inhabitants extract great quantities of oil, which constitutes a considerable article of their exports. There is also an infinite variety of shrubs and plants. Cotton, indigo, wax, honey, salt, salt-petre, transparent gum, and gum *sandarac* are all productions of the empire. In the mountains of Atlas, there are numerous iron-mines. The neighbourhood of Tarudant produces mines of copper; and the Moors assert, that, in the Atlas, there are also some of gold and silver, which the Emperor will not allow to be touched." *

The climate, excepting for three months in summer, is very pleasant; but the dreadful hot wind of the desert prevails for a fortnight or three weeks before the rainy season, which commences in September. The country is also occasionally subject to great droughts, when armies of locusts are produced, who

* Lempriere, pp. 358—366. To this latter statement, the Author attaches no credit. Jackson, however, mentions silver, gold, and lead among the minerals. Tin and antimony are also found, but they are worked only superficially; and iron is even an article of import, the Moors being too ignorant to turn their own mines to account.

have been known, by destroying all vegetation, to occasion a general famine. The country throughout is ill watered. The rivers are comparatively few, and except just at their sea-ports, most of them deserve only the name of rivulets, being for the most part dried up in summer. The largest rivers are, the Mulluwia, already described; the Seboo, which waters the plains of Fez; the Morbeya (or Ommirabee), which divides the territory of Fez from the province of Tedla; the Tensift, or river of Morocco; and the Suz, which gives its name to the southern province. All these (except the first) fall into the Atlantic.

The empire of Morocco comprises four grand divisions, answering to the four kingdoms into which the territory was originally distributed, which, with their provincial subdivisions, are as follow:—

I. NORTHERN PROVINCES, OR KINGDOM OF FEZ.

	Chief Towns.
1. Erreef or El Rif.	
2. El Gharb.	Tetuan. Tangier. Arzilla.
3. Beni Hassan.	Sallee. Rabat.
4. Temsena.	Dar el Beyda.
5. Shawiya or Shavoya.	
6. District of Faz, or Fez.	Fez. Mekenes.
7. Tedla.	

II. CENTRAL, OR KINGDOM OF MOROCCO.

1. Duquella.	Mazagan. Azamore.
2. Abda.	Saffee.
3. Shedma.	Mogodore.
4. Haha or Hea.	
5. District of Morocco.	Morocco.

III. SOUTHERN, OR KINGDOM OF SUZ.

1. Suz, or Susa	Agadeer. Terodant. Imoon.
2. Draha.	

IV. EASTERN, OR KINGDOM OF TAFILET.

The routes from Tangier to Fez, and from Mogodore to Morocco, will comprise a sufficient description of this extensive but depopulated country.

TANGIER.

A FEW miles to the E. of Cape Spartel, and thirty-miles W. S.W. of Gibraltar, is the sea-port of Tangier * (properly *Tanja*), the Tinja of the ancients, which gave its name to the province (*Mauritania Tingitana*). Short as is the distance from Europe, and constant as the communication is between the opposite shores of the Straits, the transition is immediate and striking, to a European, from civilized society to Moorish barbarism. This town was long a subject of eager contest between the Moors and the Portuguese. In 1471, Alonzo, king of Portugal, succeeded in obtaining possession of it; and in 1662, it came into the hands of the English, as part of the marriage portion of the queen of Charles II. While in our possession, it was a place of considerable strength; but, on its evacuation in 1684, by orders of the English Government, the fortifications were demolished; and only the vestiges of them are now visible. There is, at present, only a small fort in tolerable repair at the northern extremity of the town, and a battery of a few guns fronting the bay. It is, therefore, a place of no strength. The town occupies a very small space, and affords nothing remarkable. Standing upon an eminence which appears to rise out of the sea, its whitened houses, with the walls surrounding the town, the castle, and the bay, form altogether a pleasing view; but, on entering the town, the stranger finds himself surrounded with every thing characteristic of meanness

* According to Ali Bey, Tangier is in latitude 35° 47′ 54″; longitude 5° 53′ 45″.

and wretchedness. "Except the principal street, which is rather large, and which crosses the town in an irregular manner from the sea-gate, E. and W., all the streets are crooked, and so narrow that scarcely three persons can pass abreast. The houses are for the most part mean and ill-furnished, and so low, Ali Bey says, that one may reach with the hand the tops of most of them. They have, of course, only one floor, with flat roofs covered with plaster. The dwellings of the European consuls have decent windows; but, in those of the other inhabitants, there are only a few not above a foot square, or mere loop-holes an inch or two wide. In some parts, the principal street is badly paved: the rest of the town is left in its natural state, "with enormous rocks, which they have not even taken the pains to smooth." For a short distance, the surrounding land is laid out in vineyards, orchards, and corn-fields; but, beyond these, are only tracts of sand, bounded by lofty and barren hills, which have by no means a pleasing appearance.

On the northern side of Tangier is the castle, which is very extensive, but half in ruins. It is the residence of the Governor, and contains a royal treasury. Near the sea-shore are store-houses for the re-fitting of vessels; and at this port many of the Emperor's row-galleys are built. A number of them are also generally laid up here, it being the most convenient sea-port, from its situation with respect to the Straits. The bay is sufficiently spacious, but is dangerous for shipping in a strong easterly wind.* The safest anchorage is on the eastern part, about half a mile off the shore,

* "The largest vessels that I have seen enter the port, were of 150 tons burthen. But, though the bay is exposed to easterly winds, its situation is pretty good; and it appeared to me that a valuable port might be made there with little expense."—Ali Bey, vol. i. p. 14.

in a line with the round tower. On the southern side of the bay, is the mouth of the river, where, before it was choked up with sand-banks, the Emperor used to winter his large ships, which he is now obliged to send to Larache. Over the river of Tangier are the ruins of an ancient bridge, supposed to be Roman. The centre has been destroyed, but the remainder is entire, and, by its solidity, evinces the excellence of the ancient architecture.

Contrary to the usual custom in Barbary, the Jews and Moors live intermixed at Tangier, and maintain a more friendly intercourse than in most other parts of the empire. Instead of being compelled to go always barefooted, as at Morocco, this despised race are here required to do so only when passing a street in which there is a mosque or a sanctuary. The population, according to Ali Bey, is estimated at 10,000 souls; (Mr. Jackson says, 6000;) "chiefly soldiers, little retail dealers, and clumsy mechanics." Their most distinguishing characteristic is idleness. Their costume is thus described by the Spanish Traveller. "The complete dress of these people consists of a shirt with very wide sleeves; enormous drawers of white cloth; a woollen waistcoat, or small cloth jacket; and a red pointed cap, round which most of them roll some cotton or white muslin, so as to form a turban. The *hhaïk*, a large square of white woollen, envelopes them completely, and is sometimes drawn over the head like a hood. Sometimes, a white wrapper, called a *bournouse*, is worn over the *hhaïk*.* Instead of the jacket, some wear a *kaftan*; a long robe, buttoned before from top to bottom, with very wide sleeves, but not so long as the Turkish kaftan. All wear a woollen

* The *bournouse* worn over the *hhaïk*, is the ceremonial dress of the *talbes*, or learned men, the *imaums*, and *fakihs*.

or silken sash. The Moor never covers his legs wearing nothing on his feet, but very clumsy yellow slippers without heels. The women are always so completely wrapped up, that it is difficult to see even one of their eyes from under the deep fold of the *haïk*. They wear on their feet enormous red slippers, but, like the men, without stockings.* When they carry a child or any other burthen, it is always on their backs, so that their hands are never to be seen. The dress of the children consists of a simple tunic with a sash."

The Jews are obliged to wear a particular dress, consisting of large drawers, a tunic descending to their knees, a *burnouse* thrown on one side, slippers, and a very small cap: every part is black, except the shirt or tunic, the sleeves of which are very wide, open, and hanging low. They are the principal artizans at Tangier, and indemnify themselves for the ill-treatment they receive, by a particular skill in cheating. They have several synagogues. The Jewish women are, in early life, generally pretty, some of them very handsome, and of a beautiful complexion. The Moorish women, on the contrary, are generally of a dead white, like marble statues; owing either to their sedentary habits, or to the manner in which their faces are always wrapped up when in the open air. †

Provisions at Tangier are plentiful and cheap; especially meat. They make very good bread, and the fruits are excellent. The principal food of all the inhabitants of Morocco, however, this Traveller says, is *cuscussou*. "Coffee was formerly very much used in Morocco: they drank it at all hours of the day, as

* In some parts, the women wear stockings.

† Ali Bey, vol. i. pp. 16, 33.

in the East. But, when the English made presents of tea to the Sultans, they offered it to the persons at that court; and soon the use of this beverage spread by degrees to the lowest ranks of society, so that, at this time, more tea is drunk, in proportion, in Morocco, than even in England; and there is no Mussulman in tolerable circumstances, who has not, at all hours of the day, tea ready to offer to every one who may visit him. It is taken very strong, seldom with milk, and sugar is put into the tea-pot. The sugar and tea are imported from Gibraltar.*

Tangier is the residence of the consuls-general of the various European nations who are on amicable terms with the Sultan.† They are occasionally called upon to act as envoys or ministers, and their situation is represented as far from enviable. They are often ordered up to court, and after encountering a tedious, fatiguing, and expensive journey, are not unfrequently sent back without even being informed of the purpose for which they were summoned. The English, Swedish, and Danish consuls have erected for themselves country-houses at a short distance from Tangier, whither they occasionally retire, to enjoy the amusements of gardening, fishing, and the chase. Previously to the reign of Sidi Mahomet, the foreign consuls were allowed to reside at Tetuan, a situation in every respect preferable; but in 1770, a European gentleman having accidentally shot an old Moorish woman, the Emperor swore by his beard, that no Christian should ever again enter that town. The English are, however, allowed to touch at Tetuan, and a considerable communication is kept up with

* Ali Bey, vol. i. p. 21.

† The French consul only, Lempriere says, has a house at Sallee.

Gibraltar. Of this place, Dr. Lempriere gives the following description.

TETUAN.

"THE city of Tetuan is very pleasantly situated near the opening of the Straits into the Mediterranean; being built upon a rising ground between two ranges of high mountains, one of them forming a part of the Lesser Atlas. It lies about ten leagues to the East of Tangier,* and commands a beautiful prospect of the Mediterranean, from which it is only distant five miles; and the valley below is variegated with gardens, plantations of olives, and vineyards, and ornamented with a river, which takes its course directly through its centre. The barren and gloomy appearance of the lofty mountains, which seem almost to project over each side of the town, contrasted with the beautiful verdure with which it is immediately surrounded; the distant view of the sea, and the serpentine direction of the river, which is navigable for small craft as far as Marteen; afford altogether a scene highly interesting and romantic.

"The town is of considerable extent, and its walls are flanked in different parts with square forts, on which a few small pieces of ordnance are mounted. This fortification, however, is merely calculated to defend the place against the Arabs, who are often discontented, and disposed to commit depredations; but it could by no means resist the attacks of a regular army. Besides these small forts, there is a square castle on the summit of the hill, on which twenty-four pieces of cannon are mounted: this, though in itself

* Tetuan is thirty miles S.E. of Tangier, in lat. 35° 50′, long. 5° 20′.

but a weak and ill-constructed piece of fortification, commands the town in every direction. The streets of Tetuan are narrow and filthy; and many of them are nearly arched over by the houses. Though the houses have a mean appearance from the streets, yet, their apartments, in general, are roomy, tolerably convenient, and well furnished; and, contrary to those of Tangier, are built two stories high. The *El Caisseria*, or fair for the disposal of goods, is filled with shops, containing a great variety of valuable articles, both of European and of African manufacture. From Fez, the tradesmen are supplied not only with the manufactures of that city, but also with articles brought thither from Tunis, Algiers, Alexandria, and Tombuctoo, by means of the annual caravans; from Spain and Gibraltar, they import European merchandize; and, in addition to these, they have many manufactures of their own. Tetuan, therefore, may be ranked next to Fez in commercial importance.*

"As the Moorish inhabitants are principally merchants on a large scale, they are opulent, and more polished and accessible to strangers, than those of most other towns in this empire. Their complexions are generally fair, and they are altogether a well-looking people.....The mosques of Tetuan,

* On the Author's arrival at Tetuan, the Christians had been excluded from the town for nearly twenty years, and the novel sight of Englishmen drew all the people from their houses, to gaze at the strangers. Upon learning that they were English, the people expressed their satisfaction, and many of them invited the Travellers to their gardens. The Moors, Dr. Lempriere adds, were always partial to the English, in preference to every other European nation; and they even professed this attachment at the very time that their Emperor Sidi Mahomed was upon ill-terms with our Court.

which are very large and numerous, appear to have by far a greater claim to magnificence than those in the other towns. The Jews in this place, previously to their being plundered by order of Muley Yezid, were wealthy. They live in a separate part of the town, where they are shut out every night from the Moors. Their women are remarkable for their clearness of complexion and the beauty of their features.

"The port of Tetuan is situated at about two miles' distance from the sea, and is named Marteen. At this place, however, there is only a single house, which is used for the purpose of collecting the customs. As the mouth of the river on which it is situated, is now nearly choked up with sand, it admits only of small craft; and even these can proceed no further than Marteen, where there are usually a few of the Emperor's row-galleys laid up to winter. The entrance of the river is defended by a high, square tower, on which are mounted twelve pieces of cannon. This fortification might answer the purpose of preventing the approach of small vessels, but it is by no means calculated to oppose any considerable force. The bay, or more properly the road, is formed by a high point of land which runs out into the sea a considerable distance to the west of the river, and will shelter vessels only in a westerly wind: when it veers round to the east, they are obliged to retire to some safer port." *

* Lempriere, pp. 410—414. Tetuan (or Tetewen) occupies, according to D'Anville, the position of the *Iagath* of Ptolemy. Windhus, who landed here in 1721, with the embassy to Muley Ismael for the redemption of British captives, describe Tetuan as "a very ancient city, called by the Romans *Tetuanum*: it gives name to a large province, and is the seat of the basha." His jurisdiction extended from Oran on the Algerine frontier, to

All the other ports of Fez are on the Atlantic coast. About thirty miles (eleven hours) south of Tangier, is the small sea-port of Arzilla (or Azzilia, the ancient *Zilis*). While in the possession of the Portuguese, it was a place of some strength; but its fortifications have been neglected by the Moors, and its walls are rapidly decaying. The houses have a miserable appearance, and the inhabitants, consisting of a few Moors and Jews, live in a state of extreme poverty. The castle covers a large area, and though now in ruins, appears to have been erected in a superior style of Moorish grandeur.

Two and twenty miles further, the route lying chiefly along the beach, is Larache (or L'Araich), situated at the mouth of the Luccos.* This town, which formerly belonged to the Spaniards, has some neat buildings, and, though not regularly fortified, possesses a fort and two batteries in good repair. The streets are paved; there are several mosques and a decent bazaar, surrounded with stone piazzas,—the handsomest, Ali Bey says, that he saw in the country: "it was built, as well as the principal fortifications,

Mamora, including Tangier, Arzilla, Larache, and Alcassar; being bounded, southward, by the river Cebu. This Traveller mentions that, in riding by the river of Tetuan, he saw several torpedoes lying in the mud. "We touched them," he says, "with canes or sticks, on horseback, during which time a numbness was perceived to go up our arms, that continued a minute or two after we had taken our canes off the fish."—Windhus in Pinkerton, vol. xv. p. 449.

* "Lixus, or Linx, which tradition has made the dwelling of Antæus, vanquished by Hercules, is *Araïs*, by corruption called Larache; and the river which bore the name of *Lixus*, preserves it in the form of Lucos."—D'Anville, vol. ii. p. 217. Jackson says, that *El Araice* signifies, in the Arabic, flower-gardens; and that the modern name of the river is properly *El Kos*; so called from its curved windings. It abounds, as well as the Seboo, with the *shebbel*, a species of salmon.

by Christians." The town contains about 400 houses, which extend from the banks of the river up the steep declivity of a hill facing the north. Unfortunately, Ali Bey says, the town has no water. "What they drink is taken from a spring near the sea-shore at 180 fathoms' distance. There is another spring about two miles off, which is safe from the fire of the town. At 60 fathoms E.S.E. of the square castle, is a chapel or sanctuary of a female saint, patroness of the town. Her name is Lela Minana: her sepulchre is revered." * The depth and security of the river, which is about half a mile across at the ferry, render it the best port which the Emperor possesses for his larger vessels; and they generally winter in a cove on the north side of the river, where there are some magazines of naval stores. The soil is sandy and too loose to admit of the erection of stocks for ship-building. Ships of 200 tons can get into the river; but they are obliged to unload in order to pass the bar; the annual increase of which threatens the port with the same fate as that of Tangier. The road is not secure in winter, when the winds blow from the south and west; but, from April to September inclusive, it affords a safe anchorage. Larache stands (according to Ali Bey) in latitude 35° 13′ 15″ N., longitude 6° 1′ 30″ W. The climate is very mild, and the same as in Andalusia.†

* Ali Bey professes himself unable to reconcile the canonization of a woman by the Moslems, with the tacit exclusion of the sex from Paradise, to which the law subjects them. He must forget the Divine honours paid to Fatima by the Sheahs.

† "El Araiche was fortified about the end of the sixteenth century by Muley Ben Nasar. In 1610, it was given up to Spain, and in 1689, was retaken by Muley Ismael. The French entered the river in 1765; but, by a feint of the Moors, they were induced to go too far up, when they, were surrounded by superior numbers, and fell victims to their own impetuosity."—Jackson, p. 34.

From Larache to Mamora, a distance of sixty-four miles, the country is described as having the appearance of a park, more than of an uncultivated country; presenting plains rich with verdure, diversified with scattered clumps of trees and shrubs, while, on the left, extend a chain of lakes covered with water-fowl, and lined with Arab encampments. The great plain of Mamora, which extends about eighty miles inland, is remarkable for its extreme smoothness, being as even, Windhus says, as a bowling-green. In it are three fresh-water lakes, one of which is twenty miles in length. "This country," Jackson says, "was formerly populous, but the incalculable number of musquitoes, gnats, nippers, and other annoying insects, have obliged the inhabitants to quit the place. These lakes abound in eels, which are salted for sale: ducks and all kinds of water-fowl also abound on them.* Skiffs made of the fan-palm and of rushes, about seven feet long and two broad, are used by the fisherman, who guides them with a pole, and pierces the eels with a lance. The water is not deep. There are a few insulated spots in the largest lake, on which are *zawiat* (sanctuaries) inhabited by the Maraboots, who are held in veneration by the inhabitants of the plains. The plains and valleys are delightfully pleasant in the months of March and April; but, in June, July, and August, when musquitoes are so indescribably troublesome, they are dried up." † The great river Seboo (Subu), which

* Ali Bey states, that these lakes swarm with *tortoises*,—unless his translator has blundered.

† Jackson's Morocco, p. 35. Col. Keatinge travelled this route in the beginning of June. He describes these rich flats as clothed even then with the richest tints of verdure, and the country was thickly studded with Arab camps. At his evening encampment, the tents were closed with the utmost care; but no sooner were

waters this plain, takes its rise eastward of the city of Fez, and falls into the sea at Mamora, forming the southern boundary of the province of El Gharb and the jurisdiction of the Basha of Tetuan.*

Mamora (Maheduma) is situated on an eminence close to the southern bank of the river, near its mouth. When in the possession of the Portuguese, it was encompassed with a double wall, part of which still remains; but its fortifications have been destroyed, and its only defence is a small fort on the sea-side. It is described by Jackson, as a poor, neglected place: the ferrymen and other inhabitants subsist by fishing for the *shebbel*, a species of salmon, of which they take an incredible quantity for the supply of the interior. From this place, a stage of six hours leads over the plain,† to the famous port of

candles lighted, than myriads of musquitoes commenced their assault on the travellers and their horses. In the morning, it was hardly possible to recognize each other's faces. "Nature teems here with life; and this is one of the evils of it."—Keatinge, vol. ii. p. 42. The next day's march commenced at day-break in a thick fog; a sufficient indication of the nature of the soil.

* D'Anville supposes, that the Subu has changed its mouth, and that it formerly discharged itself further northward, at a place called by the seamen Old Mamora, which he supposes to be the *Banasa* of Ptolemy. We know not what ground there is for this supposition. The lakes appear to be formed by the river Baht (or Bet), which rises in the Atlas, and flowing N.N.E., discharges itself into the lakes, while a branch is supposed by Jackson to fall into the Seboo. If they are really fresh-water lakes, they must have some outlet: perhaps the river Clough, a small stream four hours south of Larache, mentioned by Lempriere, is that outlet. The accounts of the topography of this part, are not merely obscure, but contradictory. Jackson affirms, that corn might be conveyed up the Seboo to Fez.

† Lempriere says: "The road between Mamora and Sallee extends along a vale, towards which the hills gently slope on each side." Col. Keatinge describes it as lying between the sea side and the great wood of Mamora,

SALLEE.

THE name of Sallee has decorated many a well-told tale and plaintive ballad. Its pirates, so well known under the name of the Sallee rovers, were long the terror of merchantmen. Equally dreaded for their valour and their cruelty, the adventurers who navigated the swift and formidable vessels fitted out from this port, depopulated the ocean, and sometimes ventured to extend their depredations to the coasts of Christendom.* "The town of Sallee, in its present state," says Dr. Lempriere, "though large, presents nothing worthy the observation of the traveller, except a battery of twenty-four pieces of cannon fronting the sea, and a redoubt at the entrance of the river, which is here about a quarter of a mile broad." The river, which is formed by the confluence of two smaller streams, the Gueroo and the Buregreb, formerly ad-

* "Sallee was a place of good commerce, till, addicting itself entirely to piracy, and revolting from its allegiance to its sovereign Muley Zidan, that prince, in the year 1648, despatched an embassy to King Charles I. of England, requesting him to send a squadron of men-of-war to lie before the town, while he attacked it by land. This request being acceded to, the city was soon reduced, the fortifications demolished, and the leaders of the rebellion put to death. The year following, the Emperor sent another ambassador to England, with a present of Barbary horses and 300 Christian slaves."—Lempriere, p. 98. The Sultan's letter is given; and if the translation be genuine, it would shew him to have been a far more enlightened prince than most of his successors or contemporaries. The time was, when Moorish cruisers lay under Lundy Island in the Bristol Channel, to intercept traders going from Ireland to the fair of Bristol. "We viewed," says Mr. Jackson, "the subterraneous cavern where the Sallee rovers formerly confined their Christian slaves; it resembled a *mitfore*, or large subterraneous granary;" (this was, doubtless, its original purpose;) "it had two gates to let in the air, and appeared perfectly dry. No one was in it." The inhabitants of Sallee are inimical to Christians still.—Jackson's Shabeeny, p. 114.

mitted large vessels; but the entrance has been gradually filled up with the sand washed in by the sea, so that, not long ago, a vessel of 150 tons struck on the bar; and the accumulation is still going on. Fu pirates, therefore, could no longer avail themselves of the port. Sallee is in latitude 34° 3′ N., long. 6° 40′ W.

On the southern side of the river, opposite to Sallee, is the town of Rabat, often called New Sallee, and which may be considered as another quarter of the same town. Its walls enclose a large space of ground, and it is defended, on the sea-side, by three forts, erected, some years ago, by an English renegade, and furnished with ordnance from Gibraltar. The houses in general are good, and many of the inhabitants are wealthy. The Jews, who are very numerous at this place, are generally in better circumstances than those of either Larache or Tangier; and their women are remarkably beautiful.* The castle, which is very extensive, contains a strong building formerly used by Sidi Mahomed as his principal treasury; and there is a noble terrace commanding an extensive view of Sallee, the ocean, and the neighbouring country. There are also ruins of another castle, said to have been erected by the celebrated Sultan Almanzor, of which little remains except the walls; but within them are some strong magazines for powder and naval stores. Colonel Keatinge mentions an elegant villa then building for the reigning Sultan (in 1785) by a Spanish renegade, "in the new style of architecture," light, tasteful, and suited to the

* "The young and handsome Jewesses," says Col. Keatinge, "frequently have as florid complexions as the beauties of the British Isles; but even that cannot prevent them from the use of their detestable and deleterious cosmetics."

climate: the main aqueduct of the place was the work of an English renegade.

"Rabat and Sallee," says Colonel Keatinge, "seem to frown at each other across this fine river, which is about as broad as the Thames below the bridges, being fortified with curtains thickly studded with towers, the curtains in tiers one above another. The walls are, as usual, flimsy; and here are no modern defences. The main battery of Rabat is *à la Moresque*, circular and unflanked, incapable of making any impression on an object by a condensed fire. The blendings and contrasts of towers, trees, old walls, and mosques over a noble river (when the tide is in), form features truly picturesque. But, in a considerable degree to countervail this impression, with these pleasing objects are mingled the flat roofs and unbroken fronts of the Moorish dwelling-houses, each presenting the outline of a tomb magnified.....The Sultan's dockyard is on this river. As soon as the hulls are so far finished that they can be floated, the ships are sent round to Larache." * Ali Bey states, that Rabat was intended by Sultan Almanzor to become his capital, on which account it was surrounded with so extensive a circuit of walls flanked with towers: the area is now partly occupied by well-furnished kitchen gardens. Here, in a small chapel, are deposited the remains of Sultan Sidi Mahomed. The sepulchre of the famous Almanzor himself † is

* Keatinge, pp. 32—34.

† Jacob Ben Joseph (or, as the name is more correctly written, Yacoub Ben Yousef,) surnamed *El Mansur*, the victorious, (corrupted into Almanzor,) was of the Mohadi dynasty. He expelled the Moravedi from Spain, as they had done the Ommiades. He is the great hero of Moorish Africa, their "King Arthur." It is said, that he went in disguise on a pilgrimage to Mecca, and never returned.—Keatinge, vol. ii. pp. 199, 270.

also at Rabat, but in a separate and sacred quarter. "At the eastern part of the town," says this Traveller, "are to be seen the remains of the ancient town of Shella, which M. Chenier supposes to have been the metropolis of the Carthaginian colonies.* It is surrounded with very high walls, and no Christian is admitted into the town, which contains the sepulchres of several saints. That of El Mansur is placed in a handsome and much frequented mosque. The day when I went there, it was so much crowded with women, that I found great difficulty in getting in. The descent of the hill, at the foot of which this mosque is situated, is really romantic, from numerous cascades of bright water precipitating itself between rocks, amid rose-bushes, orange and lemon-trees, and numberless aromatic flowers. After I left the mosque, I took a walk in the orange-gardens which border the river: they may, with truth, be called an earthly paradise." † The country about Rabat and Sallee, Mr. Jackson says, is wonderfully fertile. "The orange-plantations are of vast extent: the trees are as large as a middling-sized oak. The vineyards and cotton-plantations are likewise extensive, and nothing can exceed the good quality of the grapes, figs, oranges, citrons, apricots, peaches, and water-melons: the latter are peculiarly sweet. The vines are cultivated in the Arabian system on the ground, which is a light sandy soil." ‡ The number

* "About a mile from Rabat, there is a spring, reported to have been discovered by the Romans; and near it is the Roman town of Shella, which none but Mussulmen are permitted to enter. In it are said to be the tombs of two Sultans; but, most probably, of Roman generals."—Jackson's Shabeeny, p. 111. The conjecture is not very happy; but what is added, claims attention. Pans of *Roman* coins, this gentleman affirms, are continually dug up there.

† Ali Bey, vol. i. p. 129. ‡ Jackson, p. 113.

of turtle-doves in these vineyards is immense, and they destroy a vast quantity of the best fruit." This gentleman adds, that the vine-cultivators, who, perhaps, are not Moslems, express their gratitude to the Christians who go to shoot them.

About a mile from Shella, on the southern bank of the Buregreb, is the *Sma Hassan* (Hassan's Tower),* a square tower of seven stories, about 200 feet high; built, Mr. Jackson informs us, by an architect of Granada, the same who built the *Jamaa Lifenar* at Morocco, the *Giralda* at Seville, and a similar one at Timbuctoo. If so, it must have been constructed towards the close of the twelfth century.† Like the tower of Seville, it is ascended by an inclined plane, by means of which a person may reach the top on horseback.‡ Its original purpose, there can be no question, was to serve as an observatory; and it forms an honourable memorial of the Mohadian dynasty.

A quarter of a mile before reaching Sallee from the north, the road passes under one of three stupendous arches of an aqueduct which still supplies the town with water. The natives, Lempriere says, assert that

* So called, Mr. Jackson says, from its being in the province of Beni Hassan.

† The *Giralda* was built A. D. 1196, under the superintendence of the famous Arabian astronomer Geber. Its original height was 178 feet. A description of this interesting monument, "the most ancient, perhaps, in Christendom, consecrated to science," will be found in our account of Seville.—MOD. TRAV., Spain, vol. ii. p. 7.

‡ Jackson's Shabeeny, p. 112. The cement with which this staircase is coated, is so hard as to defy the pickaxe. Sultan Mohamed, on its being represented to him that the apartments in the tower were the haunts of vice, is said to have ordered the floor of the ascent to be broken; but it was found impracticable to destroy it, and he was obliged to content himself with ordering the entrance to be blocked up with loose stones. Mr. Jackson, however, ascended the tower.

it was constructed not many years ago, by the Moors; but, from its style and the striking marks of antiquity, he supposed it to be Roman. It may have been repaired in modern times. There can be no doubt that Sala was a place of note anciently, as well as at present. According to D'Anville, it was the furthest Roman city on this coast, and a Roman way led from Tingis to this place, which is the *Salaconia* of the Itinerary.* Here, then, we have arrived at the frontier of the ancient Mauritania,† and take a final leave of Roman Africa. In the inland country, there are a few obscure stations, the ancient names of which are all that have been preserved; and under the reign of Claudius, the Roman arms penetrated, by a pass over Mount Atlas, as far as a river named *Ger.*‡ But, with the exception of some maritime positions, which it is difficult to identify, and the illusive name of the mysterious Niger, the lights of ancient geography now fail us entirely. All the civilization which has extended itself beyond this point, is either Moorish, or derived from European colonists.§

* Sala and Shella may possibly enough be the same name, according to Roman and Carthaginian pronunciation. Leo calls this town *Sallæ*, and Marmol, *Mansalla*. Ali Bey, however, remarks, that all the Moorish cities contain, towards the south-eastern part, a place called *El Emsalla*, which is made use of at the Paschal prayers; and the suburb of Shella may take its name from this circumstance. Pliny states, that elephants were very troublesome at the river *Sala*. (Lib. v. c. I.) Rennell, p. 415.

† "An ulterior position, under the name of *Exploratio ad Mercurium*, explicitly denotes an advanced post to guard the frontier, and consecrated to the divinity presiding over highways and passes."—D'Anville, vol. ii. p. 218. ‡ Ib. 219.

§ The kingdom of Fez extends southward to the Morbeya, comprehending the maritime provinces of Temsena and Shawiya. South of the province of Beni Hassan, however, the character of the country is materially different, so that the ancient geographical

At the time of the division of the Roman empire, *Tingitana* was arranged among the provinces of Spain under the designation of *Hispania Transfretana*, Spain beyond the Straits.* The expulsion of the Vandals from Spain, put the Goths in possession of this province also; the governor of which, under the last king of the Visigoths, about the beginning of the eighth century, was the Count Julian who, as the story is told, from motives of personal revenge, rashly invited the Moors and Arabs to support his quarrel, which produced the calamities of eight hundred years. Spain, it has been remarked, deserves to be reckoned a part of Africa, rather than of Europe. Its climate and productions, the complexion of the Andalusians, and the low degree of civilization, are all African; that is, if we reckon Mauritania a part of Africa. But the two *Algarves*† might seem to belong almost equally to Europe. The Mediterranean is not the natural boundary of Christendom. That which opposed

division would seem to correspond to a natural line of demarcation. Colonel Keatinge states, that the wild olive ceases to grow at the Sallee river, there being none found on its northern side. He tells us, too, on the alleged authority of persons "well qualified to know the fact," that there are no hares on the northern side, and no rabbits on the southern. A more decided mark of difference of climate is afforded by the forests of evergreen oak which extend for many miles between the Seboo and the greb. The difference appears to arise from the great humidity which characterizes the plains of El Gh Hassan, owing to the number and less rapid descen and the lakes formed by the streams which d See Keatinge, vol. ii. p. 39.

* D'Anville, vol. i. p. 215.

† *El Gharb*, the name of the north-we is the same word as Algarve (Al Garb which is still distinguished from P united under one monarchy.

a limit to the Roman power, and which has hitherto been the frontier of civilization, is formed by the still unexplored mountain range of Atlas, and the yet more formidable barrier of the Desert,—a rampart of fire.

END OF VOL. I.

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